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Isaac Buchanan

M.P.P.

Representative in the Commons House of Parliament of Canada.
and President of the Board of Trade. for the City of Hamilton
in which same capacities he served the City of Toronto.
the Metropolis. at the Union of the Canada's.

THE RELATIONS

OF THE

INDUSTRY OF CANADA,

WITH THE

MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE UNITED STATES,

BEING A SPEECH BY

ISAAC BUCHANAN, Esq., M.P.,

AS DELIVERED AT THE LATE DEMONSTRATION TO THE PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION AT TORONTO,—TOGETHER WITH A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN DEFENCE OF THE

NATIONAL SENTIMENTS CONTAINED THEREIN,

WHICH ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN THE COLUMNS OF THE "HAMILTON SPECTATOR." FROM THE PEN OF MR. BUCHANAN, TO WHICH IS ADDED A SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIM AT THE DINNER GIVEN TO THE

PIONEERS OF UPPER CANADA,

AT LONDON, CANADA WEST, 10TH DECEMBER, 1863.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED IN A COMPLETE AND COLLECTED FORM, WITH COPIOUS NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS,—BESIDES AN EXTENDED INTRODUCTORY EXPLANATION, AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING VARIOUS VALUABLE DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

HENRY J. MORGAN,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND AUTHOR OF "SKETCHES OF CELEBRATED CANADIANS," ETC.

Montreal:
PRINTED BY JOHN LOVELL, ST. NICHOLAS STREET.
1864.



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Dedication.

To the Leaders of the forthcoming Party of Order

I dedicate these pages,

Because I feel that the Province is at the winning or the losing,

And that we shall hereafter have to hail you

As the honoured instruments of

Our Political and Industrial salvation.

In Mr. Buchanan's Letter to the Editor of the *Globe*, assuring him publicly (of what he already, no doubt, well knew,) that Mr. Buchanan and all his friends, as in the past, so in the future, would be found opponents to the death of Annexation, and not its friends, as that Journal basely insinuated, he states that he is of no party, though reluctantly compelled to be in opposition to the present Ministry in consequence of their acts, Executive as well as Legislative; but that he is of a class far more numerous than the "thick and thin" adherents of either of the present *soi-disant* parties. Those alluded to by Mr. Buchanan will compose a new party—the Party of Order, which will probably be called the "Constitutional Party"—its platform being broad enough to hold all who value and respect the time-honored Constitution, whether they be originally Reformers or Conservatives in name. The new party of order will comprise three elements:—

First, Conservative Liberals, or old Reformers, who have been taught by experience, and are willing now to adopt the word "Conservative," at least in its adjective sense.

Secondly, Liberal Conservatives, or old Tories, or their descendants, who have also been taught by experience, and are now willing to adopt the word "Liberal," at least in its adjective sense.

Thirdly, Conservatives, and Conservative Liberals, who have unwittingly been mingled up with the incendiary party, composed of Clear Grits and Rouges.

And that in your discussions on the great question of the Reciprocity Law, now about to agitate both Canada and the United States, these pages may be of some service, is the fond hope of

Your obedient humble servant,

THE EDITOR.

Montreal, 13th February, 1864.

O Statesman, guard us, guard the eye, the soul
Of Europe, keep our noble England whole,
And save the one true seed of freedom sown
Betwixt a people and their ancient throne,—
That sober freedom out of which there springs
Our loyal passion for our temperate kings;
For, saving that, ye help to save mankind
Till public wrong be crumbled into dust,
And drill the raw world for the march of mind,
Till crowds at length be sane, and crowns be just.

TENNYSON.

SPEECH OF ISAAC BUCHANAN, Esq., M.P.,

DELIVERED AT THE

DEMONSTRATION TO THE OPPOSITION,

AT TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1863.

SPEECH OF ISAAC BUCHANAN, ESQ., M.P.,

AT THE DEMONSTRATION GIVEN, AT TORONTO, IN HONOUR OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION, 17TH DECEMBER, 1863, (AS REPORTED IN THE "HAMILTON" SPECTATOR.)

MR. BUCHANAN'S name was also on the programme to reply to this toast,* although its subject more immediately belonged to Mr. Walter Shanly, M.P., as a professional engineer, the speaker who had preceded him,—to whose able speech on our Past and the subject of our Future Public Improvements, the reader is referred, as the very best recent explanation on this all-important Provincial consideration.

At that late hour, said Mr. Buchanan, he must not occupy their attention long. The most appropriate thing he could say in reply to the toast was that the internal improvements of the country would not be encouraged by the present Government. [Cheers and laughter.] If a person did a good thing he was sure to be criticised, and the Ministry would take care not to do anything so unselfish, even if it were not, as it is, the fact that all their vitality is required to sustain their own corrupt existence. [Renewed laughter.] It appeared to him that nothing practical any more than patriotic could come from the present men. Unable to compare views on practical measures, they make our politics questions of the constitution. [Hear, hear.] With regard to the canals he proposed that the tolls should be capitalized, and the amount laid out in enlarging the locks on these same canals. That was a thing on which they would all agree, even Mr. Galt. [Cheers.] He wished to take this opportunity of making an explanation with regard to the report of a speech of his at London.† It was said he

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* "The Internal Improvements of the Province."

† Dinner given to the Pioneers of Western Canada, at London, C. W., in November 1863.

had claimed credit to himself for originating the idea of the St. Lawrence Canal, not giving his old and much-respected friend, the late Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, that credit which should belong to him. The report was not correct. What he had said was that Mr. Merritt's views were larger than the means of the Province; that Mr. Merritt had asked for more than he could get from the Legislature. Mr. Merritt lost his first motion in 1841 from demanding that an extravagant scale should be adopted, and he [Mr. B.] had succeeded in putting the views of Parliament into a shape that would carry, and gave it to Mr. Merritt to propose. [Hear, hear.]

OUR INCAPABLE GOVERNMENT.

But to return to the Ministry, he really did not see how any one could be asked to support a spasmodic galvanized thing, which must speedily pass away. [Cheers.] He failed to discover in it any ground of permanency at all. He had always been most anxious to support any respectable existency in the shape of a Ministry—he did not care a straw what it was; but he just wanted to know what it would do for the people. For instance, there was the question of Representation by Population. Now, he didn't quarrel with them about it, except considering it a very mean course when beaten on practical questions, to raise always the question of the constitution. Mr. Brown is like the flying fish when pursued—when chased out of the depths of low Radical impracticability or pretence, he in this way takes refuge in the higher regions of Revolutionary Liberalism. [Cheers.] It had always been a wonder to him how Mr. Brown could keep his features straight when asking the question, "Don't you want Representation by Population?" Of course every person in Upper Canada will be in favour of more votes for Upper Canada; just as every person in Lower Canada will be against giving a greater preponderance to Upper Canada; just as Scotland would be against giving the city of London as many votes as Scotland, because London has as much population as Scotland. [Hear, hear.] A people may equally starve under a Republic and a Monarchy, and of itself Representation by

Population will not fill the belly ; so that, admitting that it would be an improvement in our machinery of Legislation, and supposing it attained, his [Mr. Buchanan's] practical question to the Grits is one which they have not practical talent enough to answer, viz., what practical measures they would carry by this new instrumentality to subserve the great question of the people's employment. [Great cheering.] Mr. Sandfield McDonald's views on Representation by Population are antipodal to those of Mr. Brown, so they must be a happy family. When the Brown-Dorion Government was formed, he was sent for into a committee room by the leaders to see what the old Reformers would do. He said "give us a more honest and patriotic policy than we have had, and we will cordially support you." They couldn't produce any policy whatever, and he told them plainly it was because they were mere fault-finders, and had *nothing practical in their composition.* [Much laughter.] He and his friends agreed to give them an adjournment of twenty-four hours, or a week, if they wanted it, but it was no go. *Out of nothing, nothing comes.* [Roars of laughter.] And as with the Brown-Dorion Administration, so with the Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet ; he was well disposed towards them, inasmuch as through Mr. Sicotte and his Lower Canada colleagues there was some pledge that what he [Mr. Buchanan] considered the first question in Canadian politics, our provincial industry, would be conserved by a policy of importing the smallest possible quantity of foreign labour and the greatest possible quantity of labourers. He therefore was anxious to support the Government, and as a matter of fair play to them voted against the motion of want of confidence.* Well, they went to the country ; and what was his surprise when they came back to the House, to find they had changed their patriotic policy so soon as they had used it to carry the election. [Laughter.] They had a reversible cloak ; they stole with one side and

* Motion in amendment to the motion of Hon. L. V. Sicotte, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go again into Committee of Supply," moved by the Honorable John A. Macdonald in the Legislative Assembly, on May 1st, 1863, "that Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved, that the Administration, as at present constituted, does not deserve the confidence of this House." Vote taken on the 7th May ; yeas, 64 ; nays, 59.

ran away with the other. [Renewed laughter.] The most objectionable thing about them was their entire want of any principle whatever. They were not good enough to be bad. [Loud laughter.] He confessed he would pardon the Ministry for dissolving the House ; although this was perhaps not strictly constitutional ; but their giving advice to His Excellency for a dissolution, and reconstruction simultaneously was adding a crime to a blunder. [Hear, hear.] It was something of this sort ; a culprit had been tried and condemned, and he appealed to a higher Court. Instead of bringing up the old or former culprit, they brought up a fresh washed culprit. [Loud laughter.] He conceived that was at once an unworthy advantage taken of the Crown and of His Excellency, who was new to the country, and a barefaced violation of Responsible Government, as it was an admission that the Opposition were correct in voting that as constructed the then Ministry were not entitled to confidence. [Cheers.] He conceived they had violated Responsible Government, too, in the case of the Intercolonial Railroad. He did not say whether he was for or against that great road ; that was not necessary to the argument ; but he did say it was the duty of the Government, after agreeing to it on behalf of Canada, to have staked their existence on it. [Cheers.] In honour they were bound to do so ; and in consequence of their bad faith we were now held up as a dishonourable people in England and the Lower Provinces, whereas it was only the Ministry that was dishonourable. [Applause.] It was also a violation of Responsible Government to throw upon his Excellency or the prerogative the appointment of Mr. Sicotte. It was by such irresponsible stretches of prerogative that the Stuarts lost the crown, and yet the immaculate *Globe* fought for it. [Hear, hear.] It appeared to him there was a great and obvious determination among the low radical statesmen, in England, to interfere with our Responsible Government in Tariff matters, and no Ministry had ever gone so far in the direction of countenancing them as the present men. [Cheers.]

A PRACTICAL POLICY WANTED FOR CANADA.

He felt the Government were invading all our great interests.

For instance, his firm had had two ships coming from China and one from Brazil, and he did not know what the duty would be on the tea or the coffee in them. At the time of the last change, he had had two vessels at sea, and the difference in the duties, sprung suddenly upon them by the Government, was upwards of $60,000 ! [Sensation.] The whole thing was a troubled dream. All our great interests were in nightmare, the Government sitting on the chest of our prosperity. [Laughter.] He had already alluded to the proposed invasion by Mr. Holton of our manufacturing interest, which was fast becoming entitled to the name of a great interest, so much so, indeed, that at this moment the manufacturing political influence in Montreal and other large places is more than the commercial. [Hear, hear.] And one Minister, at least, Mr. Howland, (for whom he had a great respect) was aware of the fact that one result of our patriotic legislation since 1858 when Parliament sat in Toronto, was the existence in Canada of over a thousand tanneries. [Hear, hear.] The manufacture of paper, of wool, of wooden ware and agricultural implements has equally increased. [Hear, hear.] By manufacturing the articles mentioned we save the necessity of sending out of the Province at least two millions of dollars in cash per annum, and a fews years hence the money required to be sent abroad for these great articles of necessity, not to talk of the innumerable other articles now being manufactured in the Province, would have been double that amount. [Hear, hear.] By manufacturing these articles we not only cause an immensely increased employment for our own population that are not fit for other sorts of labour, but we retain in the Province the money for the use of the farming and other interests, thus not only increasing our supply of capital in the Province, but reducing the rate of interest at which it can be borrowed. [Cheers.] Free-traders will say, you pay more for the articles you manufacture than if you imported them. Now I deny that this is the case. Every article, I believe without exception, that we now manufacture is furnished to the people at a lower price than it was sold for before 1858. But even supposing that we did pay a higher price by the amount of the customs duty, this would not be injuring the people. It would only be making them pay the tax indirectly, instead of directly. It is obvious that the great fact of our being in

debt compels us to collect the money either in one way or the other. The only policy for northern countries in America is to limit their purchases of foreign labour to the greatest extent, for neither the Northern States nor Canada can produce exports to pay for even the very smallest imports, which the natural "go-a-headitiveness" of our people makes possible. Even with the greatest contraction of imports, therefore, these would be miserable countries, except for the money which comes adventitiously into the country in the pockets of immigrants and for investment. [Hear, hear.] To the extent, however, that our imports are over our exports we pay for the balance with the Province's life blood, for although there may not be an open removal of the specie on which all bank circulation and monetary confidence is built, there is the loss of its equivalent. But for being required to pay for profligate importations the money got through immigration and otherwise, would be an increase of the country's life blood—an extension of the basis on which the pyramid of our Provincial prosperity reposes. [Hear, hear.] True political reform, (such as we had before the *Globe* came to Canada) is, in a progressive state of society such as we have in America, the truest conservatism. We must be economical not only in applying the people's money for their own benefit, but in securing for our own people all the employment we can, in making the articles we require, seeing that when the manufacturers live in a foreign country they are not consuming the productions of the Canadian farms. No country can be great without having rotation of crops, and no country can have this without having a manufacturing population to eat the produce which was not exportable. [Cheers.] And so glaringly untrue is the industriously circulated notion that such policy would be injurious to the agricultural class, that my whole object in insisting on limiting the Province imports of manufacturers, and raising up factories alongside our farms, is to benefit the Canadian farmer, and through him all other classes, knowing full well, as I do, that it is the only solid and permanent foundation for the prosperity of the *country*. I was long ago warned, by witnessing the sad fate of Lower Canada, whose soil has been exhausted by over-cropping with wheat. Lower Canada blindly followed the interested or ignorant advice of the British Political Economists, and confined herself to *growing wheat*

for export, little dreaming how large a percentage each year it took to represent the deterioration of the soil under such treatment of it. And what I wish for Upper Canada is a system of rotation of crops, to render which possible it is essential for us to have an oppidanic or manufacturing population to eat the vegetables and other perishable or bulky productions of the Canadian farmer. I may here also mention, that which has long been evident to me, that if PRODUCTION and agricultural improvement are to get justice in Canada, we must originate a system of large, reliable, NON-ISSUING INSTITUTIONS, which we might call AGRICULTURAL BANKS, from which our farmers could get an advance to the extent of one-third, or so, of the value of their real estate—which advance they might pay up at any time, but would not be bound to pay up till the end of a certain period, say thirty years—the borrower making an annual payment to cover interest of money, a sinking fund to provide for payment of the principle in thirty years, and a life insurance premium to secure his property being free from debt in case of his death before the loan is paid off. Such is the Provincial policy which for thirty years I have seen to be the best for Canada, and the views which I have now expressed are those which I expect to continue to hold to the end. (Loud cheers.) I have thus shown that the course of the Ministry directly injures the Credit, Trade and Manufacturing and Mechanical interests of Canada, and indirectly through these, the great agricultural interests.

MR. BROWN'S FATAL CONNECTION WITH THE MINISTRY.

The present Government, like Mr. Brown and the Premier, its head, are united, not by any common principle but common abandonment of principle. They have polluted our Provincial prosperity at its source, and there must therefore necessarily be an impure stream. Though having respectable names among them, their character as a Ministry could not be lower. [Hear, hear.] They imitate to the life, the well-known trick of the turf in England. The Jockey *slips his weight* and appears, *till found out*, the winner. So the Grits have let slip every principle for which they contended. They therefore have attained a short but not honourable triumph. [Cheers.] Hateful and hating one another, deceiving

and being deceived is the nature of their cat and dog life. [Laughter.] He [Mr. Buchanan] had tried hard to think of any description that could be given of the respective positions towards each other of Mr. George Brown and Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. Their positions seem not unlike those of the great rival simulators of nature of old whom we read of. Zeuxis of Heraclea, the great artist, painted himself with a tray before him, on which were grapes; and so well did he simulate grapes that the birds flew at the picture to eat the fruit. His rival, Parrhasius, of Ephesus, to his chagrin, suggested that Zeuxis could not have painted the man [himself] very truly, otherwise he would have frightened away the birds. Still Zeuxis, confident, [Mr. Brown to the life, if he supposed himself rivalled] called upon his rival no longer to delay to draw aside the curtain and show his picture; but the picture of Parrhasius [Sandfield] was the curtain itself, which Zeuxis had mistaken for real drapery. Zeuxis lost the day, for he had only deceived the birds, while Parrhasius had deceived Zeuxis. [Laughter and applause.] A newspaper had just been placed in his [Mr. Buchanan's] hand which stated that he had in Parliament called Mr. Brown a lineal descendant of his Satanic Majesty; the person handing it requested that he would explain about this dreadful imputation. [Laughter.] He had never said any such thing. The report arose from a mis-apprehension by a reporter in the gallery of Parliament. He [Mr. B.] was merely showing that a politician being *popular* did not make it plain that he was *good*. He did not adduce the most memorable of all instances where the crowd cried "away with him, away with him; crucify him, crucify him." All he said was that it had always struck him that Mr. Brown must be a lineal descendant of that personage, regarding whom it is related that to him the people all adhered, from the least even to the greatest, and yet he was a deceiver, [sorcerer] the strength of his character consisting of nothing innate, of no strength of his own, but of the weakness of the charactor of his dupes.

"Indeed the pleasure seemed as great
Of being cheated as to cheat;
As lookers on feel most delight,
That least perceive the juggler's slight;
And still the less they understand,
The more they admire his slight of hand."

[Laughter and cheers.] The reporter alluded to evidently mistook the word *adhered*, and thought that he [Mr. B.] said *feared*, he whom all men *feared* having been a liar from the beginning. [Great laughter.]

ENGLISH FREE TRADE SUBVERSIVE OF EMPIRE.

He was anxious to use plain language, as every one else in Canada seemed afraid to do so, regarding the British Government's position towards her colonies. England herself has succumbed to a faction, holding the doctrine of Robespierre—

"Perissent les Colonies,
Plutot qu'un principe."

Perish the Colonies rather than our theory. [Hear, hear.] The adoption by England for herself of this transcendental principle has all but lost the Colonies, and her madly attempting to make it the principle of the British Empire would entirely alienate the Colonies. Though pretending to unusual intelligence, the Manchester Schools (like our Clear Grits), are, as a class, as void of knowledge of the world as of patriotic principle. [Cheers.] They do not know that *Free Trade is the contrary principle to that of Empire*, [Mr. Buchanan repeated this again and again,] or that if you take every dirty child off the street and treat him like your own child, your own child will very soon come to see that he is only treated like the dirty child, and very soon be unable to feel differently from the dirty child. Your own child will soon experience that it is a levelling down, not a levelling up. [Cheers.] To take a practical example, vital to ourselves of the result of the Free Trade measure of 1846, to which the Manchester School, through inflaming the minds of the people of England, drove Sir Robert Peel—[Hear, hear.] Take the Niagara River, which is the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The lot of 200 acres at the end of the Suspension Bridge on the American side had the advantages of both the American and British Markets, while the lot of 200 acres on the north side in Canada had only the British Markets ; the American farmer, in a word, got a shilling per bushel (from the American's having an immense home demand from their manufacturing popu-

lation,) for his wheat more than the Canada farmer could get. As left by the free trade measures of England, it was the interest of Canada to be annexed to the United States. So much for the Legislation of the great Sir Robert Peel. [Hear, hear.]

AGRICULTURE OUR ONE-GREAT INTEREST.

But it is well for Canada that she can afford to throw theories to the winds, having a certain and unfailing barometer of her great interests. In her farmers, Canada has a great class, the prosperity of which secures the prosperity of all other classes; so that the *true economical policy of Canada is to promote the prosperity of the Canadian farmer.* And how is this to be done is the simply political question of the Canadian patriot. [Cheers.] Yet —to the shame of British statesmen be it said—a question so momentous to Canada was known to have no consideration in England, when she, in 1846, diametrically altered her policy and repealed all the old distinctions between Canadian and American produce in her markets. The direct and immediate effect of this precipitate introduction of free imports (for it is not Free Trade) into the mother country was most disastrous to Canada, and was more likely to prove subversive of her loyalty than any thing that could have been anticipated; for it left the Canadian farmer (on the North Bank of the St. Lawrence) only the English market for his produce in which he has to compete (after paying all freights and expenses across the Atlantic,) with wheat of countries where labour and money are not worth one-third what those are in Canada, while it gave to the American farmer (on the South Bank of the St. Lawrence) this English market of which to avail himself, when ever it suited him, in addition to the American market.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Happily the British Government saw in time the error committed in bringing about a state of things it would have been impossible to retain, upon British principles, the Canadas—British principles always involving the idea that the object of Britain in acquiring

or retaining territory, is to bless not to blight it. And Lord Elgin bribed the Americans by sharing with them our Fishery and Navigation rights, to give us the Reciprocity Treaty, which, while it exists, removes the Canadian farmer's cause of complaint. [Hear, hear.] Now, therefore the preservation of this Reciprocity with the United States is shewn to be not only the interest of the farmers, and through them of all others in Canada, but the British Government, as without it Canadians are left in a position to be much benefitted by Canada being annexed to the United States. I speak plainly, viewing him the most loyal man who speaks most plainly at such a crisis. [Applause.]

AN AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN THE INTEREST OF THE EMPIRE.

And this Reciprocity Treaty can only eventually be secured and rendered permanent, by the British Government adopting a Policy which would look without jealousy on the decentralization of the manufacturing power of the Empire—a principle which would aggrandise the British Empire, and be an incalculable benefit to the working classes in England, Ireland, and Scotland. To preserve the Empire, Britain has to yield the selfish principle of *centralizing*, which has ruined Ireland and India, so far as such countries could be ruined, and cost us the old American colonies. (Hear, hear.) The principle of decentralizing the manufactures of the Empire is a principle which would secure for the *Empire* an enormous additional trade and influence. Through the instrumentality of some one or other of her dependencies (which might be called England in America—England in Australia—England in India, &c., &c.,) she could secure free trade for all her mechanics who chose to go to these favored localities, with countries that could never agree to free trade direct with England, without giving a death blow to their comparatively comfortable population. For instance, England could never get free trade with the United States in manufactured goods, but no doubt the United States would be prepared to extend the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, thus throwing down all interior Custom Houses between Canada and the United States, which done, the Englishman, by coming to Canada, and manufac-

turing his goods at our endless water powers will be able to save the 25 per cent. charged on the same goods going direct from England to the United States, and hundreds of mill-owners now in uneasy circumstances in England, would, under such an arrangement, immediately transfer to Canada their machinery and hands to the infinite benefit of the population thus removed, and to the aggrandizement of the empire. (Cheers.) And this is the main thing wanted by the Canadian farmer, *permanently*, as giving him a market on the spot for his roots and spring crops, thus rendering rotation of crops possible, while it would give him also that which is so valuable to him in the present (until he gets his rotation of crops established), the superior market for his white wheat furnished in the United States by the Reciprocity Treaty. (Hear, hear). To the United States, and more especially to the Western States, as making the St. Lawrence the great highway of America, free trade and navigation with Canada would give great development, would give, in a word, all the commercial advantages of annexation. (Hear, hear.) The natural policy of Canada is seen clearly therefore to be the establishment of an American Zollverein, such as exists among the German States. Under this the United States and Canada would neither of them levy any customs taxes on their frontiers, but only at the seaports from Labrador to Mexico—the same duties being levied, and each country getting its share in the proportion of its population. Let it be therefore resolved, that for our commercial system, the principle should be adopted by Canada of an American Zollverein, or in other words, free trade with America, but not with Europe. Why should England be jealous or oppose this? Is not Canada just England in America? If Canadians get an advantage, they wish no monoply of it. Every old countryman is welcome to come and share it. (Much cheering). And this will be a very fair compromise between the views of the two classes of friends of the Canadian farmer, one of which holds that our farmer is to be most benefitted by general free trade and direct taxation, and the other by keeping our money in the country through the restriction of importations and indirect taxation. The Reciprocity Treaty is a temporary relief to us; but it may be only a temporary one. As our home

market increases through the enlargement of our cities and towns, we shall be more independent of the market of the United States. But he (Mr. Buchanan) believed that as a necessary consequence of the free trade legislation of England, Canada will require England to assent to the establishment of two things, on the subject of which time did not permit him now further to enlarge. 1st, An American Zollverein. 2nd, Canada to be made neutral territory in time of any war between England and the United States.

Those who can estimate the terrible difficulties, if not impossibilities of such arrangements, will begin to form some idea of the crime committed by the statesmen of England in taking so serious a step in the dark as the adoption of the principle of Free Trade, or in other words of the contrary principle to that of Empire! [Hear, hear.] To return to the more immediate consideration of the Provincial Ministry.

THE GRITS—WHO AND WHAT ARE THEY?

His opinion was that it would be far better to have Mr. Brown openly and honestly in office, than, as at present, behind the scenes of Mr. Sandfield McDonald's Ministry, especially (as has been shewn by the illustration of Parrhasius) there is nothing else behind. [Laughter.] At the same time he would not be understood as admitting that Mr. Brown has any fitness whatever for the Government. On the contrary it was his opinion that there is not a man in the country with much less fitness, or whose rumble is in much greater proportion to his "gumption." [Much laughter.] For instance no man with any judgment could have gone against Robert Baldwin for a member of our Upper House. Mr. Brown's chief, if not only claim to office, is that his having place and power is the only condition on which he will agree not to enflame the people and make them dangerous, even if he himself is not seditious. [Hear, hear.] Gritism is a sort of bastard child of Malcolm Cameron—[Laughter]—which even he afterwards got ashamed of and repudiated. [Great laughter.] It is in a word, a conspiracy of the most uneducated, with some honourable exceptions, of the community, not only to share, but to monopolize all offices of trust and employment, both provin-

cial and local. [Loud and long continued cheering.] Patronage is its life, and patronage will be its death. All its members are not bad, but every man of curious or unsettled views political or religious is of its party. [Cheers.] It is a conspiracy of small and bad men, not an embodiment of large and good principles. [Cheers.] And never was there more necessity than at this present time in Canada for the good of all parties to be *shoulder to shoulder, and back to back;*" their common conviction having at length come to be that they individually are as little justified in refusing, on account of slight political differences, to join in defence of their common country against these Grit leaders, [with whom the great bulk of their followers have no interests in common] as one would be to refuse to turn out with the whole people of a neighbourhood against a pack of hungry wolves threatening their farm yards. [Loud cheers.] He [Mr. Buchanan] denied that they were the liberal party of Upper Canada. If they were so, we might say with Madame Roland—" O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name."

> " But France got drunk with blood to vomit crime,
> And fatal have her Saturnalia been;
> To Freedom's cause, in every age and clime.

" When bad men conspire, good men must combine." [Loud and continued cheering.]

"A PLEA AGAINST ANNEXATION."

A Letter addressed to the Editor of the Toronto *Globe*, by Mr. Buchanan, January 6th, 1864.

A PLEA AGAINST ANNEXATION.

(To the Editor of the Globe.)

Sir,—My speech in Toronto, on which you make remarks in to-day's Globe, was intended as a plea against annexation; and I think on reflection you will see that you were not justified in describing it as "a plea for annexation." If a person warns another of a precipice towards which his steps are bent, this is held to be an evidence of his desire to save him, not the contrary; so I have since 1846, the English Free Trade era, raised my warning voice in regard to what I then saw, and still see, must be the fatal results, in dismembering the Empire, of the adoption by England of a policy of free imports in the face of her not being able to secure for herself or her colonies free exports. It is the grossest fraud and delusion to name England's principle Free Trade, while it is only free imports, a one-sided system which even, if tolerable in an old and rich country, would never be so in a new and poor country like Canada. I cannot allow myself to believe that you hold essentially different opinions from me; and if so, I would be delighted to alter mine if you could only show me good reasons for such alteration.

My convictions since 1846 have been that England, by her adoption of her principle of Free Trade, adopted a principle which renders the principle of Empire comparatively useless, if not altogether impracticable; that in doing so she did not in the least take into consideration the position and interests of her outlying dominions, especially Canada; and to be more particular, that by her Free Trade measures England has left it to the interest of the farmers of Canada to be annexed to the United States, unless we get Reciprocity with that country. Now I desire to ask you the simple question, whether or not you think different from me as to this position of the Canadian farmer? And if, as a matter of fact, we do not

disagree, why should we not, throwing little matters of politics to the winds (and all other matters are little politics), be able to unite in trying to get such concession from England, by way of Zollverein or otherwise, as will preserve Canada to England in the best possible way, viz., by preventing our population being deeply injured by not giving up the connection ?

You do me great injustice in supposing that I would expect it possible that England will give up Free Trade in time to suit our purpose. Its effects on her own people is what she will first consider just as the effects on our population of English Free Trade should be the first consideration of Canada And as to your difficulty in supposing it impossible that Canada should have the advantage of a Zollverein, and also of being neutral ground, arises from your insisting on viewing Canada a separate thing from instead of a part of England. You view the consideration to be as to what England might part with to another people, instead of as to what she can extend to her own people. You take for granted (that which I hold not true) that England would lose by giving to Canada the whole liberty in regard to her tariff of a country, as I propose.

It seems to me unworthy of you to use such arguments as "No, "no, Mr. Buchanan, the loyalty of reformers is not in their pockets, "though that of the party to which you belong certainly is, as both "past and present abundantly proves." For my part, I belong to no party (the position of a larger class than at present belongs to both the parties), not seeing any party that holds views sufficiently Canadian or patriotic ; and to the extent I may appear to support a party, it is only an evidence of my idea of its opponents being worse ! But as to those many farmers and others who are of the Conservative party, you know that if they did not monopolize all the loyalty of the Province in 1812, 1837 and 1862 (at the *Trent* alarm), they at least were not behind those whom you call reformers in loyalty. I believe that every reflecting man in all these classes must feel that Canada is deeply injured by not having access to the markets of the United States ; and I cannot see why his having moral courage to say so, should be called having his loyalty in his pocket !

Yours respectfully,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

Hamilton, Jan. 6, 1864.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

EXPLANATORY OF

MR. BUCHANAN'S POLITICAL OPINIONS.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

EXPLANATORY OF MR. BUCHANAN'S POLITICAL OPINIONS.

The Editor feels that no apology is necessary for the republication of the articles contained in this pamphlet, as from their recognized value, the work was undertaken at the urgent solicitation of so many persons interested in the trading polity of Canada. The Editor having been the author of the "*Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*," in which appears a lengthened and accurate statement of the career and of the vast services rendered the country by Mr. Buchanan, no doubt pointed him out as a person who would be most likely to be well acquainted with the subject, and with which Mr. Buchanan's name has been so long and so prominently identified. Their reproduction is the more necessary from the fact that these articles possess a public interest which must commend them to the attention of all who take an interest in the welfare of Canada; and further, that a wrong impression may not be allowed to go abroad of the nature of Mr. Buchanan's scheme, both as an instrument of philanthropy in favour of the working classes of the mother country and of British America; and lastly, in order that a wider circula-

tion may be given to his refutation of the slanders sought to be fastened upon a political party on his account by the Editor of the Toronto *Globe* and others of that "ilk." Mr. Buchanan's often expressed view is, that he is the greatest Canadian patriot who practically effects most for the well-being and elevation of the masses in this country. This also he holds to be the best evidence of a man's having more than lip-loyalty to the British Government, as it leaves the Canadian nothing to envy in the United States. He points out that all our leaders of provincial politics, (equally with the Political Economists, or Manchester School, who now rule the legislation of England) are wilfully blind to this, as shown by their not making the question of the greatest and best paid employment of their own people the first question in their country's politics, and in their, in fact, not making it a question at all, anything patriotically selfish seeming now to be laughed to scorn. At the time of the Free Trade Era (1846) Mr. Buchanan wrote as follows when in the old country, under the title :

"SIR R. PEEL OVERLOOKED THE GREAT FACT OF OUR HAVING COLONIES WHEN HE PROPOSED FREE TRADE—FREE TRADE AND COLONIES SEEM THINGS INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER. RAPID ALIENATION OF COLONISTS, OR DEADENING OF THE EXTREMITIES OF THE EMPIRE.

"The *petit maître** statesmen of the present day are throwing up those noble countries called the British Colonies with the same *nonchalance* as they departed from the patriotic maxims called British principles. To the countries and the principles alluded

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"* The race of small men described by Chambaud, 'Jeune homme qui se distingue par un ton décisif, par des manières libres et étourdies.' British principles banished by them from their own country have taken refuge in America. The following is the deliverance of the greatest living American, the Hon. Henry Clay. He terms Free Trade 'Concessions to foreign powers, to our rivals jealous of our growth, and anxious to impede our onward progress. *Encouragement to domestic industry is a concession to our fellow-citizens.* It is a concession by the whole to the whole; for every part of the country possesses a capacity to manufacture, and every part of the country more or less does manufacture.' And the Free Trader or Theorist he characterises thus:—'He has mounted his hobby and has determined to spur and whip him on, rough shod, over all facts, obstacles and impediments that lie in his way."'

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

to there is the same moral certainty of a glorious resurrection, but whether this shall occur before or after these have been driven to repudiate the name of British, and to take refuge under the American flag depends on how long the national delusion shall continue that holds up such men as Peel, Gladstone and Earl Grey. In the meantime the condition of the colonial proprietors is being made more and more desperate. Gladstone's administration of Peel's principles, and especially his celebrated dispatch to Canada, in which (banishing from his memory all our American experience) he boldly asserted that the Colonial tie was secured by the traditionary prejudices of the Colonists! reminds us of the treatment received by a distinguished French traveller who was shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary; to dry up his tears the Barbarians threw dust in his eyes! But to describe the effects of the principles of political economy as administered to the Colonies by Earl Grey, it is impossible to find language. The eloquent language of Sheridan, instead of overstating, far understates the case; for so *pestiferous* to British interests is the breath of our late geometrical legislation that it at once succeeds in blasting all agricultural pursuits at home and in the colonies, and *at the same time* invigorates the national industry of our opponents and enemies, reanimating even their accursed slave trade.

"It looks as if some fabled monster had made his passage through the country, whose pestiferous breath had blasted more than its voracious appetite could devour. * * * *
Am I asked why these people arose in such concert? Because they were people in human shape; because patience under the detested tyranny of man is rebellion to the sovereignty of God; because allegiance to that power that gives us the *forms* of men commands to maintain the *rights* of men. * * * *
Never was this unextinguishable truth destroyed from the heart that man is not the property of man, that human power is a trust for human benefit; and that when it is abused, revenge becomes justice if not the bounden duty of the injured. These, my Lords, were the causes why these people rose."

THE REORGANIZATON OF PARTY GOVERNMENT THE GREAT POLITICAL NECESSITY.

"But the fact is, says Mr. Buchanan in a more recent pamphlet, that in the foul atmosphere of the modern Economists, political life, equally with physical, is extinguished, and a great practical Revolution has stolen on the country, not the less real that it has been a silent one.

"At this moment, such a thing as 'party,' based upon a principle distinct from its opponents, has ceased to exist! and in the future it will be told to the everlasting credit of the spirit of *British party* that it refused to live when principle was barefacedly laid aside by our politicians.

"The consequence of the two great parties repudiating principle is, that the best feature of the British government, a *constitutional* opposition in the Legislature, continually acting under the responsibility of having, *at any moment*, the Executive handed over to it, has not existed since Lord John Russell assumed the reins in 1846. At that period, we were laughed at when we talked of the breaking of the Constitution; but if Peel, in bringing about this state of things, (by so outraging the constituencies as to set entirely to one side their late most triumphant decision at the hustings,) has not broken the *terms* of the Constitution, it is self-evident he has broken its *spirit*. What, a few years ago, would have been said if we had been told of the possibility of the Empire, or the province, being entirely left to the tender mercies of any one set of men, or to any combination amounting to no more than a *conspiracy of men*, instead of the cabinet being as formerly *an embodiment of principles!* And, in truth, THE DEVOTION OF THE PEOPLE TO HER MAJESTY, AND A MORE GENERAL LOYALTY TO THE MONARCHY, THAN EVER BEFORE EXISTED, IS OUR ONLY CONSOLATION AND SAFETY.

"The clearest way for us to judge of a great principle is to remember that our children are to be blessed or blighted by it. In this way, we shall generally form a correct judgment and see our path of duty to interfere when otherwise we would not see it. Take Religion for instance—looking to oneself, we are ashamed to

say that it is comparatively the only thing of any value, and which is alone really worthy of engrossing our thoughts; but, looking to the vital consideration *that the decision is for our children*, we at once get quit of our false shame. So is it with that question in Patriotic or Social Economy, which is the only thing of any comparative importance, THE EMPLOYMENT OF OUR OWN PEOPLE. To avoid the recognition of this we find to be death, not to ourselves only, but *to our children*. For them, therefore, we protest against the attempt to put to one side this THE ONLY RATIONAL CONSIDERATION—THE ONLY ONE WHICH IS REALLY WORTHY OF ENGROSSING THE ATTENTION OF PARLIAMENT—THE OTHER QUESTIONS OF POLITICS BEING MERE COMPARATIVELY INSIGNIFICANT DETAILS—GENERALLY MORE ORNAMENTAL THAN USEFUL. Let us, if we dare, decide against this being *the question of questions*—but until we do so, let us admit it to be THE FIRST QUESTION IN THE POLITICS OF EVERY COLONY, (INDEPENDENTLY OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANY OTHER PART OF THE EMPIRE,) AS WELL AS OF EVERY COUNTRY, AND KEEP IT PERPETUALLY IN VIEW."

LET BRITAIN TAKE AN EXAMPLE FROM THE PATRIOTIC SELFISHNESS TO WHICH EXPERIENCE HAS DRIVEN THE UNITED STATES.

"It was under the deep feeling of responsibility now referred to, that I have from time to time, from 1845 downwards, written exposures of what, to me, seemed then and seemed still, *the Delusion of Free Trade*—untruthfully so called, as it is only a system of Free Imports, or the power to us to buy foreign labour, but not power to the foreigner to buy British labour. It was under the same feeling of deep responsibility that I have implored Canadians to take warning by the industrial *past and present* of the United States,—although these have not been nearly so bad (unpatriotic) as the industrial *past*, not to say *present*, of Canada. And it is under the same feeling that I now desire to hold up, to the British public at home, what I see is to be the more patriotic future, industrially, of the United States.

"And as I, in explanations in respect to the position of my great question on the other side of the Atlantic, have preferred to quote the language of that admirable English writer, Sergeant Byles, rather than to give them in my own—so I shall prefer making this important explanation, as to the present industrial position and prospects of the United States, in the words of a very clever recent American work, "*A History of the Whig Party*," *by* R. McKinsley Ormsby:*

"'President Jackson,' says the work alluded to, 'commenced his administration when the country was under the full tide of experiment in the principles of Madison, Munroe, and Adams. Our foreign and domestic policy was that established under these Presidents. The country was at the height of its prosperity as Jackson entered the presidential chair, and his term of administration seemed just long enough to work an entire revolution of the measures of his predecessors. The consequences of his acts were predicted; and if they fell as a legacy to his successor, it may be said, in the figure of the poet, that they were visitations to 'plague the inventor.' The grounds on which all his changes of policy were made were theoretical. There was at the time no occasion for complaint that the country was not prosperous and happy, as the prosperity of that day has not been exceeded. This the President acknowledged. The country had at previous periods passed through revulsions, panics, and all sorts of monetary distresses. The causes of such reverses and calamities had been examined into carefully, and a course of policy adopted, as was thought, that would avert the future recurrence of such convulsions in the business of the country. But the muniments provided against these revulsions by the safest statesmen, considering their experience as well as ability, that our country has produced, were all swept away by the administration of Jackson; and the insecurity for which our business and monetary systems were noted in early times, has continued to the present day. The fact is, WE ARE A COUNTRY WITHOUT ANY POLICY AT ALL EITHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC; WE ARE AT THE MERCY OF THE WORLD, AND ARE ONLY KEPT FROM BANKRUPTCY BY

* Published by Crosby, Nichols & Co., Boston.

AN UNCOMMON RUN OF GOOD FORTUNE.* With natural advantages only equal to other countries, we should long ago have been in the abyss of destitution and poverty. But to acquire our new lands, the millions of men and gold from Europe are constantly pouring in upon us; and as if to compensate us for our want of wisdom and foresight, some good natured deity has thrown into our lap rich treasures of the precious metal. WITH THESE PROVIDENTIAL ADVANTAGES WE CAN NEARLY KEEP CLEAR FROM DEBT TO FOREIGN NATIONS, BUT NOT QUITE. The day is at hand when our prosperity will depend more on our principles of economy than it has heretofore, and when nothing but attention to those principles will save us from the wretchedness of worse than colonial serfdom.

"'The resolution and fierceness with which General Jackson placed his foot upon that monster, the United States Bank, has been recited and sung for years. But the currency question is not one that can well be considered by itself. THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE ARE SO BLENDED WITH THE QUESTION OF CURRENCY, THAT THE LATTER CANNOT WELL BE DETACHED FROM THE OTHERS AND VIEWED SEPARATELY. THE CURRENCY IS NOT PROPERLY SPEAKING AN INTEREST; IT IS AN INSTRUMENT. Prosperity is less dependent on it than on the substantial interests of the country. Without this instrument of course there could be no business. It is to the community and the world what the blood is to the human body. It is a medium for the transmission of nutriment to all parts of the system, and indispensable to all growth or increase.

"'IF THE FARMER WOULD STRETCH OUT HIS MIND FROM THE LIMITS OF HIS FARM TO THE BOUNDS OF HIS COUNTRY, AND LOOK UPON THAT COUNTRY AS A GREAT FAMILY, TO BE PROVIDED FOR, GOVERNED, AND REGULATED ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AS EACH PRUDENT FAMILY IS CONTROLLED, he would at once become a political economist and statesman,† and find no difficulty in determining what measures are indispensable for the prosperity of the nation. Good common sense

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* "It will be seen that English Political Economy, introduced into America, has had also its uniformly debasing effects in Europe."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

† "The term Political Economist does not in America mean what it does in England, but more a philanthropist, or what I call a Patriotic or Social Economist."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

would be all that is requisite for a solution of the great questions that have so much agitated parties for years, if a person could only break through the mists that theorists and politicians have thrown over these subjects.

"'As with the family, the nation that consumes or imports more than it produces is on the road to bankruptcy. A fortunate concurrence of circumstances may for a while keep its tottering head from beating the earth; but, in the end, such a country must fall. These continually recurring monetary revulsions are but the too palpable effects of its crippled and debilitated faculties, showing that it is only with the utmost difficulty and pain that it can stagger along. This is the country, the improvident country, that has ever imported more than it has exported. The amount of the excess of imports over the exports is familiar to all who take the trouble to inspect the reports of the departments. A glance at the figures will show what reason would have required us to expect. Passion and party frenzy may blind a man to obvious facts, or render him indifferent to things dimly seen through the mists of prejudice; but every sensible and unbiassed mind will at once confess that a system which constantly exhausts, and never replenishes, our national resources, must be ruinous. Without going back further than to the administration of Munro, we see that the excess of our imports over exports—taking no notice of foreign goods exported included in the account—was, during his second term, upwards of $16,000,000. During J. Quincy Adams' term, upwards of $17,500,000; during General Jackson's first term, about $35,000,000; and, during the second term, upwards of $129,000,000. There has been scarcely a year since, that the imports have not greatly exceeded our exports, and the aggregate of the excess of our imports from Jackson's to Buchanan's administration, must amount to several hundred millions of dollars. The excess of our importations during the last term of President Polk was upwards of $114,000,000, and the excess from 1847 to 1857 is in round numbers upwards of $250,000,000!*

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* "An inspection of the tables annually presented by the Secretary of the Treasury will show the following astonishing facts: The specie imported during ten years, from 1847, immediately after the tariff of 1846, to 1857,

"'The only substantial check ever attempted for these undue importations were the tariff enactments of 1828, and 1842, and although they both produced marked effects, their continuance was too brief to mar the symmetry of our studied system of folly and stupidity. Modern secretaries have struggled to obscure the returns of our custom-houses, and to break the effect of their prophetic balances. The exportation of gold has been charged in the accounts of our exports, to render our foreign trade apparently

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including those two years (fiscal years) was,.....	$34,2088 99
Export of specie and bullion during same period,.....	343,062,217
Excess of exports over imports.....	$258,853,22 8
The total amount of imports of goods and specie during the same period was,.....	2,566,350,318
Exports, specie included,.....	2,512,129,741
Leaving a balance of indebtedness,.....	$54,220,577

Or thus:

Imports, exclusive of specie from 1847 to 1857.....	2,482,141,329
Exports, exclusive of specie " " "	2,169,067,524
Balance of trade against this country,.....	$313,073,805

What does this show but a clear loss to this country, in consequence of its want of policy, of upwards of *three hundred millions of dollars?* What a commentary on our national system! We have cast the specie exports since the California mines commenced their products, to show into whose pockets their treasures find their way. The reader need not be told that this is all wrong; that our commercial system should have been such as to have saved the products of our gold mines, and, instead of paying, to have received by foreign trade a balance of one or two hundred millions annually.

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FOREIGN PORTS.

Year ending June 30.	Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Specie and Bullion.	Total Exports.
1845..	$ 98,455,330	$ 7,584,781	$ 8,606,495	$114,646,606
1846..	101,718,042	7,865,206	3,905,268	113,488,516
1847..	150,574,844	6,166,754	1,907,024	158,648,622
1848..	130,203,709	7,986,806	15,841,616	154,032,131
1849..	131,710,081	8,641,091	5,404,648	145,755,820
1850..	134,900,233	9,475,493	7,522,994	151,898,720
1851..	173,620,138	10,295,121	29,472,752	218,388,011
1852..	154,931,147	12,037,043	42,674,135	209,642,325
1853..	189,869,162	13,096,213	27,486,875	230,452,250
1854..	215,157,504	21,661,137	41,422,423	278,241,064
1855..	192,751,135	26,158,368	56,247,343	275,156,846
1856..	266,438,051	14,781,372	45,745,485	326,964,908
1857..	278,906,713	14,917,047	69,136,922	362,960,682
1858..	241,351,033	20,660,241	52,633,147	324,644,421

more equal; and, in the imports of specie, the money brought by immigrants is alluded to as an item of importance, supposed to be large, but not to be stated! THE FACT IS, OUR POSITION IS A RUINOUS ONE, AND EVERY CANDID MAN MUST SEE THAT OUR POLICY MUST BE CHANGED OR OUR CALIFORNIAS, AND OTHER ACCIDENTAL RESOURCES, WILL NOT SAVE US MUCH LONGER FROM THE GULF OF RUIN.*

"'Since General Jackson's administration, our country has gone back to its earlier condition. Before the last war with England, Massachusetts asked but for Free Trade, as restrictions upon importations, it was thought, would diminish the business of her merchants and skippers. For a while, under the tariffs of 1816 and 1824, she invested largely in manufactures; but the inconstancy†

* "This is even more the truth with regard to England, and her colonies. Confidence in England exists merely in consequence of the continued arrival of Gold from Australia. And if this cannot be denied, our miserable Economists are self-convicted as unpatriotic, for they spurn THE SURE AND EASY REMEDY, AS IT IS THE ONLY REMEDY—BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES A LEGAL TENDER, TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE BANK HOLDS GOLD."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

† "What we want in Canada, too, is a feeling of permanency—a *feeling* of *certainty* that our tariff will prove *permanent*. All who are alive to the greatly increased debt of Canada know that the existence of this will *necessitate* the permanency of a tariff as high as our present one, otherwise it would be difficult (at least it would have been so prior to Mr. Wilson's Indian reversal of the Free Trade policy) to satisfy people that common sense will long remain *popular* now-a-days."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES FROM FOREIGN PORTS.

Year ending June 30.	Dutiable.	Free Goods.	Specie and Bullion.	Total Imports.
1845..	$ 95,106,724	$ 18,077,598	$ 4,070,242	$117,254,564
1846..	96,924,058	20,990,007	3,777,732	121,691,797
1847..	104,773,002	17,651,347	24,121,289	146,545,638
1848..	132,282,325	16,356,379	6,360,224	154,998,928
1849..	125,479,774	15,726,425	6,651,240	147,857,439
1850..	155,427,936	18,081,590	4,628,792	178,138,318
1851..	191,118,345	19,652,995	5,453,592	216,224,932
1852..	183,252,508	24,187,890	5,505,044	212,945,442
1853..	236,595,113	27,182,152	4,201,382	267,978,647
1854..	271,276,560	26,327,637	6,958,184	304,562,381
1855..	221,378,184	36,430,524	3,659,812	261,468,520
1856..	257,684,236	52,748,074	4,207,632	314,639,942
1857..	294,160,835	54,266,507	12,461,799	360,890,141
858..	202,293,875	61,044,779	19,274,496	282,613,150

of government in rendering protection to this interest has checked its extension, and the main interest of that state is again seen upon the ocean. But recently two of her leading statesmen, of her dominant party, proclaimed for free trade. For a few years past the commercial interests of the country have prospered and become extended with great rapidity. California and Australia have been treasures to the merchants as well as to the miners; and the extravagant consumption by our people of foreign, in preference to domestic goods, has caused the mercantile interest to flourish. But where, in the end, will this commerce land us?

"'Where are we to get our money to pay these constantly accruing balances against us?

"'Our free-trade friends say that the importations should be in excess, as the excess indicates the profits. Truly Jonathan is kind to take all his profits in nick-nacks, paying for his ships, labour, and expenses, out of his home purse!

"'The truth is, the correct policy for this country was overthrown by the powerful arm of General Jackson; and our leading statesmen, who plainly see the deplorable condition into which we are sinking, *admonished by the fate of Clay and Webster*, have not the moral courage to espouse the correct principles, and urge them upon the country. THE PEOPLE WILL BY DEGREES BECOME ENLIGHTENED UPON THE QUESTION OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, GET IN ADVANCE OF THEIR COWARDLY LEADERS, AND LEAD THEM TO THE RIGHT PATH.* It was a promising indication to see a Democratic Congress, by a constitutional majority, pass improvement bills over the veto of Mr. Pierce; and *the day is not far distant when tariff bills will be enacted either with or without the President's consent.* This will be brought about by sound judgment as a prudent precaution, or by the saddest experiences, which never apply their teaching in vain.†

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* "The same thing is occurring in England—the working or labouring classes are opening their eyes to the absurdity of their allowing it to be taken for granted that the upper and middle classes are more intelligent on the subject of labour than the labouring men themselves!"—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

† "'As evidence of the great change going on amongst the Democrats in regard

"'It has ever been a great fault of the people of this country to be governed more by party spirit than by ideas of state policy. Every countryman should think of his national family, as well as of his domestic circle. The substantial and permanent interests of the

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to the doctrine of Protection, we may mention the significant and highly encouraging fact that, during the political campaigns of 1858, many leading Democrats, in different parts of the country, emphatically announced themselves in favour of Protection. Leading Democrats in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and other States, did so. Mr. Hallet was decided upon the question; and from the Boston Post, the leading organ of the administration, in New England, we extract the following, by the *Post* copied from the *Pennsylvanian*, a leading Democratic paper:

"'HENRY CLAY ON THE TARIFF.—To these old line Whigs who sincerely regard the opinions of Henry Clay, the following on the subject of a tariff are commended at this time. In 1844, when Henry Clay was the Whig nominee for President, he delivered a speech before a meeting of his political friends in Raleigh, North Carolina, which speech we find in the *Clay Bugle* of July 25th, 1844, a Whig campaign paper, published at Harrisburg, by J. Knabb, Esq. In this speech Mr. Clay makes use of the following emphatic language:

"'Let the amount which is requisite for an economical administration of the government, when we are not engaged in war, be raised exclusively on foreign imports; and, in adjusting a tariff for that purpose, let such discriminations be made as will foster and encourage our own domestic industry. All parties ought to be satisfied with a tariff for revenue and discriminations for protection.'

"'So said Henry Clay, in 1844; so said the Democracy from the earliest stages of the tariff issue, and so say they now, in every public meeting that passes resolutions concerning the tariff. They have been honest and consistent in their course, while the Black Republicans have been dishonest in every act with reference to this important issue. Will the friends of Henry Clay join with that party which is opposing every principle which he laid down in his Raleigh speech? Can they strike hands over an issue which their great leader would not accept were he present? Henry Clay said, 'all parties ought to be satisfied with a tariff for revenue and discriminations for protection.' The Black Republicans are not satisfied with this and hence are opposed to the principles of Henry Clay. Yet this faction asks the support of old-line Whigs! Such an appeal is an insult to the intelligence of the sincere admirers of Henry Clay.

"'The rate at which this country is going to ruin is now pretty plainly apparent to every intelligent man, and is made conspicuous by our annual trade returns. It seems that we import of cotton fabrics about one-half the amount we manufacture, which consume, of the raw material, upwards of 650,000 bales per annum, worth upwards of $30,000,000. The value of the articles wrought from that raw material is nearly $60,000,000; of which some 6 or 8,000,000—a coarser fabric—is exported. A country like this, with sole command of raw material, with abundance of manufacturing skill and enterprise,

country are not so varied as to be beyond the comprehension of any person of ordinary information and judgment, if he would exclude from them the mists of speculating theorists, and look at them in the light of common sense.

"'AS WITH THE FAMILY, IF THE NATION WOULD BECOME RICH IT MUST SELL MORE THAN IT BUYS.

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and with every necessary facility for manufacturing, imports four times as much value of cotton fabrics as it exports!

"'It is evident enough that this country can never prosper until it establishes a correct policy. Political parties have been a great injury to us, and that injury, unless the people shall profit by the lessons of the past, and change their course for the future, will continue. We must cease our sectional jealousies, and all endeavor to promote the best interests of the country. The Northern man must not think it his mission to overturn, by civil war and disunion, what God has himself established; but we must feel grateful to the enterprising and courageous Saxon who will brave a tropic sun to supply us with the material which in a short time may make New England the counting-room of the trade of the world. And the Southern man must recollect that the God that formed this country for a great nation, or empire, never intended that any one part of it should enjoy all of its advantages. Manufactures must have their place, commerce its centre, and agriculture its field. The Southerner must recollect that his is an agricultural section, and that his true policy consists in securing a good, safe, and permanent market for his produce. To endeavor to seek that out of the sphere, and at the expense, of his own country, cannot be safe. He must learn to feel grateful in the reflection that the people of the North, acting with the rest of the Union, are able to open that good and permanent market; and he must cease to be annoyed with the evidences of thrift which Northern industry everywhere evinces, and submit to the conditions on which Providence has permitted him to develope the wealth of the South. How admirably, how cunningly this Union is formed! Pennsylvania, its back-bone, is of iron, facing the East, upon her right hand, the South—upon the left, the North; the grain-growing regions in the far West so situated as to conveniently supply the great manufacturing cities of the North, the iron manufactures of Pennsylvania, and the cotton and sugar planters of the South, with direct communication with all parts of the world at every point of the compass. That is, saying nothing of the Hudson and the prospects of a ship-canal to Lake Erie, there is the great channel of communication by the Lakes and St. Lawrence, by the Mississippi river, and by the Columbia river, which will shortly be connected by railroad with the head-waters of the Mississippi. By a glance at the physical constitution of this country, it is easy to see that no ambition can profit it that is not an ambition for the whole country. No part can possibly be built up, on a sound and enduring basis, without building up the whole; and he who would by his policy retard and cripple the energies of a part, aims a blow at the whole."

THIS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL ECONOMY MUST BE BASED. UNLESS THE POLICY ADOPTED SHALL ATTAIN THIS END, IT WILL BE AN ERRONEOUS ONE. The truth of this position will be acknowledged by every one. To realize this policy is the aim of every nation on earth saving the United States. There is not a nation in Europe that does not struggle, and generally with success, to keep the balance of trade in its favour. Even France, since the accession to power of Louis Napoleon, although encountering many obstacles, and forced to a less favourable system than she would desire, has, as a general thing, especially during peace, exported more than she has imported. Her balances have been comparatively healthy.

"'THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL LEARN BEFORE LONG THAT THE ONLY RELIABLE AND STEADY MARKET FOR BREADSTUFFS IS TO BE FOUND AT HOME. Occasional wars abroad, or a famine, may create a temporary demand for grain; but it is a wretched nation that cannot as a general thing, furnish its own bread. The Yankee, who would feed an Englishman with his bread, will be obliged to butter it well with duties. A LITTLE REFLECTION WILL SATISFY US THAT WE MUST LOOK FOR A SALE OF THE PRODUCE OF OUR FARMS TO OUR DOMESTIC MARKETS.* It is the calculation of every nation to be independent in the necessaries of life, and to secure this end is the policy of every nation shaped. America is rich beyond measure in agricultural resources, but their development and the realization of the wealth they may afford, will be at a period far remote, unless other interests on which they are directly dependent are regarded. Commerce, as one thing, is necessary; but how can commerce be sustained without a healthy foreign trade? A TRADE THAT IMPOVERISHES THE COUNTRY MUST SOON CONSUME THE LIFESPRINGS OF COMMERCE, AND ALL INDUSTRY WILL BE PARALYZED.'"

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* "This is just my motto in other words,—'*A Home Market for our Farmer, the best Reciprocity.*'"—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

"CANADA MUST MANUFACTURE.—THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE MANUFACTURES OF THE EMPIRE NOW BECOME AN URGENT POLITICAL NECESSITY, UNLESS THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COLONIES IS TO BE LEFT WITH MUCH WORSE REMUNERATION, THAN IF THESE WERE SEPARATE COUNTRIES WITH A SEPARATE MANUFACTURING SYSTEM, AND UNLESS BRITAIN THE EMPIRE IS TO CONTINUE TO BE SACRIFICED TO BRITAIN THE COUNTRY.

"In a great speech in the House of Lords on the 14th August, 1838, Lord LYNDHURST thus described the coming into existence of the German Zollverein:—'Now the petitioners desired him to call the attention of their Lordships to the circumstances connected with this extraordinary decrease (in England) of trade; and the first point to which he would direct their notice, was the new Prussian commercial system. Everybody acquainted with that proceeding knew, and their Lordships knew well, the great difficulties which Prussia had to encounter in bringing the different states of Germany to accede to that agreement. Not only did it occasion a decrease of the exports of this country, but manufacturing establishments had started up in central Germany; and in consequence of the cheapness of labour, the advantage of water power, and the assistance of machinery exported from this country, they were now enabled not only to supply their own wants, but to contend with us, and to contend successfully, even with reference to our great staple commodity in the foreign markets. In the United States of America, which was always considered our own especial market, the cottons of Germany and the hardware of Germany could now be purchased at a lower price than similar articles the manufacture of this country.' And in reply, Viscount MELBOURNE (the then premier) said:—'The noble Lord had pointed the attention of the government to various subjects which he conceived to be, and which unquestionably were, of the very greatest importance; and in the first place, he had directed their attention to the commercial union on the continent of Europe, instituted under the influence and guidance of Prussia, and which united in one common band of fiscal regulations so many of the states of Germany. That state of things might be hostile, or it might not, to the interests of England; but if *it were hostile, we could not complain, for it was contrary to no treaty*

whatever; it was a right which those states had a right to enter into if they thought proper; and which no skill, ability, nor diplomatic address, could have induced them not to adopt if they thought it best and most conducive to their own interests.' "

" Canadians thus see in its proper light the attempt of the manufacturers of Sheffield, and other places in England, through the Colonial Office, to coerce Canada, and make us legislate for the interests of England, not for the interests of Canada, a thing which (as Lord Melbourne has so well shewn) England dared not attempt with an independent country.

" And the *North British Review*, a high Free Trade authority, relates that since 1837 the consumption of raw cotton has increased more than twice as fast in the continental states that have adhered to the protective system as in Great Britain, and at a more rapid rate than in the United States, which has been foolish enough to tamper with her tariff after it was put, in 1842, on the most patriotic footing."*

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* The Reviewer goes on to say: " We have now many rivals, where thirty years ago we had none; we formerly supplied nations, which now partially or entirely manufacture for themselves; we formerly had the monopoly of many markets, where we are now met and undersold by young competitors. To several quarters we now send only that portion of their whole demand which our rivals are at present unable to supply. A far larger proportion of our production now than formerly is exported to distant and unproducing countries. A far larger proportion now than formerly exported to our own colonies, and our remote possessions. More, relatively, is sent to Africa and America, and less to Europe. Countries which we formerly supplied with the finished article, now take from us only the half-finished article or the raw material. Austria meets us in Italy; Switzerland and Germany meet us in America; the United States meet us in Brazil and China. We formerly sent yarn to Russia: we now send cotton-wool. We formerly sent plain and printed calicoes to Germany: we now send mainly the yarn for making them. All these countries produce more cheaply than we do—but as yet they are not producing *enough*: we therefore *supplement* them. Partly by our old restrictive system, partly by the natural effect of an increasing population, they have been driven from the plough to the loom —or have been driven to add the loom to the plough; and henceforth our manufacturing production can increase only, not by underselling or successfully competing with our rivals, but by the *demand of the world increasing faster than our rivals can supply it.* This is more or less the case with all our principal manufactures; it is pre-eminently the case with our chief manufacture, the cotton."

" Statisticians in England have always either misconceived or misrepresented the success of American manufacturing. The following figures, however, will speak for themselves :—

The cotton manufacturers in the United States consumed,

	Bales.	Value.
In 1858—	450,000	$20,020,000
In 1859—	700,000	38,500,000
Increase—	250,000	$18,480,000

" The value in 1859, being nearly double what it was in 1858. We know that the demand has been so great at home, that the Americans have not had any great inducement to look abroad, but still we know that Canada alone buys from them (shewing that these manufactures are cheaper than the same goods in England) about eight millions of dollars worth per annum ; and from the latest weekly report of the New York Dry Goods Trade, I extract the following: ' *The Export Trade is active*, and still on the increase. We are competing encouragingly with the English in low cotton goods among the Chinese and in India.' Now, until through the adoption of an American Zollverein we get for Canada a greatly extended market for her manufactures, we might have the alleviation of being able to pay them away for our tea and other articles of import, if Parliament would only now evince so decided a determination to sustain Canadian manufactures as to enable parties to go into them with confidence. To encourage Parliament in this, I shall here give a statement of the exports of manufactures by the United States to foreign countries.—The amount, $30,372,180 is truly astonishing when we reflect on the unpatriotic character, in regard to American industry, of the governing party in the U. S., and on the perpetual attempts by English statesmen to induce them to adopt a suicidal policy in this respect.

Statement exhibiting the Value of Manufactured Articles of Domestic Produce exported from the United States to Foreign Countries, 30th June, 1858. From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Articles.	1858.	Articles.	1858.
Wax	$85,926	Hemp and flax—	
Refined sugar	200,724	cloth and thread..	1,326
Chocolate	2,304	bags and all manufactures of	87,766
Spirits from grain	476,722	Wearing apparel	210,695
Spirits from molasses	1,267,691	Earthen and stone ware..	36,783
Spirits from oth. materials	249,432	Combs and buttons	46,349
Molasses	115,893	Brushes and brooms	49,153
Vinegar	24,336	Billiard tables & appa'tus.	8,791
Beer, ale, porter, cider	59,532	Umbrellas, parasols, and	
Linseed oil and spirits of		sunshades	6,339
turpentine	1,137,507	Manufac. of India rubber,	313,379
Lard oil	60,958	Leather and morocco (not	
Household furniture	932,499	sold per pound)	13,099
Coaches and other car'gs.	777,921	Fire engines & apparatus,	7,220
Hats	126,525	Printing presses and types	106,489
Saddlery	55,280	Musical instruments	99,775
Tallow candles and soap		Books and maps	209,774
and other candles	934,303	Paper and stationery	229,991
Snuff and tobacco	2,410,224	Paints and varnish	131,217
Leather boots and shoes	1,269,494	Manufactures of glass	214,608
Cordage	212,840	Manufactures of tin	24,186
Gunpowder	365,173	Manufactures of pewter	
Salt	162,650	lead	27,327
Lead	48,119	Manufactures of marble	
Iron—pig, bar, nails	405,931	and stone	138,590
castings	464,415	Manufactures of gold and	
all manufact's of..	4,059,528	silver, and gold leaf...	26,386
Copper and brass, manu-		Quicksilver	129,184
factures of	1,985,223	Artifi'al flowers & jewelry	28,901
Medicinal drugs	681,278	Trunks and valises	59,441
Cotton piece-goods—		Bricks and lime	103,821
printed or colored.	2,069,194	Oil cake	1,435,861
uncolored	1,782,025	Articles not enumerated.	2,601,788
twist, yarn, thread			
other manufac. of.	1,800,285	Total	$30,372,180

"And to turn now to the actual annual production of manufactures in the United States, it may not be generally known that this amounts to more than three times the whole amount of foreign manufactures which the Americans import, a circumstance in which lies the real advantage of the United States both in money (although the United States have nothing deserving the name of Banks, while Canada has the best Banks in the world), and in employment,

over Canada. I have at hand no statistics later than the following, given in the official report of the last Census published in 1855:—

"The American national census of 1850 directed inquiries to be made into all the products of industry, including the name of the corporation, company or individual, the name of the business or manufacture, capital invested in real and personal estate, quantity, kind and value of raw materials used, and of manufactured products, the kind of motive power, machinery, structure or resource,* the number of hands employed, with their wages. In compiling the results of that census, only a few generalizations were made, embracing the aggregate product of manufactures, mining and mechanic arts, and special summaries of cotton, woollen, iron and salt manufactures, distilleries, breweries and fisheries. All kinds of mercantile, commercial or trading business, where no special article was produced or manufactured, but which were confined to dealing and exchange of articles and merchandise or manufacture, were *expressly excepted.* The general results of the census in New York and the United States, as far as published, were as follow:—

Manufactures, Mining, and Mechanic Arts.	*New-York.*	*United States.*
Individuals and establishments,	23,553	121,855
Capital invested,	$ 99,904,405	$ 527,209,193
Raw materials used,	134,655,674	554,655,038
Hands employed—Males,	147,737	719,479
Females,	51,612	225,512
Annual wages,	49,131,000	229,736,377
Annual product, value of,	237,597,249	1,013,336,463
Per cent. profit,	53.86	43.43
Cotton Manufactures.		
Establishments,	86	1,094
Capital invested,	$4,176,920	$74,500,931
Raw materials used—Bales cotton,	37,778	641,240
Tons of coal,	1,539	121,099
Raw materials, value of,	$1,985,973	$34,835,056

* "These were defined to include, 1st, *motive power*, as water, steam, horse, wind, or otherwise; 2d, *machinery*, as number of spindles, looms, presses, mills and runs of stones; saw mills and number of saws, or other appropriate amount of the kind and quantity of machinery; 3d, *structure, or resources*, as furnaces, number of fires; bloomeries, number of fires; stone quarries, mines, ships, vessels, boats used for fishing," &c.

Cotton Manufactures.	*New York.*	*United States.*
Hands employed—Males,	2,632	33,150
Females,	3,688	59,136
Average monthly wages—Male,	18 32	....
Female,	9 38	....
Annual product, value of,	$3,591,989	$61,869,184
Woollen Manufactures.		
Establishments,	249	1,559
Capital invested,	$ 4,459,370	$28,118,650
Raw materials used—Pounds of wool,	12,538,786	70,862,829
Tons of coal,	....	46,370
Raw materials, value of,	$3,838,292	$25,755,991
Hands employed—Males,	4,262	22,678
Females,	2,412	16,574
Annual product,	7,030,604	value 43,207,555
Annual product of all the three departments—value in U. S..		$1118,413,202

"From the above it will be seen that the value of the annual production of manufactures in the United States is the enormous sum of eleven hundred and eighteen millions, four hundred and thirteen thousand, two hundred and two dollars!

"But many of my readers may be more astonished to be told that even in the comparatively commercial state of New York (with which and Canada there is a better comparison) the manufactures are as much in annual value as all the foreign imports of the whole United States. From the following table it will be seen that at the last census, the value of raw materials used in the single State of New York annually, was, five years ago, one hundred and seventy-eight millions of dollars: showing that the value of labour and profit to the manufacturer (including interest on capital invested) was one hundred and forty millions of dollars.

STATEMENT of the leading Manufactures of the State of New York, according to the last Census; including every branch in which the cash value of manufactured articles exceeds one million of dollars annually.

MANUFACTURES.	Number of establishments.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.					ESTABLISHMENT.		CAPITAL INVESTED.		CASH VALUE.	
		Men.	Women	Boys under 18 years	Girls under 18 years	Total.	Using water power.	Using steam power.	In real Estate.	In Tools and Machinery.	Of raw materials used.	Of Manuf. articles.
Agricultural implements generally	59	1,008	.....	57	.....	1,065	13	32	$408,100	$172,825	$692,778	$1,738,091
Blacksmiths' shops	1,921	3,199	.....	115	.....	3,314	22	14	878,164	526,392	784,476	2,073,797
Brass and copper foundries	48	430	.....	124	.....	554	2	19	250,700	222,100	608,314	1,304,300
Furnaces	388	7,959	.....	793	.....	8,752	91	198	2,903,350	2,070,025	4,126,127	9,725,775
Gold and silver refining establishments	7	73	.....	7	.....	80	.....	5	112,000	23,500	2,095,000	2,190,000
Iron manufactories	78	4,829	.....	566	.....	5,395	61	12	1,777,000	504,655	3,127,909	6,556,220
Iron railing manufactories	81	804	.....	154	.....	958	.....	13	272,000	179,450	369,954	1,224,400
Machine shops	189	3,404	.....	265	.....	3,669	54	110	1,216,450	960,776	1,537,553	3,411,981
Safe manufactories	11	520	.....	8	.....	582	1	9	115,750	111,159	289,685	1,076,681
Silverware manufactories	143	107	277	65	.....	449	.....	25	495,080	307,685	2,447,761	4,322,061
Tin and sheet iron manufactories	458	4,767	19	211	12	5,009	.....	5	674,750	260,496	1,504,389	3,000,264
Carpet manufactories	18	1,155	556	116	64	1,891	6	4	265,270	394,200	934,745	2,079,703
Cotton factories	86	1,849	3,416	1,501	1,566	8,332	71	31	1,785,350	2,465,401	2,492,531	4,621,133
Paper mills	109	922	569	116	67	1,674	86	12	880,030	664,870	1,511,724	2,813,147
Rope manufactories	29	399	52	292	129	872	2	7	217,650	276,234	1,550,624	2,448,798
Woollen cloth and yarn factories	184	1,531	1,014	361	279	3,185	161	9	1,039,949	802,450	2,054,882	3,392,207
Bakeries	196	816	71	145	12	1,044	.....	10	516,825	595,013	2,618,504	3,356,769
Breweries	128	1,006	12	114	1	1,133	6	39	1,489,024	750,705	2,698,389	4,448,352
Camphene distilleries	3	85	.....	.....	.....	85	.....	2	140,500	100,300	1,050,000	1,670,000
Chandleries and soap factories	111	591	15	74	5	685	.....	18	635,810	492,610	2,820,511	4,096,106
Cotton printing establishments	7	266	73	91	80	510	3	2	93,660	111,968	817,081	2,352,877
Distilleries	88	803	.....	2	.....	805	15	39	755,400	432,897	6,267,824	8,681,061
Fish and whale oil manufactories	11	144	.....	9	6	159	.....	5	269,300	86,000	1,439,025	1,904,900
Gas manufactories	26	1,211	.....	3	.....	1,214	.....	4	1,026,321	2,433,349	1,445,783	3,279,031
Lard oil manufactories	8	87	.....	.....	.....	87	.....	5	82,000	39,000	1,557,440	1,897,840
Malt manufactories	30	241	.....	.....	.....	241	2	10	383,400	84,300	1,516,336	1,835,279
Oil mills	27	159	.....	11	.....	170	18	4	156,200	75,230	1,032,420	1,316,627
Salt manufactories	193	980	99	40	24	1,143	2	4	1,107,800	54,275	832,260	1,488,363
Sugar and syrup refineries	15	1,613	9	9	.....	1,631	.....	10	1,274,000	1,258,100	6,511,500	12,175,350
White lead manufactories	9	369	.....	1	.....	370	2	8	221,000	120,730	888,487	1,542,663

Statement of the leading Manufactures of the State of New York—Continued.

Manufactures.	No. of establishments.	Number of Persons Employed.					Establishment.		Capital Invested.		Cash Value.	
		Men.	Women	Boys under 18 years	Girls under 18 years	Total.	Using water power.	Using steam power.	In real Estate.	In Tools and Machinery.	Of raw materials used.	Of Manuf. articles.
Stove manufactories	35	1,450	.....	118	.....	1,568	1	22	$567,300	$131,563	710,987	1,908,670
Steam engine and boiler manufactories	28	3,338	16	164	.....	3,518	.....	18	1,272,300	860,350	2,012,112	3,841,306
Ship building	86	3,066	.....	220	.....	3,286	.....	9	1,287,700	229,860	1,928,308	4,664,811
Ship rigging	2	86	.....	.....	.....	86	.....	.....	23,000	5,000	1,040,000	1,700,000
House building	88	1,447	29	20	.....	1,496	1	5	482,130	77,820	395,531	1,217,700
Sash and blind manufactories	213	1,121	.....	90	.....	1,211	89	50	393,475	245,605	471,281	1,189,042
Car factories and repair shops	26	1,543	.....	4	.....	1,547	1	18	420,030	264,784	679,239	1,274,768
Coach and wagon manufactories	1,397	6,042	12	328	9	6,391	103	68	1,665,577	471,530	1,712,256	5,005,125
Grist mills	1,475	3,326	6	107	8	3,447	1,154	102	8,056,165	2,117,373	42,345,756	51,501,358
Carpenters' shops	232	1,272	.....	74	.....	1,346	2	9	295,415	68,180	727,958	1,482,992
Coopers' shops	661	2,688	2	166	1	2,857	23	10	373,358	97,722	898,635	1,910,489
Planing mills	98	1,065	.....	69	.....	1,134	19	70	647,050	422,250	2,111,744	3,121,297
Saw mills	4,946	12,906	49	129	3	13,087	3,834	492	7,895,423	1,997,814	7,386,197	14,655,103
Brick manufactories	269	4,458	.....	242	.....	4,700	31	21	725,104	378,610	269,401	1,719,635
Marble manufactories	139	1,737	.....	246	.....	1,983	7	14	555,055	158.617	201,876	1,886,818
Stone cutting establishments	60	1,299	.....	108	.....	1,407	1	3	391,285	39,225	404,115	7,165,950
Boot and shoe shops	1,463	7,792	2,069	391	120	10,372	1	.....	921,089	140,851	2,628,554	6,063,951
Harness, trunk and saddle manufactories	594	1,485	13	114	1	1,613	.....	.....	421,521	60,050	816,804	1,580,492
Morocco factories	30	410	66	27	6	509	4	7	180,900	42,400	1,301,602	2,899,829
Tanneries	863	5,381	43	99	2	5,525	418	125	2,781,802	585,211	9,670,386	15,642,383
Cabinet making shops	606	4,369	95	276	6	4,746	87	44	862,894	449,908	1,371,919	4,510,992
Glove and mitten manufactories	69	626	2,670	53	1	3,350	11	3	57,250	15,380	749,370	1,202,180
Hat and cap manufactories	123	1,472	637	302	775	3,186	3	13	384,642	157,286	2,380,204	4,029,780
Tailor shops	561	8,595	12,484	176	106	21,361	.....	.....	1,549,036	247,367	6,980,322	11,842,929
Umbrella and parasol manufactories	21	103	739	9	12	863	.....	.....	67,800	21,700	733,348	1,176,065
Butcher shops	87	342	.....	9	.....	351	.....	2	122,394	20,557	2,355,371	3,113,163
Tobacco and segar manufactories	142	1,134	83	584	119	1,920	10	19	456,378	128,603	1,244,166	2,261,884
Unennumerated manufactories	133	1,765	374	292	44	2,475	4	13	891,270	807,241	927,707	1,595,815
Piano-forte manufactories	73	1,538	.....	113	.....	1,651	4	11	714,607	76,944	646,780	2,683,947
Total above $1,000,000 each	19,131	123,183	25,569	9,780	3,458	162,100	6,426	1,813	$56,924,783	$26,896,966	$150,632,561	$258,902,250
All others	5,702	31,976	12,202	5,956	2,775	52,799	1,125	631	14,205,624	8,322,604	27,761,768	58,526,081
Total in State of New York	24,833	155,159	37,771	15,736	6,233	214,899	7,551	2,444	$71,130,407	$35,219,570	$178,394,329	$317,428,331

"PROTECTED MANUFACTURES ARE SICKLY."

"But '*Protected Manufactures are sickly*,' say the English Political Economists,—'A metaphorical expression this—(replies a talented English writer) constantly repeated, little contradicted, and therefore by the half-informed believed. Whatever a man hears or reads constantly without contradiction, he is apt to believe. Sale, the translator of the Koran, by constantly poring over it, is said to have become a Mahometan.'

"'But this proposition is so far from being true, that a slight review of the history of any manufacture disproves it.

"'All great manufactures had their origin in the protective system. Take our own, the greatest and least sickly of any. All our own manufactures took their rise in a system of protective duties, so high as to amount to prohibitions. In addition to this, owing to the fearful hostilities that raged in Europe for nearly a quarter of a century before 1815, we enjoyed a further accidental monopoly of the manufacturing industry of the world. And this stringent protection has not only created manufactures, but created them where they would not naturally have existed, in spite of great natural disadvantages. Other nations have coal and iron ore as well as we. The United States are even richer in this respect. But other nations have also, what we have not; they have native raw materials. It has been justly observed, that GREAT BRITAIN IS SINGULARLY POOR IN THE RAW MATERIALS, WHICH CONSTITUTES THE BASIS OF THE GREATER PORTION OF HER MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY. We have no cotton, no silk, no fine wool. Even our best iron for the manufacture of hardware comes from Sweden; our oils, gums, colours, woods, from the ends of the earth.

"'Next to us in manufacturing industry, is France. Her manufacturing industry, though still inferior to ours, has nevertheless, since the peace, augmented in an even greater ratio, but under strict and jealous protection.

"'No political parties can differ more widely than do the partisans of the exiled head of the house of Bourbon (really including the larger portion of the upper and educated classes) from the Orleanists and middle classes; or than these again from the republicans,

propagandists, socialists and ultra reformers. Yet on the subject of protection (with the exception of here and there a speculative enthusiast, and a few wine-growers in the South) they are all agreed. Protection to French industry, from the time of Colbert downwards, has been, and will be the policy of whatever party is uppermost in France; and in this policy, and this alone, will the dominant party receive the support of all other parties. The French partisans of free trade being mostly speculative and literary men, we might have supposed that the French newspaper press, rich as it is in literary talent of the first order, or that at least a considerable portion of it, would be favourable to their views. But it is not so. Nay, the very newspaper which has been for many years the advocate of progress and liberal views, the *Constitutionnel*, is and always has been, the most determined champion of protection. In fact, among all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the metropolis and in the provinces, the doctrines of protection prevail and flourish. The stupendous natural boundaries of the country, the very Alps and Pyrenees themselves, do not repose on their everlasting foundations more securely than the artificial barriers that protect and foster the native industry of France. (Look at the overwhelming majority of all parties in the recent debate of the National Assembly.)

"'After France comes Germany. Let any one, before the late struggles, have visited the countries embraced by the Zollverein. To say that protection has there *produced* manufacturing prosperity, would be to beg the question. But one thing is certain, that exactly *co-incident in time and place* with the most stringent protective laws, has arisen a manufacturing industry and production of wealth, without an approach to a parallel in all the former history of Germany. On every side are seen rising mills, factories, workshops, and warehouses, teeming with an industrious and busy population; and SO FAR FROM AGRICULTURE BEING NEGLECTED, IT NEVER MADE MORE RAPID PROGRESS, to say nothing of the mining, metallurgical industry, which has also received the most astonishing impetus. Yet with us—the richest country in the world—the Zollverein, in proportion to the vast extent, multitudinous population and increasing wealth, has little trade. But as she has protected

herself from the influx of our manufactures, she has undoubtedly been growing richer and busier. Nay, hardware, the product of protected German industry, is actually finding its way into Birmingham itself, and articles of German manufacture are superseding articles of Birmingham make. THE MORE PROTECTED ARE BEGINNING TO BEAT THE LESS PROTECTED MANUFACTURES ON THEIR OWN GROUND. The Birmingham people have no power to retaliate. German tariffs take care of that. German thinkers, DEEPER AND MORE INDEPENDENT THAN THE ENGLISH, have exposed the shallowness of those theories, which have turned the heads of our rulers. Princes, ministers, philosophers and people, are agreed to maintain the protection which has so abundantly justified their sagacity.

"'Look at Russia. Examine the protective and jealous tariff of that infant but colossal state: then contemplate its results. Take the testimony of that most unexceptionable witness, Mr. Cobden. He has recently visited the protected textile manufactures of Russia, which, but for protection, would never have had existence. And what does he say? That the Russians are to be our customers for cotton goods, and to take them in exchange for the boundless importations of corn from the Black Sea? Vain delusion! According to him THESE PROTECTED MANUFACTURES, WHICH SHOULD, IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR RECEIVED THEORIES, HAVE BEEN SICKLY AND STUNTED, ARE NOW SO ADVANCED AND FLOURISHING AS TO THREATEN A RIVALRY WITH GREAT BRITAIN HERSELF. And every branch of human industry and art is, by the same means, beginning to flourish and expand in an empire, which stretching from west to east, and from east to west again, in almost unbroken continuity around Europe, Asia, and America, extends from Archangel nearly to Constantinople, embracing some of the finest climates and soils in the world, connected and concentrated as they will soon become by its new iron highways. Within her borders are cherished and naturalized the productions of all lands. We have just seen in England specimens of the finest steel from native Russian iron, fabricated in Russia, not only into the swords, bayonets, and lances of an overwhelming military power, but into table cutlery and tools, that you might suppose to have been turned out at Birmingham and Sheffield; while the gold and silver plate,

the diamonds, the jewellery, the exquisite silks, the gold and silver tissues and brocade, dispute the prize with Paris and Lyons. Storch, the Political Economist, once persuaded the Russian government to give the free trade system a trial. It was tried. IT DISMALLY FAILED, AND WAS ABANDONED. ALL ARE NOW AGREED THAT PROTECTION IS THE TRUE POLICY OF RUSSIA; AND ALL FIND, THAT IN RUSSIA, AS EVERY WHERE ELSE, IT IS THE SURE ROAD TO PROSPERITY AND POWER.

" 'Take now a small state, Belgium. In proportion to her area, her manufacturing industry is perhaps greater than that of any other country, not excepting the United Kingdom itself. But in Belgium, not only has the protective system long flourished, but the protecting duties are now higher than ever. Belgium is the very paradise of protection. NAY, THERE IS EVEN A BOUNTY ON EXPORTATION.* Superficial observers call it an absurd tax on the many for the benefit of a few. But those who know the facts of the case, and will be at the pains to trace its effects, and assert the liberty of independent judgment, find it the cheapest mode in a season of great danger and difficulty, of supporting the apparent surplus of an immense population. Many who superciliously and arrogantly censured the king and government of Belgium, for this flagrant breach of their dry and barren rules, would have found greater difficulty in preserving that little and defenceless kingdom, not only in peace, but PROSPERITY, AMIDST THE STORMS OF SURROUNDING REVOLUTION. Here again, as elsewhere, protected manufacturing industry has overflown on the soil. Land, by nature a mere sand, has actually become the most fertile in Europe, and supports a larger population than any other.

" ' Cross the Atlantic, and look at the past and present policy of the United States. For some years after the last war, low import duties were tried. The effects were ruinous; they were abandoned

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* " Will not the dullest perceive that by means of a Bounty on her exportation of cotton goods for a few years, Canada could manage to buy her Teas in China with her cotton manufactures. She would be buying these Teas much cheaper practically, even if not in apparent *Money* price."---ISAAC BUCHANAN.

for duties avowedly protective. Our Economists prognosticated mischief, but the result was prosperity, and a vast extension of the cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures. Branches of industry, which in the presence of free imports from England, would never have had even a beginning, now threaten rivalry.

"'Protection! protection! is now the instinctive cry of the nation, and the settled policy of the government. Enormous duties, though lately somewhat moderated, are at this hour levied on all our manufactures for the avowed purpose of protection. American cotton-mills have risen up, and are beginning to buy away, on the spot, the cotton from our Manchester manufacturers. A powerful party are actually calling for an increase of protection, although American protected manufactures are beginning to make their appearance in our market.

"'Who is the man of all the American citizens, by age, experience, sound practical wisdom, high character, and great natural talent, best qualified to occupy the presidential chair? Impartial judges will say, Henry Clay. It is well known that he is a staunch advocate of protection, and declares Free Trade to be a flattering illusion, destructive, in his judgment, to the solid interests of America. What says Daniel Webster? His talent, penetration, experience and judgment no man doubts. He once was a free trader; but he now declares that Free Trade is erroneous in theory, and would in practice inflict mortal injury on his country. But the actual President, General Taylor, is an avowed protectionist. More enlightened society is not to be found in the world than in the city of Boston,* yet there, as elsewhere, and among the most enlightened and influential classes, the doctrines of protection reign triumphant.

"'What is the consequence of this policy? Or, that we may not be charged with the old sophism, "*Post hoc ergo propter hoc.*" What is co-incident with this misdirected industry? No longer (as during the low import duties) general distress, but prodigious prosperity. Notwithstanding a most expensive war, the United States never were so prosperous as at this hour.

"'Here are instances of nations adopting the protective system.

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* Appropriately called "The Athens of America."

In every case manufactures have been *created*, not sickly and stunted, but healthy and flourishing; in almost every case industry has been *forced* into an artificial channel, but the result has been solid and prodigious prosperity. Need we wonder, that in every one of these states in Europe and America, protection continues the universal creed of the people, and the settled immovable policy of the government.

"'I mistake. One of these states, and the one that has flourished most under the protective system, has suddenly altered its opinion, and altered its policy. SO IT ONCE CHANGED ITS MIXED AND FREE GOVERNMENT FOR A REPUBLIC. AND AS IT SOON REVERTED TO ITS ANCIENT CONSTITUTION, SO WILL IT ERE LONG REVERT TO ITS ANCIENT COMMERCIAL POLICY. THAT POLICY WILL THEN BE TREBLY JUSTIFIED, AS WELL BY THE RUIN ATTENDING ITS DESERTION, AS BY THE PROSPERITY FOLLOWING ITS ORIGINAL ADOPTION, AND ITS FINAL RESUMPTION.

"'But the maxim that protected manufactures are sickly and stunted, must not escape so easily. There are other tests of its truth.

"'Where are the great and flourishing manufactures that have never enjoyed protection?—that were not produced and cradled by it?

"'Let the great Exhibition of 1851 reply to the interrogatory. Stand in the centre of the magnificent transept, and look around. Then go and explore the naves, the sides, the galleries. The marvels of industry created and nurtured by protection shine everywhere, above, below, around, and on all sides. But what has unprotected industry to show? If unregulated exchanges be (as you say) not only the most congenial and invigorating, but the natural atmosphere of manufacturing industry, surely you can point out some specimens of its rise and luxuriant growth, under such obvious and favourable circumstances. We will be content with a specimen. *Ex pede Herculem.* You may search and ransack as long as you please. No trophy of a GREAT MANUFACTURE, not indebted to protection for its very existence, is to be found

there. Not (we may be well assured) because it is excluded, but BECAUSE IT EXISTS NOT.

"'IF UNPROTECTED MANUFACTURES ARE ANYWHERE TO BE FOUND, THEY ARE SICKLY AND STUNTED ONES. Look at the two nations in Europe that most freely admit foreign commodities. They are Ireland and Turkey.

"'I say Ireland, because she has perfectly Free Trade with the richest manufacturing nation on earth. With the single exception of the linen trade, has she any but manufactures of the most sickly complexion? Alas! Ireland is but another name for everything that is capable, but withal, wretched and abortive. Look at Turkey. Her customs are low, her commercial system is what is called a liberal one. The ruins of Asia Minor attest its capability of maintaining a large population. Now Asia Minor is a desert. No part of the vast dominions of the Sultan exhibit any good effects of his tariff.

"' One reason why Canada has not advanced so rapidly as the neighbouring districts of the United States is, that Canada has no manufactures, but the United States have. Canada has none, because our manufactures smother all infant ones. The United States have manufactures, because they have protecting duties. Till recently we gave Canada, as an equivalent, protection in our markets, as we were protected in hers. We have taken it away. Already Canada offers us our choice. A return to protection, or annexation and a dismemberment of the empire. The *facts* are, everywhere, that protected manufactures are healthy and robust; unprotected manufactures sickly, stunted, and precarious.

"' A nation that manufactures for itself prospers.

"' Nor are the reasons difficult to discover.

"' A nation that manufactures for itself, as well as grows food for itself, produces two values and two markets instead of one.'

"' Neither manufacturing nor agricultural industry are any longer limited by the accidental capacity of foreign markets. Manufactures create a market for food; food for manufactures. Both may increase at home by each other's help to an unlimited extent.

"' One great cause of our alternations of manufacturing prosperity

and distress, and the absence of steady progress, is the want of a due balance between *the domestic* production of food and raw produce, and the production of other things. A balance to be restored by encouraging and stimulating the employment of people on the land, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies. What fields we have! But we are spell-bound."

"DON'T TAX THE NATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF A PRODUCING CLASS. TAKE CARE OF THE CONSUMER, AND LET THE PRODUCER TAKE CARE OF HIMSELF."

"'We read of a man to whom, *though a sorcerer*, the Jews of old all adhered from the least even to the greatest,* and this seems a similar case of delusion. '*Don't tax the nation for the benefit of a producing class. Take care of the consumer, and let the producer take care of himself*,'—say the English Economists. To this the patriotic writer we have quoted replies: '"The maxims of our ancient and successful policy were very different. Our fathers said,—'Whatever you do, be sure to take care to DEVELOP THE PRODUCING FORCES OF YOUR OWN COUNTRY. The gain of doing this will be so immense, that it will present you with an ample fund, not only sufficient to pay the tax you complain of; but after having paid it still super-abounding, and leaving in your hand, for your own spending, a surplus ten times as great as that tax. Nay, the very tax itself will, in most cases, soon disappear. For the development of your own producing power will not only, at first and at once, bring plenty of riches; but in the end will bring a steady cheapness too.'"

"'So reasoned Cromwell, Lord Chatham, Sir Robert Walpole, Edmund Burke, Peter the Great, Colbert, Napoleon. So at this day reason France, Belgium, Russia, Germany, America.

"'Fathers and children however, both cordially agree in this. The more a nation produces, the richer it is; and the less it produces, the poorer it is.

"'Indeed this seems a self-evident proposition. Without produc-

* "This is what, in 1846, I used to say of Sir Robert Peel."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

tion of value you can neither consume nor buy. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* Every increase of domestic production is an addition of so much wealth; any diminution of domestic production is a subtraction of so much wealth.

"'The children, however, assume that the amount of production in a country—(the land, the men, and the actual property remaining the same,) is an unvarying quantity. But the fathers assert that (the land, the men, and the actual property remaining the same,) a country will produce infinitely more, or infinitely less, according as certain regulations, favourable to domestic production, are present or absent.

"'The children say, we will no longer make our hats at home. We can buy them from France 5 per cent. cheaper. We shall thus relieve the country from a tax equivalent to this 5 per cent. paid to the domestic hat-manufacturer. But the fathers, with paternal license of speech, say, if this be a specimen of your heads, they do not deserve any hats at all. Do you not see, that to escape what you call a tax, you are going to destroy an amount of annual national production (which is the same thing as an annual national gain) of twenty times the amount of your projected saving. Make the hats at home, and the country produces more by the aggregate value of the hats. You are going to make the country throw away 100 per cent. to gain five. You are going, it is true, to take off a customs' duty of 5 per cent., but you are going to lay on a confiscating property tax of 100 per cent. And your new tax is not only twenty times as great as the one you take off, but much worse. The old tax was at least a benefit to some of your own people. The new one is a present to the foreigner.

"'But,' say the children, 'we shall sell to the foreign manufacturer what will buy hats.' 'Yes,' say the fathers; 'but your situation in that respect is just what it was before. Before the change, you sold to the English hat manufacturers, now you sell to the French.—How does that compensate for the loss of your hat manufacturers? *They* are worse, but who is the better, except to the extent of 5 per cent on *their* loss?

"'This question we have already examined in detail, and we fear, at too great length. We have already submitted to the candid and

unprejudiced reader, our reasons for thinking the fathers clearly right, and the children clearly wrong.

"'Produce within your own dominions, what you formerly imported from abroad, and your land, labour, and capital produce what they otherwise would not have produced. They still produce the articles to purchase the new domestic product, just as much as they did before. But over and above this, they now produce the whole value of the new domestic product. Tried by the rule, that the more a nation produces the richer it is, you are now the richer. You have now developed a new producing power of the country, which otherwise, instead of being developed would have been stifled and smothered by foreign imports, perhaps a little cheaper. By a sacrifice it may be of one per cent., you have gained the other ninety-nine.—To pay your tax of one pound, you are presented with a new and additional net income of a hundred pounds. And what you have done other nations may also do. The producing power of all the earth may thus be effectually developed, and yet, as we have seen ample scope everywhere left for foreign trade and international exchanges. So far from the amount of production, in a country being an unvarying quantity, (the land, labour, and property remaining the same), we have elsewhere seen what immense masses of capital, land, and labour in Great Britain and Ireland are now actually idle,—capable not so much of immediately augmenting the national wealth by a miserable gain of one or two per cent. on the price of commodities, as of augmenting the produce of the land, labour, and capital of the United Kingdom by tens and scores of millions annually. If it should cost you two or three millions a year, in the price of commodities, to develop these, your own producing forces, they will present you with a new hundred millions to pay it. You surely ought not to complain of being taxed by those, who give you first money to pay the tax, and then fifty times as much for yourself.

"'But the children are not yet silent. They say,—'It is the producers that gain, while the consumers lose.'

"'Again the fathers rejoin, 'You are wrong in marshalling the nation into two hostile camps of producers and consumers. Not only is every producer a consumer, but there is not a single consu-

mer who is not either a producer, or else living entirely out of the income of a producer—standing or falling with them."

"'Labourers, farmers, manufacturers, all are clearly producers. The landlords derive all their rent from the revenue of producers; so of course do the mortgagees, to whom they pay interest. The professional man is ultimately paid by producers, so is the fund-holder himself, and the public servant too. Find if you can, a living man who is not either a producer, or maintained by a producer. Whatever therefore, furthers the interest of producers, not only benefits them, but also augments the common fund from which every consumer derives his income; and on the other hand, whatever ruins or injures producers, ruins or injures consumers too.

"'But suppose, secondly, that instead of being wrong, you were right, and that consumers and producers were really two distinct and independent classes, as you pretend. Yet they are still, at any rate, members of the same political community, and we are now discussing the effect of fiscal regulations on the wealth of the *whole country*. If you develop your producing power so as to produce at home (although at one per cent. dearer,) what you used to produce abroad, consumers lose one where producers gain 100. The nation at large still gains 99.

"'So if you used produce at home, but now prefer to import from abroad because you can save 1 per cent. in price, you sacrifice 100 per cent. to gain 1. The nation at large loses 99. Supposing even consumers and producers to be distinct classes, the result would be this,—you take a tax of 1 per cent. off one class, and lay a property tax of 100 per cent. on another class.

"'Thirdly and lastly, you assume that the trifling tax (under which you are so impatient that you would blindly change it for one fifty or a hundred times as great,) will continue for ever. It is a gratuitous and unfounded assumption. Develop your own industrial forces, and concentrate them on industries for which your climate, soil, and people are fit, and you will have at once, plenty and riches, and very soon cheapness too.

"'Reflect, and you will find that the wise and really gainful policy, is not that which prematurely grasps anyhow, at CHEAPNESS, but that which develops the producing power of the country.

"'OUR FATHERS, THEREFORE, WERE RIGHT, AND WE ARE WRONG. THEY KNEW HOW TO GROW RICH NATIONALLY, AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALLY. WE HAVE SEEN HOW THEIR THEORY HAS EVERYWHERE BEEN JUSTIFIED BY EXPERIENCE.

"'FOREIGN COMMODITIES ARE ALWAYS PAID FOR BY BRITISH COMMODITIES; THEREFORE THE PURCHASE OF FOREIGN COMMODITIES ENCOURAGES BRITISH INDUSTRY AS MUCH AS THE PURCHASE OF BRITISH COMMODITIES.'" *

To this other dogma of the English Political Economists, the same admirable English writer replies:—

"'Let us assume the premises to be true, yet the conclusion does not follow. Supposing every foreign commodity to be paid for in British commodities, it may still be for the interest of THE NATION to buy British commodities in preference to foreign. In other words, home trade is more advantageous than foreign trade.'"

On this text, hear the apostle of Free Trade himself, Adam Smith:

"'The capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces by such operation two distinct capitals that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufacture of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. * * * When *both* are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces by every such operation *two distinct capitals*, which had *both* been employed in supporting productive labour, and thereby enables them to continue that support. The capital which sends Scotch manufactures to London, and brings back English manufactures and corn to Edinburgh, necessarily replaces, by every such operation, *two British capitals*, which had *both* been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of *Great Britain*. The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too by every such operation

* See McCulloch's *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 152.

two distinct capitals, but *one of them only* is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal, and brings back Portuguese goods to Great Britain, replaces by every such operation *only one British* capital. The other is a Portuguese one. Though the returns therefore of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but ONE HALF THE ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE INDUSTRY OR PRODUCTIVE LABOR OF THE COUNTRY. * * * *

A capital, however, employed in the home trade, will sometimes make twelve operations, or be sent out and return twelve times, before a capital employed in the Foreign trade of consumption has made one. IF THE CAPITALS ARE EQUAL, THEREFORE, THE ONE WILL GIVE FOUR AND TWENTY TIMES MORE ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT TO THE INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY THAN THE OTHER." '*

"What does Adam Smith mean by the expression—'replace capital?' It is an expression not to be passed over in haste, but well deserving to be attentively considered and analyzed.

"He means, that the whole value of a commodity is spent in its production, and yet *re-appears* in the shape of the new product. That in its production there is an expenditure not of the profit merely, but of the *entire value*,† and that *the whole of that* expenditure not only maintains landlords, tenants, tradesmen and work people, but furnishes an effective demand and market for other productions. He means *that the clear gain, the spendable revenue, the net income of the producing nation*, is increased by the *amount of the entire value of the domestic product, and that the nation is so much the richer. For while producing, it spends, and nevertheless after it has produced, it yet has the entire gross value.*

"He then goes on to say, that if with British commodities, you replace two British capitals; but if with British commodities you purchase foreign commodities, you replace only one British capital.‡

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* Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*," Book ii., chap. 5.

† Say, asserts the same thing, as we shall presently see.

‡ Say, maintains the same position. "Le commerce intérieur est le plus avantageux. Les envoiset et les retours de ce commerce sont nécessairement les produits du pays. IL PROVOQUE UNE DOUBLE PRODUCTION." *Liv.* i., chap. 9, vol. 2., p. 6, 4th Edition.

That is to say, you *might have had the entire gross value at both ends to spend, and thereby also to create and sustain markets; but you are content to have the value and the market at one end only.*

"These observations of Adam Smith derive additional weight from the quarter from which they come. They are the admissions of the existing school of Political Economists, on a point of vital importance, so vital that it affects the entire theory of Free Trade.

"At the risk therefore of being charged with prolixity and repetition, I venture to invite the candid and serious attention of the reader to a further consideration of it.

"The entire price or gross value of every *home-made* article constitutes net gain, net revenue,* net income to British subjects. Not a portion of a value, but *the whole value*, is resolvable into net gain, income, or revenue maintaining British families, and creating or sustaining British markets. Purchase British articles with British articles, and you *create* two such aggregate values, and two such markets for British industry.

"Whereas, on the contrary, the entire value of every foreign article imported is net gain, or income to the foreigner, and creates and sustains foreign markets. Change your policy—purchase foreign articles with British articles, and you now create only *one* value for your own benefit instead of creating *two*, and only *one* market for British industry instead of *two*. You lose by the change of policy, the power of spending the entire value on one side, which you might have had, as well as on the other, and you

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* Say concurs in this view. See *Traité d'Economie Politique*, Liv. ii., chap. v., vol. ii, p. 69, 4th Edition. He analyses the price of a watch, and shows how the whole of it is distributed as net income or revenue among those who have contributed to its production. He then observes:—'C'est de cette manière que la valeur entière des produits se distribue dans la société. *Je dis leur valeur toute entière.*' He then gives another illustration, by tracing the distribution of the value of cloth, and adds, 'On ne peut concevoir AUCUNE PORTION de la valeur de ce drap, qui n'ait servi à payer UN REVENU.—Sa valeur toute entière y a été employée.' And subjoins in a note, 'Même la portion de cette valeur qui a servi au rétablissement du capital du fabricant.' Il a usé métiers par supposition. Il les a fait réparer par un mécanicien: le prix de cette réparation fait partie du revenu du mécanicien.'

lose a market for British industry to the full extent of that expenditure.

"It is not a small difference in price which can compensate the nation for the loss. For example, suppose England can produce an article for £100, and can import it for £99. By importing it instead of producing it, she gains £1; but though she pays for it with her own manufactures, she loses (not indeed by the exchange itself, but by not producing at both ends of the exchange) £100 of wealth which she might have had to spend by creating the value at home; that is to say, on the balance, she loses £99 which she might have had in addition, by producing both commodities at home.

"Let us examine a little more in detail the position, that the *entire price or gross value* of every home-made commodity constitutes *net national gain or revenue*,—net income to British subjects, such revenue as a man may spend with his tradesmen, and maintain his family upon, and yet the nation grow no poorer. The attention of the reader is particularly invited to this part of the inquiry. He will observe that the expression '*net income*' comprehends the spendable revenue of the whole community, from whatever source derived. The net profits of trade are but a part and a very small part of the net income of the nation. The wages of the labourer are his net income. The rent of the landlord, and the interest of the mortgagee are also net income.

"Take a quarter of English wheat. Suppose the price to be 50s. The whole of this 50s. is resolvable into net income. A portion, say 5s., goes as rent to the English landlord, and is to him net income, which he may spend with his tradesmen in maintaining his family. Next 30s. go for wages. Those wages are the net income of the English labourer. Then 10s. go for rates and tithes. The first contribute to the net income of the poor, the second to the net income of the English Clergyman. Then 2s. 6d. go for implements of husbandry, the whole of which 2s. 6d. is also, as we shall presently see, resolvable into net income to some person or other. The residue being 2s. 6d., we will suppose is the net profit of the farmer, and would be net income to him, but that half of it, viz.: 1s. 3d., goes as interest to a friend who has lent him money. This last 1s. 3d. is, however, still net income;

not indeed of the farmer, but of his creditor. Trace home with stubborn attention, every penny of the price, and you will find that every penny at last assumes the shape of net income. The whole 50s. therefore, it is manifest, is an addition to the net spendable income of the country. The whole 50s. answers two purposes; first, it maintains the ultimate recipients and their families; and, secondly, by means of their expenditure it creates a home-market to the extent of the entire gross value or price of the quarter of heat.

"But is the sum of 2s. 6d., which we have just supposed to be pent for agricultural implements, also resolvable into net income or revenue?

"It is! and though we shall be still more guilty of repetition, let us patiently inquire how.

"Suppose the 2s. 6d. spent for a spade. It may be that the money is laid out with the retail iron-monger in the next market town. Six-pence, we will suppose, is the iron-monger's profit. A second six-pence is the cost of a wooden handle. That second six-pence is expended in this way. One fourth of it, or three half-pence, goes as rent to the owner of the copse from which the rough wood comes, three-pence go as wages to the labourers who cut or fashion the wood, and the remaining three half-pence go as profit to the dealer in wooden spade-handles. One shilling out of the 2s. 6d., the entire price of the spade, is thus traced back, and found to be net income.

"The remainder of the price of the spade, viz.: 1s. 6d., goes for the iron part of it, and has been paid by the retail dealer in spades to the wholesale dealer in the iron part of spades. Part of this 1s. 6d. is his profit, part goes to the manufacturer. The manufacturer's portion, when analyzed, is again resolved into his profit—his payments for implements or machinery, (also resolvable into net income,)—his rent—and the cost price of the iron. The cost of the iron is, lastly, paid to the iron-master, and by him distributed to himself as profit, to his workmen as wages, to his land lord as rent. The whole price and value of the spade is thus net gain or income to some person or other, available like all the rest of the price of a quarter of English wheat, first, to the maintenance

of British families, next through their expenditure to the creation or maintenance of British markets for cotton, linen, woollen and hardware, bread, beef, beer, tea, soap, candles, buildings, and furniture.

" Take any article you please, patiently analyze the ultimate distribution of its price, and you will find that the whole gross value denotes the creation of so much wealth in the nation in which it is entirely produced, enabling that nation to spend* and enjoy an equivalent to that whole gross value, without being the poorer for the consumption, and conferring on that nation the further advantage of a home-market, equivalent to that expenditure.

" To express the same truth in a formula, intelligible and familiar to Political Economists: The whole gross price of any article is ultimately resolvable into rent, profit, or wages. Rent, profit, and wages are national net income, and create markets where they are spent.

" Now suppose a nation which had produced both the exchanged value at home, or, to use Adam Smith's expression, had replaced two domestic capitals, should alter its policy, and should thenceforth import one of those values from abroad, giving for it the other values as before, (which we will suppose the foreign nation ready to take,) that alteration of policy would entail on the country adopting it, a loss of national net income equivalent to the entire value of the commodity formerly produced at home, and now produced abroad, and the sacrifice of a market to the same amount. Let us illustrate this by an example.

" Suppose stockings to the value of £500,000 a-year are made in Leicester, and exchanged annually for gloves to the amount of £500,000 a-year made in Dover. The landlords and tradesmen and workmen of Leicester and Dover enjoy together an annual net

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* *La valeur toute entière* des produits sert de cette manière à payer les gains de producteurs. CE N'EST PAS LES PRODUITS NETS SEULEMENT, QUI SATISFONT AUX BESOINS DES HOMMES. C'EST LES PRODUITS BRUT, LA TOTALITÉ DES VALEURS CRÉÉS. (Say, *Traité d'Economie Politique*, Liv. 1, chap. 2, vol. 1, p. 18, 4th Edition). The careful attention of the reader is solicited to this passage.—Though it be true and accurately expressed, yet it must in candour be admitted, that Say, like Smith, is in other parts of his book inconsistent with himself.

income of a million. Suppose now, that for some real or supposed advantage in price or in quality, the Leicester people, instead of exchanging their stockings for gloves from Dover, exchange them for gloves from the other side of the straits, say from Calais, thus depriving the Dover people of their Leicester market. What is the consequence? It is this, that Dover loses what Calais gets: that England loses and France gains half a million a-year by the new locality of the glove manufacture—by its transference from England to France. Englishmen have half a million a-year less to spend; Frenchman have half a million a-year more to spend. English markets—of which Dover used to be one—fall off to the extent of half a million a-year; French markets, of which Calais is one—are augmented by half a million a-year.

"The English glove manufacture, with its half million of national net income, is gone from England, where it used to maintain Englishmen and English markets, to France, where it now maintains Frenchmen and French markets.

"Nor does the mischief end here. On the Dover glove-makers were dependent bakers, millers, grocers, butchers, tailors, shoemakers, with their servants and families. The migration of the glove trade from Dover to Calais ruins all. They are destroyed like a hive of bees.

"To make it still clearer. Suppose instead of the glove trade being transferred from Englishmen to Frenchmen, the Dover tradesmen and workmen crossed the straits along with their manufacture to Calais, and there carried it on; still, as before, England would lose half a million a-year, and France gain it. Indeed this latter supposition, though setting the loss in the clearest light, would of the two supposed cases, probably be the most advantageous for England, for if the trade migrated without the people, a nest of paupers would be left behind.

"It is said that the Dover people if left in England could turn their hands and their capital to some new employment.* Alas!

* Mr. McCulloch has here fallen into a transparent error. He says in his "*Principles of Political Economy*" (p. 151), that the displaced artificers would be employed in the production of the articles that must be sent as equivalents to the foreigner. But that is not so. It is the Leicester stocking-makers who are employed in producing the equivalents—but they were employed before. They used to deal with Dover, now they deal with Calais.

this is one of the things easier said than done. TO FIND EMPLOYMENT FOR THE PEOPLE, IS JUST THE VERY THING, WHICH IS SO SUPREMELY DIFFICULT, AS TO BE OFTEN PRONOUNCED IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS THE PROBLEM REMAINING FOR THE TRUE POLITICAL ECONOMIST TO SOLVE; ITS SOLUTION WILL BE AN EVENT NOT LESS BRILLIANT AND FAR MORE IMPORTANT TO MANKIND, THAN THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

" Now under a system of free-trade, if the Leicester people can buy their gloves 1 per cent. or a minute fraction per cent. cheaper from abroad, they will do so. By so doing English glove consumers may gain £5,000 a-year, but the nation hands over its glove trade to the French, and will lose half a million a-year, minus five thousand pounds, (that is £495,000 a-year of national net income), by the half million worth of gloves being now produced in France, instead of being produced as formerly in England. The English nation also loses a home market equivalent to its loss of national net income. What England loses by the migration of the glove manufacture, France gains. All this may happen even under a system of reciprocity, without any disturbance of the currency.

" The Leicester people gain no new market by sending their goods to France ; they had a market to the same extent before in England. There is no improvement in the condition of the Leicester people to compensate for the ruin of the Dover people. RECIPROCITY ITSELF THEREFORE IN THE PARTICULAR EXCHANGE IS NO COMPENSATION TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AT LARGE.

" What then would be the compensation for the invasion of the English market by foreign goods ?

" Nothing short of a corresponding invasion of the foreign market by English goods. When the French invade our markets and displace our industry, even though they should take our goods in payment to the full amount of their importation, that alone, (as we have seen,) is no compensation at all. They must, over and above all this, allow and enable us to invade their markets and displace their industry, to the same extent, and on the same terms. The Frenchman must not only provide for the Leicester people, a

new foreign market equivalent to their former home market at Dover, but he, or some one else, must also find for the Dover people a second new foreign market, as a substitute for their lost home-market at Leicester. There must be not only Reciprocity, but complete reciprocation.

"Nothing short of a NEW DOUBLE foreign market,—a foreign market, for both the domestic industries that used to interchange their products will suffice. This is admitted by Mr. Ricardo. And it is the truth, as a little consideration will evince.

"Mr. Ricardo, in combating Adam Smith's position, that a capital employed in the home trade, gives twice as much encouragement to the industry and productive labour of the country, as a capital employed in the foreign trade—the trade of Portugal for example—makes these observations:

"'This argument appears to be fallacious; for, though two capitals, one Portuguese and one English, be employed, as Dr. Smith supposes, still a capital *will* be employed in the foreign trade, DOUBLE *of what would be employed in the home trade.* Suppose that Scotland employs always a capital of a thousand pounds, in making linen, which she exchanges for the produce of a similar capital employed in making silks in England. Two thousand pounds, and a proportional quantity of labour, will be employed in the two countries. Suppose, now, that England discovers that she can import more linen from Germany for the silks which she before exported to Scotland; and that Scotland discovers that she can obtain more silks from France, in return for her linen, than she before obtained from England—will not England and Scotland immediately cease trading with each other, and will not the home-trade of consumption be changed for a foreign trade of consumption? But, although two additional capitals will enter into this trade—the capital of Germany and that of France—will not the same amount of Scotch and English capital continue to be employed, and will it not give motion to the same amount of industry as when it was engaged in the home-trade?'"—*Principles of Political Economy*, chap. 26.

"It will be observed that Mr. Ricardo admits, or more properly speaking assumes, that if Scotch industry loses its English market

because England buys from abroad, the Island of *Great Britain* is not compensated by the foreign trade unless a DOUBLE foreign market can be found; unless Scotland can find a foreign market for her linen, as well as England a foreign market for her silk.

"The case may be illustrated by a diagram. The original state of things, when Scotland sent linen to England, and England sent in return silk to Scotland, will be thus represented:

Scotland,
Linen, £1,000.
Silk, £1,000.
England.

"Great Britain has to spend as rent, profits, and wages £2,000.

"Now suppose England, instead of purchasing with its silk, linen, from Scotland, purchases (but still with its silk) linen from Germany; then the state of things will be thus represented:

Scotland.
:
:

Silk, £1,000.	Linen, £1,000.
England.	Germany.

"Scotland will have lost its market for linen, and thereby its power of production and consumption to the extent of £1,000. Great Britain will have lost this £1,000. Germany will have gained the £1,000 which Great Britain will have lost.

"The opening of the German market to English silk is no compensation to *Great Britain*, for the loss of its Scotch linen manufacture.

"Great Britain has now to spend as rents, profits and wages, but £1,000, in the place of £2,000.

"The only adequate compensation to Great Britain for the loss of the Scotch trade is a DOUBLE foreign market. Another market over and above the foreign market for English silk must be found for Scotch linen. Then indeed the state of things would be thus represented:

Scotland,	France,
Linen, £1,000.	Silk, £1,000.
:	
:	
Silk, £1,000.	Linen, £1,000.
England.	Germany.

"Thus it appears, that perfect Reciprocity itself, at one end of the exchange only, is no compensation to the nation for dealing abroad, instead of at home. There should be reciprocity at both ends of the exchange, and a *double* foreign market must be found.

"In other words, when you are about to take away one home market, you must open TWO foreign ones. You must find a double equivalent.

"Mr. Ricardo says that this will be done—that two foreign markets *will* be found.

"But this is to assume (what is contrary to experience) that the foreign market is always as large as we require it to be. We cannot even find the *single* foreign market.

"Mr. Ricardo's illustration involves another fallacy. Why should France buy Scotch linen, when, according to the supposition, German linen is cheaper? Why should Germany buy English silk, when according to the supposition, French silk is cheaper?

"When two domestic producers mutually exchange their products, each makes a market for the other. But if one, instead of buying as heretofore at home, now buys abroad, and finds in return a foreign market abroad, to exactly the same extent as his former domestic market, that one is compensated. But what has become of the other? The other has lost his home-market. To be compensated by foreign trade, this other also must find a new and co-extensive foreign market.

"So that if you lay out ten millions a-year abroad which you used to lay out at home, you are not compensated by a foreign market to the extent of these ten millions a-year; you must, in order to compensation by the foreign market, find in the aggregate a new foreign market to the extent of *twenty* millions a year.

"To illustrate this by the former example. You lay out half a million a-year with Calais which you used to lay out with Dover, but Calais takes your Leicester stockings in payment. Leicester, which used to send its stockings to Dover, is now compensated for the loss of its home trade with Dover, by its new foreign trade with Calais. But this new foreign trade does not compensate Dover. Dover too must find another new foreign trade to the extent of half a million a-year more, before Dover is compensated. But the NATION is not compensated by the foreign trade, unless both Leicester and Dover

are compensated. When therefore the nation lays out half a million a-year in foreign gloves, which half million it used to lay out in English gloves, the nation is not compensated by a new foreign market of half a million a year. To be compensated by the foreign market, the nation must find a new foreign market of a *million* a year.

"THE RESULT IS, WHENEVER YOU IMPORT INSTEAD OF PRODUCING, YOU ARE LOSER BY THE CHANGE TILL YOUR ADDITIONAL EXPORTS DOUBLE THE VALUE OF THE NEW IMPORT. This loss will, as we have seen, be less by the per centage by which the foreign article is cheaper than the domestic one.

"What therefore we set out with venturing to submit, seems to be correct, viz.: that even if the premises contained in the axiom at the head of these observations be true, the consequence does not follow.

"The truth is this:—

"The gross value of every product of industry is national net income. When one product is exchanged for another, if you have produced at both ends of the exchange, you have created two such national net incomes. If you now change your policy, and produce at one end only, and leave the foreigner to produce at the other end, though he should fairly exchange with you, you create *but one* national net income, and SACRIFICE THE OTHER.

"But if these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? So far from being able to find a new DOUBLE foreign market, we cannot even find a new SINGLE one, commensurate to the enormous increase of our imports. If such may be the consequences where there is Reciprocity, what will be the consequences of free trade, at once *one-ended* and *one-sided*;—of the exportation of the precious metals to pay balances; of the consequent appreciation of the currency, augmentation of the pressure of taxation, and diminution of industry? The public at present entertain very inadequate conceptions of the devastating consequences.

AUTHORITIES QUOTED.

"Foremost among the authorities, from whom I quote, are the writer of the foregoing,—John Barnard Byles, Sergeant-at-Law, and

now, I believe, a Judge in England, and H. C. Carey, an American Economist, whose writings have raised for him a monument, *Aere perennius*. Of these works I trust there will soon be got up cheap Canadian Editions for the million, through the exertions of the *Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry*. Social Economy must not hereafter be considered party politics, and I therefore venture to say that if these works now alluded to, were read aloud in Mechanics' Institutes and Debating Clubs, every member subsequently expressing his opinion, it would be the most improving possible of exercises. This would bring out, too, how great unanimity there is among unsophisticated minds on this vital subject, which may otherwise be expressed as the subject of the Employment of our own people.*

"Rather than use my own words I shall now give those of the great American Economist, Carey, to whom I have alluded:

"'We are told, however, that India, Ireland, Brazil, the United States, and other countries, are deficient in capital, in default of which it is absurd to attempt to convert their corn and their wool into cloth, or their coal and ore into iron. It is, however, manufactures that cause the growth of capital—facilitating, as they do, the development of the powers of the MAN, and thus enabling him to continue with his fellow-men for economizing the power resulting from the consumption of capital in the form of food. * *

"'We are, ourselves (say the inhabitants of the purely agricultural country) unemployed for more than half our time, and as regards our children, they are almost wholly so. Though unfit for the labours of the field, they yet could well perform the lighter work of tending the operations of a mill. Again, the minds of our people are undeveloped. Let us have them taught, and in a brief time—obtaining machinists of our own—it may be, that we shall be enabled to teach those among whom we now must seek for knowledge. We waste,

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* "In this category I should not omit Horace Greely, whose opinions I have always quoted, as considering them most patriotic. I ought also to include the names of Jonathan Duncan, of London, and E. Peshine Smith, of Albany, N. Y., whose admirable works have the popular advantage of shortness, while at the same time free from the charge—'Brevis esse laboro, obscurus Fio.'—'I cut my candle short—I put it out.'"—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

daily, the powers of earth and air, for want of little machines that would enable us to use them; we waste the faculties of our people, because there is no demand for them; we waste their time and our own, for want of combination; we waste the major part of the produce of our land in feeding horses and men who carry the rest to market—exhausting the soil* because the market for its products is so distant. Let us, then, *once for all*, combine for the purpose of putting a stop to all this waste. With every step we make in that direction, we shall offer new inducements for carpenters and masons, printers and teachers, to come among us—eating the food that now we are forced to carry to the distant market; with each, the faculties of our people will become more and more developed—enabling us more and more to perfect the various processes by means of which to obtain command over steam and other natural forces. With each, there will be an increase of commerce among ourselves, attended by a diminution of our dependence on the trader, and an increase of power to command his services in case of need. The more numerous the differences among us, the more rapid will be the motion of the societary machine, the greater will be the economy of labour, the smaller will be the value of commodities, and the greater that of man.

"'Such were the objects sought to be obtained by Colbert, to whom France was indebted for the system since so steadily carried out; and to which she owes it, that she has 'covered herself with machinery and mills'—that 'her collieries, her furnaces, and her workshops of every description, have grown to an enormous extent, and

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* "The argument against Free Trade, or a system of exporting the raw materials of a country, which is to be found in the exhaustion of her soil, has not been paid sufficient attention to, even with Lower Canada before us as a lamentable example. A large drawback from the price Canadian wheat produces in Europe should be put down to this account. We are accustomed to take too little account of what is due to the earth. An idea, however, of what is due to a successful agriculture, may be got from the fact that the manure alone of the land in England is of more money value than its whole exports of manufactures! McQueen, in his Statistics, page 12, says that in 1850, the value of the manure at its market price in England was one hundred and three millions, three hundred and sixty-nine thousand, one hundred and thirty-nine pounds, sterling."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

out of all proportion to what existed eighty years since'—that the value of her land has so immensely increased—that the power of the labourer to command supplies of food has doubled, where it has not trebled—and that she herself is now so powerful.

" ' Directly the reverse of this, as the reader will readily see, is the doctrine lying at the foundation of the system that would make of Britain the workshop of the world ; that, for the maintenance of which, we are taught that man begins everywhere with the richest soils—all old communities being required to resort to poorer ones, with daily diminution in the demand for labour. To the farmers and planters of Brazil and the United States it says—' Cultivate your rich soils, and leave us to our poor ones. Labour being cheap with us, we can manufacture more cheaply than you can do. *Do not*, therefore, *once for all*, build mills or furnaces ; continue year after year to expend your labours in carrying produce back and forth ; continue to exhaust your land ; continue to have no combination of efforts among yourselves ; and you will grow rich. The time, however, will arrive when you will be forced to cultivate the poor soils, and then you will be troubled with over-population. Wages failing *you may then be enabled to accumulate the capital required for entering into competition with us ;* that is *the poorer you become, the greater will be your power.*

" ' Such is the doctrine of the school that is based upon the idea of trade being the first pursuit of man ; that, by the help of which the system has thus far been carried out. It is one which cannot stand against the facts everywhere established, that man always commences with the poorer soils ; that it is only with the growth of the power of association and combination that the richer ones are brought into activity ; that to have combination, there must be difference of employment tending to the development of the individual faculties ; and that WHERE SUCH DIFFERENCES ARE NOT FOUND, THE WHOLE COURSE OF MAN IS TOWARDS THE EXHAUSTION OF THE LAND FIRST CULTIVATED—TOWARDS DIMINUTION IN ITS VALUE, AND INCREASE IN THAT OF ALL THE COMMODITIES REQUIRED FOR HIS USE—AND TOWARDS HIS ENSLAVEMENT BY NATURE AND BY HIS FELLOW-MAN. Under that system it is that

Ireland wastes, *weekly*, more than would, if applied *once for all*, give her machinery enabling her to make a domestic market for all her food and all her labour; that Portugal and Turkey waste, *daily*, more muscular and intellectual power than would, if applied *once for all*, give them machinery for all the cloth they now consume; that Jamaica has been exhausted; and that India has seen her people condemned to remain idle, when they would desire to be employed —to relinquish her rich soils, and retire to poor ones—to abandon cities in which once lived hundreds of thousands of poor, but industrious and happy, men—forgetting all the advantages of commerce,* and becoming dependent altogether on the chances of trade.

"'Following in the lead of France, the people of northern Europe, generally, have *protected* themselves against this system—the result being seen in the facts, that the price of raw materials and finished commodities are there steadily approximating—that gold flows rapidly in—that the circulation of society becomes from day to day more rapid—and that the proportion borne by fixed to floating capital is a constantly increasing one—all of these phenomena being evidence of advancing civilization, consequent upon the determination *once for all*, to make the investments required for bringing the consumer to the side of the producer, and THUS RELIEVING THE FARMER FROM THE WASTING TAX OF TRANSPORTATION.

"'Guided or governed by England, Ireland, Turkey, Portugal, and the United States have refused to make the effort, *once for all*, to relieve themselves from that oppressive and daily recurring tax—the result being seen in the facts, that the prices of raw materials and finished products steadily recede from each other—that gold flows regularly abroad—that circulation becomes more languid—and that the proportion borne by floating capital to that which is fixed, is a constantly increasing one—all of these phenomena being evidences of declining civilization.'"—*Principles of Social Science*, by H. C. Carey, vol. iii., chap. 39, §7.

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"Half a century since, there yet existed competition for the pur-

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* "It should be observed that this writer always uses the term commerce as meaning internal, as opposed to foreign trade."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

chase of Irish labour. Political centralization had long existed; but it remained for that or the trader to annihilate all competition for the purchase of human energies at home, and to terminate all Irish competition, for the purchase of those abroad. The consequences are seen in the fact, that the 8,000,000 of Irish people do not make a market for the chief products of India and Carolina, to so great an extent as is now made by a single million in Massachusetts.

"Half a century since, Mexico suffere dunder the oppression of political centralization, yet she still was prosperous. Since then—having become politically independent—she has fallen under the trader's power. The consequences are that producing little, she has little to sell; and her markets are, to the rest of the world, almost wholly worthless. So it is with Turkey, Portugal, Jamaica, and every other Free Trade country—their power of production being very small, that they scarcely appear in the world as competitors for the purchase of the labour of other nations.

"How stationary, even where not declining, is the condition of the people of all those countries, and how useless they are to the rest of the world, is shown in the fact, that of the addition made to the supply of cotton, in the last twenty years nearly the whole is consumed in those countries, which seek to produce competition for the purchase of labour at home, as preparatory for increase of competition for its purchase abroad.

"Competition, by A, for the purchase of the labour of B, tends to the production of competition by B, for that of C, and, through him to the end of the alphabet—or it does not. If it does, then are all those communities whose policy tends in that direction, moving towards freedom for themselves and the world; while those whose tendencies are opposite, must be moving towards the establishment of slavery both at home and abroad. Such is the fact; and yet, strangely enough, while the first embrace many of the depotisms of Europe, the last are found in the two especial traders of the world, Great Britain and the United States—self-styled friends of freedom and patrons of the revolutionists of the world. * *

"Totally forgetful of the extermination of the population of the Scottish Highlands, of the annihilation of the Irish nation, of the

entire disappearance of the millions of blacks that should now be found in the British Islands, and of the conversion of millions of small proprietors in India into mere labourers, the British people regard themselves as the special protectors of those of Greece and Italy—although maintaining colonies for the single object of preventing that combination of action without which freedom can neither be obtained nor maintained.

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"Cheap raw materials are however, as we are assured, indispensable to the prosperity of the British people. If so, there can be no harmony of interests—cheap raw materials being, and that invariably, the accompaniment of barbarism, slavery, and valueless land. That it is not so, is obvious from the facts, that the advocates of the system regard the cheapening of English labour as being essential to the maintenance of manufacturing prosperity; and that eminent Englishmen now present us with pictures of vice, crime, and degradation, not to be exceeded in the world.

"Cheap labour and cheap raw materials mean, simply, barbarism—they being a natural result of the absence of that competition for the purchase of both, which results from small production. Production declines in England; and hence it is, that one of the most philanthropic of travellers, after a careful survey of England, is impelled to tell his readers, that, while "much is, in that country, being done, and of the noblest sort, for the lower classes—much which has called forth humane sympathy, patient labour, and genuine sacrifice—you cannot avoid the reflection, *that it has been begun too late.*

"'It is not,' as he continues, 'merely, that you pass through filthy streets, meeting with wretched and abandoned men and women, and seeing old rookeries of murder and crime. Such things are to be met with, in some degree, even in the new streets of our newest cities in America.

"'It is the amount, the mass of these evils, which astounds. To go through school after school, refuge and refuge, and see, in every new place, not merely ragged and dirty, and criminal children, but children absolutely homeless, and cast out, with all the marks on face and body of being the wild animals of the street; to hear that

those in the private institutions are but a small part of this refuse population in the city, and that, still beyond them, is the class of foundlings and orphans, cared for by the government; to walk on and on by the day, through lanes crowded with filthy, blear-eyed, tattered multitudes; to watch the almost agonizing, and, in other circumstances, amusingly ingenious contrivances, without number, to earn only *bread;* to go in, day after day, through scenes of poverty, drunkenness and degradation, through streets where the nuisance and sources of poison of ages have collected; and to know that, not merely is this misery heaped up among these crowded two millions and a quarter of London, but that it is relatively worse, in some of the other great cities, and is sprinkled like a curse over the country;—it is all this which makes one feel that, in England, they have waited too long for the cure. The Englishman is sure, when he begins to move against his social evils. We have great confidence in his reforms; but he is very slow. The evils of London, alone, seem to me gigantic; against which the operations of ragged schools, model lodging houses, bath houses, and the like—useful as these are—appear like the sand-dykes against the tide.

"There are thousands and thousands of poor children, who never enter the schools; and the great majority of them must grow up and make their living among old haunts of wickedness. The lodging-houses can affect but a small number of the hundreds of thousands of labouring people. New Acts of Parliament to improve pestilential streets, may purify certain quarters; but the great proportion of the old districts are badly built, and the labourers must live near their business, even if the street be undrained, and the house cover a typhus breeding cess-pool."*

"'That the facts are so, is proved by all the contemporaneous literature of England. Reading the works of Dickens, Thackeray, or Kingsley, we are ever presented with pictures of an incessant struggle for the means of sustaining life, as existing throughout that portion of English society, which needs to sell its labour. Turning thence, to public documents, we find abundant confirmation of the

* Brace: *Walks among the Poor of Great Britain.*

sad truth, that as power has been obtained for commanding the services of nature, the condition of the people has not improved.' *

"'A hundred thousand men, employed in producing coal and iron, give command over the services of a willing slave, that does the work of 600,000,000—requiring, in return, neither food, clothing, nor shelter; and yet, the strife for life becomes more intense, with increase of wealth and power. Why is it so? Because English policy is based upon the idea, that domestic interests are to be promoted by the adoption of measures tending to the cheapening of the land and labour of other people, and leading inevitably, towards the enslavement of man in all the countries subject to it. Fortunately, however, there is throughout the world a harmony of interests so perfect, that no nation can commit injustice, without being required to bear a part, at least, of the burdens thereby imposed upon the communities affected by it. *Whatever tends to deteriorate the condition of man anywhere tends to do so everywhere*—the land and the men of Europe profiting, by all that is wisely done in America, and those of America suffering, by all that is unwisely done in Europe, Asia, or Africa.'

"'In the physical world, action and reaction are equal and opposite.

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* "The scenes through which the reader has accompanied us are, it is believed, truthful representations of what may be termed the poor man's world. That world, for him, is for the most part stagnant, foul, and dreary. The comfort of a real home is too often denied him. Himself, his wife, and his little ones, are exposed to the poisonous influences of bad air and bad water, or to the miasma of imperfectly drained rural districts. The mortality amongst his class is heavy. Thousands are annually permitted to perish, who might be preserved from disease and death, at a less cost than that of the most economical war we could indulge in. The children of this class are growing up, not only enfeebled in body, but neglected in mind. Nearly a million receive no education at all, or none that is of any practical value; whilst of those who are professedly taught, few carry away from school a wholesome and permanent impression. Moreover, there are millions in this country, belonging to the same class, who, more or less, habitually neglect even the outward ordinances of religion. In short, as has been well said, there are two nations in the same Kingdom—the one, poor, ignorant, and suffering; the other, comfortable, moderately well instructed, fairly enjoying life. Yet the needy and distressed far out-number those who are wealthy or at ease. The rich and educated are insignificant in point of numbers, compared with the poor and ignorant."—*Inquiry of an English Landowner*, chap. vi.

So, too, is it in the social one—the community that devotes its potential energies to the stoppage of motion elsewhere, being arrested in its own. So was it with Athens and Rome, and so, too, during many centuries, with France. So is it, now, with Great Britain—whose people become poorer, with every increase of power to command the aid of steam, electricity, and other wonderful forces placed at the command of man. Where, however, is it to end? 'In the same misery,' says the Rev. Mr. Kingsley, speaking in the person of a poor tailor, 'as 15,000 out of 20,000 of our class are enduring now. We shall become the slaves, often the bodily prisoners, of Jews, middlemen, and sweaters, who draw their livelihood out of our starvation. We shall, as he continues, 'have to face, as the rest have, *ever decreasing prices of labour*, ever increasing profits made out of that labour by the contractors who will employ us—arbitrary fines, inflicted at the caprice of hirelings—the competition of women, and children, and starving Irish—our hours of work will increase one third, our actual pay decrease to less than one-half; and in all this we shall have no hope, no chance of improvement in wages, but ever more penury, slavery, misery, as we are pressed on by those who are sacked by fifties—almost by hundreds—yearly, out of the honourable trade in which we were brought up, into the infernal system of contract-work, which is devouring our trade and many others, body and soul. Our wives will be forced to sit up night and day to help us—our children must labour from the cradle, without chance of going to school, hardly of breathing the fresh air of heaven—our boys, as they grow up, must turn beggars or paupers—our daughters, as thousands do, must eke out their miserable earnings by prostitution. And, AFTER ALL, A WHOLE FAMILY WILL NOT GAIN WHAT ONE OF US HAS BEEN DOING, AS YET, SINGLE-HANDED.'"*

"'This is slavery, and that slavery too, a CONSEQUENCE OF LONG-CONTINUED EFFORT FOR THE ENSLAVEMENT OF OTHERS, to be accompanied by the means of monopolies of the command of great powers given by the Creator, for the use of all mankind. Had the people of Ireland, India, Portugal, Turkey, and Jamaica, been encouraged to avail themselves of the command of steam—had

* Alton Locke.

they been urged to develop the powers of earth, by bringing to light their various ores—had there been thus produced, throughout those countries, a competition for the purchase of the potential energies of man and land—all would now be different. Producing much, they would have much to sell—becoming better customers to the people of England from year to year. As it is, they produce little, and can buy but little, that little, too, becoming less, and the competition for the purchase of labour diminishing, when it should increase. England, herself, as has been shown, no longer produces *things* to be given in exchange for those she needs—her whole consumption of cotton, sugar, tea, coffee, and other commodities, being supplied by PROFITS DERIVED FROM STANDING BETWEEN THE PEOPLE WHO LABOUR TO PRODUCE, AND THOSE WHO NEED TO CONSUME. The larger the profits, the more wretched must be the condition of the agricultural communities of the earth—the share of the trader always growing most rapidly as the people on whom he lives, and upon whom he acts, tend most toward slavery and barbarism.'—*Carey's Principles of Social Science*, chap. 45.

"The same author shows the effect upon Ireland of the same free trade system with England now recommended for adoption in Canada.

"'Nothing but employment—nothing but the power to maintain commerce—was needed; but commerce could not exist under the system, which had, in a brief period, caused the annihilation of the cotton manufacture of India, notwithstanding the advantage of having the cotton on the spot, free from all costs of carriage. As in Jamaica, and as in India—the land having been gradually exhausted by the exportation of its products in their rudest states—the country had been drained of a capital; as a necessary consequence of which the labour, even of men, found no demand, while WOMEN AND CHILDREN STARVED, THAT THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF ENGLAND MIGHT SPIN COTTON AND WEAVE CLOTH, THAT IRELAND WAS TOO POOR TO PURCHASE.

"'Bad, however, as is all we have thus far seen, a state of things far worse was near at hand. Poverty and wretchedness compelling

the wretched people to fly in thousands and tens of thousands across the Channel—thus following the capital and the soil that had been transferred to Birmingham and Manchester—the streets and cellars of these towns, and of London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, were filled with men, women, and children, unable to sell their labour, and perishing for want of food. Throughout the country men were offering to perform the farm labour for food alone; and a cry arose among the people of England, that the labourers were likely to be swamped by these starving Irishmen; to provide against which it was needed that Irish landlords should be compelled to support their own poor, as they were forthwith required by Act of Parliament to do—although for about half a century previously, England had rung with denunciations of poor laws, as being entirely in contravention of all sound, economical principles. The system, however—looking as it did to the destruction of the power of Association, and to the consequent waste of labour—was itself in opposition to all such principles; and therefore was it, that the action of the legislature was required to be directly opposed to all that had been taught in the schools. The practice, under a sound system, may be consistent; but under an unsound one, it cannot be.

"'With the passage of the Irish poor law, there arose, of course, an increased desire to rid the country of people who, unable to sell their labour, could pay no rent; and from that time to the present, Ireland has presented the most shocking scenes, consequent upon the destruction of houses and the expulsion of their inhabitants—scenes far more worthy of the most uncivilized portions of Africa, than of an integral portion of the British Empire.

"'Thus far, Irish agriculture had been protected in the English market, as some small compensation for the sacrifice of the domestic one; but now, even that boon, trivial as it was, was withdrawn.—Like the people of Jamaica, those of Ireland had become poor, and their trade had ceased to be of value, although but seventy years before they had been the *best* customers of England. The system having exhausted all the countries in which commerce had been sacrificed to trade—India, Portugal, Turkey, the West Indies, and Ireland herself—it had become necessary to make an effort to obtain markets in those which had to a greater or less extent placed the

consumer by the side of the producer, to wit: this country, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia; and THE MODE OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS WAS THE OFFERING THEM THE SAME SYSTEM BY WHICH IRELAND HAD BEEN EXHAUSTED. THE FARMERS WERE EVERYWHERE INVITED TO IMPOVERISH THEIR SOIL BY SENDING ITS PRODUCTS TO ENGLAND TO BE CONSUMED; and the corn laws were repealed for the purpose of enabling them to enter into competition with the starving Irishman, who was thus at once deprived of the market of England, as, by the act of Union, he had been deprived of his own.'—*Principles of Social Science*, by H. C. Carey, vol. ii., chap. 10, p. 327.

" Thackeray adds his testimony as follows:

" ' Throughout the west and south of Ireland the traveller is haunted by the face of the *popular starvation*. It is not the exception—it is the *condition* of the people. In this fairest and richest of countries, men are suffering and *starving by millions*. There are thousands of them, at this minute, stretched in the sunshine of their cabin doors, with *no work*, scarcely any food, no hope seemingly. Strong countrymen are lying in bed, " '*for the hunger*' "—because a man lying on his back does not need so much food as a person afoot. Many of them have torn up the unripe potatoes from their little gardens, and to exist now must look to winter, when they shall have to suffer starvation and cold too.'

" And the following will explain how India has fared under the English Economists whom Canada must eschew:

" ' The misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seemed hardly compatible with the existence of society. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while 30,000,000 of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than Surajah Dowlah's loins. Under their old masters they had at least one resource; when the evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the govern-

ment. But the English government was not to be shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilization. It resembled the government of evil genii, rather than the government of human tyrants.'—*Macaulay.*

"'To the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade, &c.,

"'The humble Petition of the undersigned Manufacturers and Dealers in Cotton and Silk Piece Goods, the fabrics of Bengal:

"'SHEWETH—That of late years your Petitioners have found their business nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabrics of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year, to the great prejudice of the native manufacturers;

"'That the fabrics of Great Britain are consumed in Bengal, without any duties being levied thereon to protect the native fabrics;

"'That the fabrics of Bengal are charged with the following duties when they are used in Great Britain:

"'On manufactured cottons, 10 per cent.

"'On manufactured silks, 24 per cent.

"'Your Petitioners most humbly implore your Lordships' consideration of these circumstances, and they feel confident that no disposition exists in England to shut the door against the industry of any part of the inhabitants of this great empire.

"'They therefore pray to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects, and humbly entreat your Lordships to allow the cotton and silk fabrics of Bengal to be used in Great Britain 'free of duty,' or at the same rate as may be charged on British fabrics consumed in Bengal.

"'Your Lordships must be aware of the immense advantages the British manufacturers derive from their skill in constructing and using machinery, which enables them to undersell the unscientific manufacturers of Bengal in their own country; and, although your Petitioners are not sanguine in expecting to derive any great advantage from having their prayer granted, their minds would feel

gratified by such a manifestation of your Lordships' good-will towards them; and such an instance of justice to the natives of India would not fail to endear the British government to them.

"'They therefore confidently trust that your Lordship's righteous consideratiou will be extended to them as British subjects, without exception, of sect, country, or colour.

"'And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

[Signed by 117 natives of high respectability.]

CALCUTTA, September 1, 1831."

"THE MORE IMMEDIATE CALL FOR WATCHFULNESS AND EXERTION ON THE PART OF THE FRIENDS OF CANADA.

"'Even at the present day, and even at the present moment, the friends of Canadian industry require to be on the alert. It is only a short time ago since we saw in the English newspapers the following:

"'A deputation from Sheffield and Birmingham has lately had an interview with the Duke of Newcastle at the Colonial-office, upon the subject of the Canadian tariff. The deputation consisted of Mr. Atkinson (Mayor), Mr. R. Jackson (Master Cutler), Mr. Jobson Smith (President of the Chamber of Commerce), Mr. W. A. Matthews, and Mr. C. E. Smith (Hon. Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce), from Sheffield; and Mr. Henry Van Wart (Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce), and Mr. Frederick Elkington, from Birmingham. The deputatio was accompanied by Mr. J. A. Roebuck, M.P., and Mr. George Hadfield, M.P.'

"And the result has been an attempt of the boldest description by the Colonial Minister to influence the Legislation of Canada.

"It is self-evident, therefore, that as Canadians we must at once come forward boldly, and show that we are aware of our true position.

"Let us make it clear that we know that it is by over purchasing abroad, or SENDING MONEY OUT OF THE COUNTRY, that

we have been ruined. No true friend to Canada's connection with England could go for a continuance of the present pecuniary misery in the colony, caused by our over-importing from Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow. The following figures tell more plainly than any words can the present absurd position of the Trade of Canada :

	Exports.	Imports.
1856.....	$32,047,017	$43,584,387
1857.....	27,006,624	39,430,598
1858.....	23,472,609	29,078,527
1859.....	24,766,981	33,555,181

" 'The Free Traders in England play a most unprincipled part. They know that it was her originally having protective, or patriotic principles on the subject of her native labour, that made England great. They know that no country was ever made great by any other principles, and yet they would deprive Canada of them, to serve their personal ends. Selfishness, personal and class selfishness, is indeed their only impelling motive, for we must not dignify it by the name of *principle*. Such men as Cobden and Bright care less for the labouring man of Canada, or even of England, than the planter of the South cares for his slave. The youth of Canada at present have the choice of the description of labour which best suits them, only by expatriating themselves. A farmer in Canada, for instance, has five sons, and one, or two, or more of them are not fitted for agriculture ; he cannot find manufacturing employment for them in Canada, and must send them to the United States to get this privilege ! But all the world knows that no country hitherto has ever been made great by legislating for the world's industry instead of attending to her own affairs ; and even if England were to succeed in this novel attempt, it would be no reason for any other country running the same fearful hazard.

" Dr. List, (the great Economist), in *Der internationale Handel*, very simply explains that the rise of Russian greatness took its date from her repudiation of Political Economy. 'Soon after the war of 1815 (says List) there arose a teacher of the Free Trade theory, a certain Storch, who taught in Russia what Say did in

France, and Dr. Smith in England, viz., that Balance of Trade is a mere phantom, a chimera engendered in the disordered brain of the teachers of the mercantile system. Government gave the Free Trade system a fair trial, until the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Nesselrode, declared in an Official Circular of 1821, 'That Russia finds herself compelled by circumstances to adopt an independent system in commerce, as the raw productions of the country find but an indifferent market abroad, the native manufacturers are becoming ruined, *all the ready cash is going abroad*, and the most solid mercantile houses are about to break. In a few weeks afterwards the new protective Tariff was issued, and the beneficial consequences soon manifested themselves. CAPITAL, TALENT, AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRY SOON FOUND THEIR WAY INTO RUSSIA FROM ALL PARTS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD, AND MORE ESPECIALLY FROM ENGLAND AND GERMANY. Nothing more was heard there of commercial crises, caused by overtrading; the nation has grown prosperous, and the manufactures are flourishing."

"No words of mine could so well convey to the Canadian farmer my view of his and his family's true interest than the foregoing words of Dr. List. And I cannot possibly do more for Canada, than to place before her the same author's description of the sade ffects on the United States, of taking the advice of English statesmen, who are just English manufacturers or their tools:—

"'There are many,' says Dr. List (*Der internationale Handel*) 'who impute the commercial crises of the United States to their paper and banking systems; but there can be no doubt that the evil originated in the 'Compromise Bill' (1832), in consequence of which America's imports soon exceeded her exports, and the United States became debtors to England for several hundred millions of dollars, which they were unable to cancel by their exports. The proof that these crises must chiefly be ascribed to the excess of imports lies in the fact, that they invariably occurred in times of great influx of foreign manufactures in consequence of a reduced tariff; and that on the contrary, they never took place either in time of war, when few imports could take place, or when, by the high import duties, the exports had been brought into just

proportion with the imports. * * It was in 1789 that the first American tariff was framed, imposing a trifling duty on the most important articles of imports. Trifling as the rate of the duty was, its effects on the prosperity of the country became so manifest, that Washington, in his message (1701) already congratulated the nation on the flourishing state of manufactures and agriculture. Encouraged by the success of the first attempt, the Congress raised, in 1804, the Import Duties to 15 per cent., and in 1815 the manufactures of the United States already employed (according to the Report of the Commercial Committee to the Congress) 100,000 hands, and an annual amount of the produce amounted to sixty millions of dollars, while the value of land and the prices of all sorts of goods, as also of wages, rose to an extraordinary degree. After the peace of Ghent the Congress doubled the rate of duty for the first year; but pressed by the arguments of the disciples of Free Trade, it lowered the tariff in 1816, after which the calamities of the period of 1786 to 1791 soon made their re-appearance, viz., ruin of the manufacturers, valuelessness of productions, and a fall in the value of landed property. After the country had thus again, during the second war, enjoyed the blessings of peace, it once more experienced all the previous evils after the conclusion of peace, when a great influx of manufactures again took place, and these evils of peace were even greater than those caused by the devastations of war. It was only in 1824 that the Congress saw the expediency of, and resolved upon, raising the tariff; but that resolution was frustrated by Mr. Huskisson's threat of *retaliatory measures*. The ruinous state of the industrial classes of the United States at last compelled the Congress to raise the tariff in 1828, which was, however modified in 1832 (by the Compromise Bill) owing to the exertions of Mr Poulett Thompson,* the successor of Huskisson, in which he was aided by the planters of the South, who all clamoured for a cheap tariff. The consequence of that Compromise Bill was the importation into the United States of such enor-

* Right Hon. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, and Governor-General of British North America at the time of the Union of Upper and Lower Canada.

mous quantities of English manufactures as totally to destroy the Balance of Trade between the two countries, and to bring about the commercial crisis in 1835, from which the United States has not yet quite recovered, despite the revision of the tariff in 1840. All this plainly shows the necessity of not allowing the imports of a country to exceed the exports, or in short, of keeping continually in sight the *Balance* of Trade.' "

"THE MONEY POWER OF ENGLAND *versus* THE LABOUR POWER OF ENGLAND AND OF THE WORLD—HER HARD MONEY SYSTEM BEING THE DEEPEST CONSPIRACY THE WORLD EVER SAW AGAINST INDUSTRY—DEAR MONEY AND CHEAP PRICES AND WAGES CONVERTIBLE TERMS—SO THAT EVERY PHILANTHROPIST MUST SYMPATHIZE WITH THE LATE SPEAKER IN HYDE PARK, WHO SAID—'IF POLITICAL ECONOMY IS AGAINST US THEN WE ARE AGAINST POLITICAL ECONOMY."

'*Fœnus hoc fecit et nummus percususs.*'—Pliny.
'Usury did this and coined money.'

'Coin is for the purpose of daily exchange, which exchange it is almost a matter of course that artisans must make, and indeed all persons who need their services, and to pay wages to hired servants, slaves and settlers; for which purpose we affirm there must be a coin having a *value* among the members of a State, but *no* value to the rest of the world.'—PLATO.

'Wealth, we have said, is the product of human labour, which procures for man all the material good which he wishes to enjoy; it is the representation of all physical enjoyments, which proceed from them. Very well: but for whom? This question should never be lost sight of; whilst, on the contrary, it never presents itself to theorists. For whom? According to the answer which is given to this question, man belongs to wealth, or wealth belongs to man!'—*Etudes sur les Sciences Sociales*, par Simonde de Sismondi.

" Deeply impressed with the conviction that the hard money system of England is the great curse of labour in the British Empire, and throughout her colonies *especially*, I have (as friends and foes will bear me witness) in season and out of season, for the last thirty years, held up my testimony against it. It were much pleasanter, of course, for any man to sail with the current, for the public must necessarily, till prepared to alter its opinions, view the man a fool who holds, or at all events who publishes, contrary ones, seeing that his doing so is not coming very far short of paying this same plain, if not pleasant, compliment to the public.

" When Harvey (as Jonathan Duncan has remarked) announced the circulation of the blood, and Jenner the principles of vaccination, both were denounced as ignorant quacks. The fate of Galileo is well known. Winsor had to beg his bread by the light of the gas he discovered. Fulton on the Hudson, and Bell on the Clyde, were deemed drivellers when they proposed to propel vessels through the water, not by sails but by steam. Stephenson was suspected of being a lunatic when he was projecting his locomotive; and the *Quarterly Review* declared that he who expected that the speed on a railroad would exceed ten miles an hour, was only fit for Bedlam. Such examples of error should check rash and precipitate judgments. Paper money has, no doubt, had its abuses, but so had the steam engine before the safety valve was invented; and I will attempt to show that THE INVENTION OF A PAPER MONEY WAS AS VAST A STEP AS FROM SPOKEN TO WRITTEN LANGUAGE, FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINT."

" The same eloquent historical writer farther remarks :

' The legislation of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Loyd tend to realize in England the same injustice and ruin which occasioned the downfall of Rome. In a recent memorable trial, it appears that usury is now so extortionate, that attorneys (certainly not of a reputable class) take 60 per cent. on loans, and require the interest to be paid monthly, so that in eighteen months the accumulated interest equals the principal, while the debt remains undiminished.

' The science of society affirms that since it is the privilege of industry to heap up wealth as its reward, so it ought to be the punishment of idleness to break down riches till they wholly disappear.

' Such would inevitably be the case if the perception of interest were abolished. If we except some of the harder metals, perishableness is an inherent quality in commodities, and it is universally true in the vegetable kingdom ; but when a government makes a contract for perishable commodities, and gives for them a moneyed equivalent, when it takes the form of a funded debt, becomes, or may become, IMPERISHABLE. Thus the English are still paying interest on the gunpowder exploded in the wars of Marlborough, though the principal sum representing its original cost, has been

discharged over and over again. Thus usury confers immortality on debt, and every child born after the contraction of the debt is reared in the cradle of fiscal bondage. Thus moneyed classes are perpetuated by usury, as landed classes are perpetuated by primogeniture. These two laws are the parents of political privileges, and privilege necessarily demands exclusion as the condition of its own existence. THE TWO FORMS OF WEALTH, LANDED AND MONEYED, UNITE ON BEHALF OF PRIVILEGE, AND THEIR ALLIANCE PUTS DOWN AND KEEPS DOWN ALL THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY, who have neither acres nor gold. The legislation of Peel and Loyd has riveted the fetters of this form of servitude.

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'Sir Robert Peel was a defender, nay, an admirer of usury. The following passages are extracted from the speech he delivered in the debate on Commercial Distress, 30th November, 1847 :—

'Some hon. gentlemen, from whom I could have hoped better things, says commerce cannot be conducted if we are to pay 10 per cent. for interest ; and Government is blamed because people are compelled to pay 10 per cent. Why, what right has any man to pay for money more than money is worth ? If money is worth 10 per cent. it will be asked, what law can prohibit such a rate of interest ?'

'The fallacy on which this justification of usury rests consists in money being compared to commodities, to which it bears *no* resemblance whatever. That coals or iron, cotton or indigo, ought to sell for what they would fetch in an open market, is quite reasonable, because the legislature imposes no arbitrary limit to their production ; their quantity is permitted to increase or diminish under the law of supply and demand, being wholly and exclusively ruled by the markets of consumption. Totally different is the case with metallic money. A law of nature, over which Parliament has no control, restricts the quantity of the raw material, gold, the yield of the mines never keeping pace with the increase of population, or the expansion of trade. Moreover, whenever gold is exported as a profitable mercantile speculation, or is hoarded at home, through panic, the Act of 1844 compels the Bank of England to contract its issue of notes. The rule is, no gold, no paper ; no paper, no money ; no

money, no discounts, except on terms of extortion. This is the reason why interest rises ; this is why the trading world are compelled to pay 10 per cent., and a commission of 20 to 30 per cent. ; and it is clear that they are forced to pay it, under penalty of bankruptcy, not for the fair and legitimate use of money, but on account of its artificial scarcity—a scarcity created by Act of Parliament for the benefit of usurers. If money were like everything else in the market, as Sir Robert Peel most falsely assumed, money would increase with the demand for it ; but in violation of all sound principles, and of all honour and honesty, the Bank of England is commanded by the legislature to withhold money when it is most needed, and thus made the reluctant instrument of strangling trade. If the real working of this most iniquitous system were understood, these fraudulent and suicidal statutes would be instantly repealed by the indignant voice of plundered industry.

'When bullion is coined into money, it ceases to be simply a commodity, but has superinduced upon it a monetary character. It no longer resembles other articles of commerce. This is happily illustrated by Mr. James Taylor :—

'Under Peel's law, gold does not resemble other articles of commerce in the principle which determines its exchangable value, any more than the trump suit in the game of whist resembles the other three suits. It is well known that while the latter exchange on equal terms one with the other, the trump suit is endowed with supreme power, which makes its lowest number often possess a controlling power greater than the highest number of the other three suits. So, under Peel's Bill, gold is endowed with a like controlling power over the value of all other commodities in this country.

'We must dwell a moment longer on this important branch of the subject. Suppose that in 1819, when the bill for returning to cash payments was enacted, Parliament had decreed that a single gasometer should supply all London with gas ; and at that time fixed the number of cubic feet of gas to be manufactured, ordering that that quantity should never be increased in any future time ; what would be the consequence in 1856 ? Clearly that all the streets built since 1819 would be left without gas ; or if *they* received a supply, then the consequence would be that many of

the streets constructed prior to 1819 would be doomed to darkness. According to Sir Robert Peel, the directors of the gasometer would be justified in saying 'gas ought to sell for what it is worth,' for if usury on money, limited by Act of Parliament is defensible, so also would the usury on gas, limited by Act of Parliament. The same reasoning applies to every monopoly. * * *

'How, then are debts due to foreigners to be liquidated? In gold or silver, coined or uncoined, at the *marked price** of those metals. In these distinctions there is nothing new, but simply a revival of what is old. The use of what may be called a double currency was well known to the people of antiquity. *It was soon observed that the precious metals did not increase proportionately with all other commodities;* and the wisdom of ancient legislators perceived that production must be arrested if no other *distributive* instruments than gold and silver were employed. One of the earliest plans adopted to surmount the difficulty was the creation of *a national currency in each independent state for internal trade;* and its distinctive characteristic was the total absence of intrinsic value which effectually prevented its exportation. This invention greatly economized the use of the precious metals, allowing them to be wholly employed in discharging the balances of foreign trade. Thus the cities of Byzantium and Clazomenæ provided iron money for their own citizens, which circulated at home for *the nominal value impressed upon it by public authority.* The monetary laws of value, which would pass current in all the states of Greece.—Xenophon observes that 'most of the states of Greece have money,

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* "This is the Alpha and Omega of Currency Reformers; we say that the holder of paper money should not get payment at a price *fixed by law* as at present. We show that the *violation of the law of supply and demand*, as regards gold, gives an advantage to the foreigner, over the home manufacturer, to the extent that its *value* is more than its *price.* We show, also, that the depriving gold of the benefit of the law of supply and demand, is pratically a *denial to our farmer, of the advantage of the law of supply and demand* for his wheat and other productions; for while the foreigner can take gold at a low fixed price, he will never buy any other article of export, unless at as cheap or even cheaper rate. If the farmer will not take the low price for his produce, the foreigner takes his gold, and the ruin to the farmer is much more serious than could arise from accepting of a small price."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

Lycurgus were founded on the same principle; but that great legislator deprived his money of all value as *merchandise*, by destroying the malleability of the iron of which it was composed. Seneca states that the Spartans also used leather money, having a stamp to show by what authority it was issued. Plato recommended a double currency in every state. 'Coin,' wrote that illustrious philosopher, 'is for the purpose of daily exchange, which exchange it is almost a matter of course that artisans must make, and indeed all persons who need their services, and to pay wages to hired servants, slaves, and settlers; for which purpose we affirm there must be a coin having a *value* among the members of a state, but *no* value to the rest of the world.' For the purpose of visiting other STATES, Plato proposed a common Greek coin of intrinsic which is not current except in their own territory; HENCE MERCHANTS ARE OBLIGED TO BARTER THEIR WARES FOR OTHER WARES.'* These examples abundantly prove the early adoption of a double currency in the sense in which we have explained the term. * * * *

'Personal slavery is the sternest and most absolute form in which man himself belongs to wealth. Cuba is a rich island, but its riches belong to the white man alone, the slaves being the most valuable part of their property. Cotton enriches the planters of the Southern States of the American Union, and the negroes bought and sold at public auction are included in the balance sheet of their wealth.—The serfs of Russia create riches in which they never participate. In some countries the nominally free labourer, receiving wages, is only one remove from this degradation. THUS THE IRISH PEASANT RAISES BREAD AND MEAT, BUT RARELY TASTES EITHER. The cultivator of the vine in the Gironde, on the banks of the Rhine and the Douro, never quaffs the juice of the high flavoured and fully ripened grape. OUR WEAVERS & SPINNERS, WHOSE INDUSTRY CLOTHES THE DISTANT CHINESE, ARE SCANTILY SUPPLIED WITH RAIMENT; and in the general interchange of commodi-

* "This is the demand which I have always shewn the Canadian farmer loses the moment his *production is not lower than gold*, while he depends on the European market."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

ties between different nations, only the select few of the wealthy classes enjoy the luxuries produced by a scattered and diversified labour. * * * * * *

" 'This unequal distribution is defended by Mr. Ricardo, who did not blush to maintain that the productive classes should be limited 'to the necessaries and conveniences required for the support of the labourer and his family; or that quantity which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution.' "

" These selfish dogmas are founded upon narrow views of THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY, TO WHICH THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY OUGHT TO BE SUBORDINATE.

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" Moreover, man is gifted with inventive faculties, which enable him to mould and fashion all raw material according to his necessities; and the triumphs of science are measured by the extent of his conquests over the external world.

" The argument deducible from this statement affirms that all things needful to the happiness of man have been abundantly bestowed on him by the benevolence of the Deity, and that the sole condition of human enjoyment is labour. Such, in its purity and simplicity, is the relation established between the Creator and the creature, so far as the sustentation of physical existence is involved. But God has also endowed man with reason, to distinguish between good and evil—with liberty of choice to determine his conduct under the influence of motives—and with liberty of action, to execute the determinations on which he may resolve. All this constitutes him a responsible being, the subject of reward and punishment, and establishes his moral relations to the Deity. IF THEN MAN ABUSE HIS REASON OR LIBERTY, HE BECOMES THE AUTHOR OF HIS OWN SUFFERING.* Under these views the science of society is made to rest on a religious basis, which recognises God as the sole Proprietor of His Earth,

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* " This is just what England does, in submitting to the cruel and unpatriotic doctrines of her present heartless system, called Free Trade, but which is only a system of Free Imports."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

and of all that it contains; while it declares man to be the accountable trustee, answerable for its usufruct. In this sense it fundamentally opposes that utilitarian school of POLITICAL ECONOMY, WHICH, CALCULATING THE PRODUCE AND FORGETTING THE PRODUCER, takes as its motto, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' This school has affirmed that a country is overpopulated when millions of acres susceptive of culture are abandoned to sterility; that INDUSTRY HAS BEEN GUILTY OF THE SIN OF OVER-PRODUCTION, WHEN MILLIONS OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE DESTITUTE OF THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE; AND THAT MONEY IS REDUNDANT, WHEN MILLIONS OF POCKETS ARE PENNILESS. * * * * * *

"The science of society denies these dogmas. Maintaining as a fundamental principle, that all the materials of food, clothing, and lodging, exist in profusion, it contends that if every mouth is a consumer, every hand is a producer. It insists that human desires and appetites are the permanent incentives to labour, and that, as these are insatiable, the motives to production can never be suspended or even enfeebled, unless through some VICIOUS INTERFERENCE OF LEGISLATION, MILITATING AGAINST THE LAWS OF NATURE.* It holds that production and consumption having free liberty and full scope, would act and react reciprocally and constantly on each other, so that supply and demand would never fail. Nothing could be either deficient or in excess; scarcity and gluts would be unknown. It rejects the fallacies of OVER-PRODUCTION AND OVER-POPULATION, TERMS WHICH, RIGIDLY ANALYZED, IMPLY A CONTRADICTION, for a superabundance of people relatively to food and clothing, and, at the same time, a superfluity of food and clothing relatively to people! are propositions mutually subversive of each other. In real life it is unfortunately true that HUNGER INVADES THE DWELLING OF THE POOR, WHILE GRANARIES ARE FILLED WITH CORN; AND THAT

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† "I have shown, elsewhere, that the object of Currency Reformers is practically the *clearing away* of bad Legislation, though this of course requires to be done by Legislation."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

MILLIONS ARE INSUFFICIENTLY CLOTHED, WHILE THE WAREHOUSES OF THE MANUFACTURERS ARE STOCKED WITH RAIMENT TO REPLETION.* The desire to consume, however, exists in undiminished force, and if the natural law had free play, both the granaries and the warehouses would be emptied."

"THE MONEY POWER *versus* THE LABOUR POWER.

"If then it is utterly impossible for us to suppose a country with so heartless a policy in regard to home, as well as colonial industry, as England has, why should we copy it? I have elsewhere,† at great length explained that our error lies in this, that the circulation is based upon and in proportion to GOLD, the rich man's property, instead of upon LABOUR, the poor man's property—that this basis is therefore a thing that can be sent away, instead of a thing that cannot be sent out of the country;—instead, in a word, of money being the mere handmaid of native industry. The superstructure can never be continuously large when its basis (the golden basis of our *inverted* pyramid!) is allowed to become small. IN FACT THIS ABSURDITY IS ENDURED BY ENGLAND, AND HER COLONIES, AND ALL COUNTRIES SHE CAN INFLUENCE, THAT THE EXTENT OF THE CIRCULATION IS REGULATED BY THE STOCK OF GOLD, A FOREIGN COMMODITY IN THE COUNTRY, INSTEAD OF BY THE EXTENT OF THE COUNTRY'S NATIVE PRODUCTIONS OR INDUSTRY.—And it were well for any country to be deprived of every ounce of its gold, if at no cheaper

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* "Would we hear any more in England, or any where else, of over production, if every man, woman and child had a full supply of necessary clothing and food! And if our laws did not prevent distribution (looking only to accumulation or making the rich richer, and the poor poorer) *the more population, there would be the more prosperity!* This is a thing which we in Canada can understand, though it will seem an amazing assertion in England."—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

† See former part of Postscript.

rate can be shown its actual independence of the yellow metal.* The English system, of thus holding nothing to be a proper representative of money, except that which is capable of being exported, or which in other words will bring back gold, is seen to be monstrous when we reflect that *the internal transactions of a country are calculated to be at least twenty times the amount of its exports, or at least ten times the amount of its exports and imports put together.* It is because England persists in doing the same injury to her own people, that for so long a time she has been believed to be ignorant of the distress in which she involves all foreign countries that follow her example or advice. But the question is now being suggested, may it not be the case that the government of England is only after all a class-government, and that THE MONEYED CLASS WHO RULE ENGLAND CARE NO MORE FOR THE WORKING CLASSES OF ENGLAND, THAN THEY DO FOR FOREIGNERS, OR AS WE HAVE SEEN, THEY DO FOR COLONISTS—the pound of flesh being their only principle. Certain it is that we, as colonists, have no tie to England but the Queen. The statesmen of England we regard as men who having already attempted, will again attempt, the degradation of the colonists. As a class, they are neither feared nor respected in the colonies, and at the present moment there are few, very few individuals among them, that we believe to be truly liberal men, or whose liberality goes farther than is necessary to secure the

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* "The effect of Peel's Money Law is a complete violation of his principle of buying cheap, and selling dear, for the British producers are forced to buy gold dear, and sell it cheap. They buy at a *trade* price (by *trade* meaning prices on the local level of wages as explained in page one of Postscript). They sell at a cash price. Foreigners on the contrary should sell to us at *trade* or nominally high prices, and payment should be made to them for their products at the same rates, or (as people express the *appreciation* of gold) in *depreciated* gold. This would cause foreign exchanges to be apparently unfavourable to Canada; they would be only nominally so, for foreigners always exchange according to the intrinsic value of gold and silver as the common measure of value, therefore they would have no advantage over the home producers, whereas at present they receive more gold than the latter, whenever prices are above the barter level, or raw material price, (equal to that at which the law has fixed gold."'—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

popular vote in Britain the country, while HE ENTIRELY FORGETS OR OVERLOOKS BRITAIN THE EMPIRE.

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"And it is not only as regards colonial labour, but as regards the labour of the mother country that British statesmen have adopted the most disloyal principles, for they do not pretend to owe more allegiance to the BRITISH LABOURER (WHO SHOULD BE THEIR POLITICAL MASTER) THAN THEY DO TO THE FOREIGN LABOURER. On the throne of patriotism they have set up Political Economy! Perhaps however we should be nearer the truth if we hold that in England there never was, among her legislators, any more than the *pretence* of devotion to the interests of the British people. The success of the American Revolution shewed them, that no government could exist that had not the hearts of the people, and the subsequent troubles in France made this still more clear. But they took the same line, *as we have seen the most unworthy politicians in Canada take*,—to prove themselves *pure*—they cried out against an imaginary corruption. But as in the one case so in the other, it was all mere empty words. The public men in England, instead of honestly associating the Government with the people in their interests, *humbugged* (to use an unmistakable word,) both the Crown and the people. That truly popular interests should prevail was no doubt the interest of the Crown, but this would not suit the British statesmen as representatives of the men of money. They knew that WELL PAID LABOUR is a convertible term for CHEAP MONEY. They therefore introduced a contrivance which blinded both the Crown and the people. At Cambridge they had learned that "*things which are equal to the same thing, are equal to one another*," and they taught this lesson both to the Crown and the people. Their object of course was to prevent any actual *oneness* of interests between the Crown and the people; so they had to use considerable *sleight-of-hand;* and the *juggle* succeeded admirably:

> "Indeed the pleasure seemed as great
> Of being cheated as to cheat,
> As lookers on feel most delight,
> That least perceive the juggler's sleight;
> And still the less they understand,
> The more they admire his sleight-of-hand!"

" They accordingly set up this thing called Political Economy, and succeeded in convincing the people that it WAS PATRIOTISM they were called upon to worship. Political Economy (said they) is the people's interest. Political Economy also they averred to be the Crown's interest. And so, by the easiest *geometrical* process, the interests of the Crown and the people were *proved* identical, as being both identical with Political Economy! But the great popular condition was never fulfilled, of money being *permitted* to become cheap, seeing that this was the convertible term for labour, being made dear, or employment fairly remunerated. The Political Economists knew well that there are but two ways of paying taxes. Taxes must either be ADDED TO PRICE (as they ought to be) or *deducted from wages*. Without TAXATION-PAPER-MONEY the people must be driven to the latter cruel alternative, and THEY WERE, AND STILL ARE, DRIVEN TO IT. The " cry" was got up that paper money might be OVER-ISSUED,* and by this expedient the money-mongers, as I have before said, succeeded in effectually *humbugging* both the Crown and the people. The air we breathe exists in SUPERFLUITY around us, but the *lungs* only appropriate the necessary quantity, so trade *could* only absorb money to the extent of its *transactions*, which are the *lungs* of trade. As with the air, so with the paper money, *or legal life blood of the Trade*, the only question should have been as to its purity, for were the legal tender one pound note properly secured, it is clear that no one but a lunatic would part with it for less than twenty shilling's worth. The *impossibility* of the over-issue of such *undoubted* paper money, and the impossibility of any *unlimited* rise in wages in consequence, is well illustrated by Mr. Edward Capps in his very clever work, *The Currency in a Nut shell*:—

" ' It is (says Mr. Capps) a well known fact, that by the pressure of the atmosphere, water *will* rise in a vacuum (the barrel of a pump for instance) to about 33 feet. Now, suppose that the water in a certain vacuum had always been prevented by the interposition of a plug, from rising higher than ten feet, it would follow that when

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* " Their actual fear was that money would fall and labour rise in value."
ISAAC BUCHANAN.

this plug was raised one, two, or ten feet higher, the water would immediately rush up and fill the additional vacuum created. Had the plug never been entirely withdrawn, and the people had not known what was the *cause* which produced the rise of the water, they might have concluded that the water would rise *ad infinitum*, and that it was necessary to interpose a limiting power to prevent it overflowing and deluging everything around. But it is obvious that the removal of the plug was not the *cause* of the rise of the water, but was only that which *permitted* it to rise; the *cause* was the *weight of the atmosphere*, and ceased to act when the equilibrium was gained. So, in like manner, the extension of the currency is not the *cause* of the rise of prices, as many think, but is only that which *permits it*; the cause is the *weight of taxation*, and the rise will cease whenever a price, which will form an equilibrum with the weight of taxation, is obtained. Competition will infallibly prevent prices rising higher than this.'

"I myself have never seen a very much better illustration than the foregoing. My own favourite way of illustrating the withdrawal, within two years, of half the bank note circulation in Canada, is that it leaves the trade in the predicament of a vessel in a canal, from which one half the water has been suddenly drawn off.

"The sad result, however, for the nation is, that THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS HAVE GOT THEIR WAY, AND THE PEOPLE THEREFORE HAVE NOT ONLY TO PAY THE NATION'S TAXES OUT OF THEIR WAGES, BUT TO BE WITH INSUFFICIENT EMPLOYMENT, TO THE EXTENT THE CIRCULATION HAS THUS ARTIFICIALLY AND MOST CRUELLY BEEN MADE INSUFFICIENT.

"Even the *Times* newspaper, when making its noble stand in favour of the ten hours' bill, and against the Political Economists, admitted this cruel result of British legislation.

"For a whole generation (said the *Times*) *man has been a drug* in this country. It has scarcely entered into the heads of Economists, that they would ever have to deal with a deficiency of labour. The inexhaustible Irish supply has kept down the price of English labour, whether in the field, the factory, the army, or the navy; whether at the sickle, the spade, the hod, or the desk. We believe

that, for fifty years at least, *labour, taking its quality into account, has been cheaper in this country than in any part of Europe*; and this cheapness of labour has contributed vastly to the improvement and powers of the country—to the success of all mercantile pursuits and to the enjoyment of those who have money *to* spend. *This same cheapness has placed the labouring classes most effectually under the hand of money and the heel of power.*' (See *Times* of 5th July, 1851.)

And I feel that I cannot better close this paper, than by reproducing part of the truthful reply made some years ago, to the *London Economist*, by a very talented member of the Canadian Parliament,—JOHN W. GAMBLE, Esq.:—

"'The article alluded to asserts that farmers and millers in Canada favourable to annexation, adopt that plan from an opinion of its necessity, and as a countervailing benefit, contingent upon our colonial condition, points to the protection on Canadian timber in the British market.* The *Montreal Herald*, to add strength to the annexation cause, successfully shows the superiority of the United States as a market for that staple, thus rendering valueless the only commercial advantage remaining to us as a colony, and leaving the argument of necessity, as stated by a subordinate minister of the Crown, to exert its full force in favour of annexation. * * * * * *

"'I hold that to insure continuous prosperity to Canada, consumer and producer must be brought still nearer—placed side by side—and that the mode to accomplish this, and to aid the farmer in inducing the mechanic to take his place beside him, is a high protective tariff on all those articles for the manufacture of which we possess natural advantages. The editor of the *Economist*, this subordinate minister of the Crown, the great free trade advocate of England, admits, as his deliberate conviction, that the only relief, the only refuge for the depressed agricultural and milling interests of Canada, is to be sought and found—where? Why in the markets caused by the "protected corporations of New England." Here it is:— * * * * *

'I repeat the remedy pointed out by the *Economist* as the only source of relief, annexation excepted, for the agricultural and milling interests of Canada is to be found in the markets caused by the protected corporations of New England. Wherein, then, do we differ? Protection, as a system, is equally the beneficial cause of the remedy, whether that remedy be attained by annexation, or by the more subtle mode, of the free ingress

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* This Timber protection also has gone, in the terms of Mr. Cobden's treaty between Manchester and Louis Napoleon.

into the United States of our natural products, promised us by the *Economist* by treaty of Reciprocity. * * * The difference is just this: I say, and common sense says, and the facts and reasoning of the *Economist* say, adopt yourselves the policy of the Union, and your protected corporations will soon furnish you with a market of your own, for your agricultural products at home.

'The *Economist* says, free trade with the Union in raw produce makes their high prices yours, but, true to England's interest, neglects to add, then will we gather those high prices into our own bosom, in exchange for the rags and devil's dust of Manchester and Leeds. No, no, Mr. *Economist*, England must consult the interests of her people abroad equally with those at home—they are no longer to be gulled with such words as "British subjects" and "integral parts of the empire." They have the shadow—they want the substance; she must consult their interests, or they will consult them for themselves. ANNEXATION IS FAR PREFERABLE TO YOUR "FREE TRADE IN RAW PRODUCTS," unaccompanied by protection to home industry: and I submit whether the question of protection is not virtually conceded by this Free Trader?'

In Mr. Senior's "*Mercantile Theory of Wealth*" we have the following evidence of the Political Economists, being aware that protection to native industry is popular, and would be the rule under universal suffrage:—"If the unhappy prejudices that now exist on this subject should continue, and if the *extension of representative government should increase the power of public opinion* over the policy of nations, I fear that commerce may not long be enabled to retain even that degree of freedom that she now enjoys. —I have perfect reliance on the knowledge and good intentions of our present Ministers—but very little on the knowledge possessed by the country at large. And if Ministers are unsupported by the country at large—if each class, in turn, is to be permitted a complete or a partial monopoly, and bribed by this sacrifice of the general and permanent interest [Query?—the *interest* of the annuitants and tax-eaters, whom Sir James Graham calls 'the *drones* of the hive,' I. B.] of the public to its own partial and immediate advantage, to allow others to clamour for the power to exercise a similar oppression—if Ministers are not aided by the public voice in their struggles against individual rapacity—we shall tread backwards, with greater rapidity, the few steps which we have so laboriously gained. In a representative government, where

each individual may proclaim, in their uttermost exaggeration, his sufferings and his fears, where the power arbitrarily to do good is chained by the same fetters which restrain the power arbitrarily to do evil—where, in short, *public opinion is omnipotent*, and is, on these subjects, so ill-informed, and therefore so easily misunderstood,—there appears, at first sight, no limit to the extent to which individual interest, popular prejudice, and national jealousy, might next carry the system of exclusion."

And of the conspirators of the money market, who hold their unholy orgies over that grossest of all the acts of the Political Economists—Sir R. Peel's money bill of 1819—none ever did the harm, as influencing the public mind, which Dr. Chalmers, the brightest ornament of the Church to which I have the honour to belong,) did on the subject of economy; and, strange to say, by IT also was this great man's mind perverted into a distrust of the working classes, for whom it may be said that he had lived; for in his "*Political Economy, in Connection with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*," we find the following:—

"A liberal politics, forms no guarantee, but, we doubt, the opposite, for a liberal political economy. THIS IS A SUBJECT ON WHICH THE POPULAR AND PHILOSOPHIC MINDS ARE NOT AT ALL IN HARMONY: and the very admission into Parliament of so large an influence from the will of the humbler classes may, after all, endanger the cause of sound legislation, on every topic where the seeming and the substantial interests of the country are at variance.'

"And the *Manchester Guardian* of yesterday (8th May, 1850) puts it beyond doubt that the present race of economists have as little hearty dependence on the working classes as had the fathers of Political Economy. His leading article has the following—the fact being concealed that the barefaced insincerity of many of the members to the democratical principles they professed at the hustings, is the instigating cause of the present danger in France, which is used as an excuse by Thiers and the Economists to make a *first*, if it is not perhaps a very vital, deviation from the popular principle!—' That neither France nor any other large European state can be safely subjected to the action of a legislative body elected

by universal suffrage, has been more than sufficiently proved; and therefore some modification, now or hereafter, of the French electoral law will be indispensable. But whether any such modification will meet the danger that now threatens the country, may well be doubted.'

"Finally, we have the following from the pen of Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymer, dated 17th October, 1849:—'It is remarkable that Free Trade has been carried by the middle Classes, not only without the assistance of the Working Classes, but in spite of their opposition.' This is worse than the early Whigs, who were outdone by the Tories as Free Traders; indeed Mr. Fox, the late Lord Grey, Burke, and Sheridan, were decidedly opposed to the delusive theories of Free Trade. This is admitted in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1846: 'We must in candour admit and lament that those maxims of policy taught by Dr. Adam Smith, which bind nations together by the reciprocal benefits of commerce, [there is no reciprocity—I. B.] produced less effect on the minds of the Whig leaders than on that of Mr. Pitt.'"

PEEL'S ASSERTION OF THE OMNIPOTENCE OF PARLIAMENT OVER THE OMNIPOTENCE OF PRINCIPLE MUST END IN UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, AS IN THE UNITED STATES, SEEING THAT TYRANNY CAN ONLY BE EXERCISED WITH IMPUNITY BY PRINCIPALS.

"My own effort in politics (adds Mr. Buchanan, at the Free Trade era in England), now brought to a termination quite satisfactory to me, has always been an humble one, or one at all events very simple, definite, and quite free from all personal or party objects or ambition. I HAVE, IN A WORD, HAD IT AS MY OBJECT TO ASSIST IN REMOVING A POPULAR DELUSION, WHICH ONE WOULD THINK A SINGLE LOOK AT PROTECTIONIST AMERICA MIGHT DISPEL—VIZ., THE VERY GENERAL NOTION THAT A PERSON WHO ADVOCATES PROTECTION TO NATIVE INDUSTRY MUST NECESSARILY BE A CHURCH TORY, THE ENEMY OF AN ENLARGED POLITICAL FRANCHISE, OR THE ADVOCATE OF MONOPOLY IN SOME OTHER SHAPE. I saw this to be a great object in our circumstances. In 1846 I saw that Sir Robert

Peel's assertion of the omnipotence of Parliament over the omnipotence of principle must lead to the responsibility of our legislation being transferred to the entire people, because omnipotence may become tyranny, which, if exercised at all, should be the act of principals. My words were, 'Peel's assertion of the omnipotence of Parliament, in the room of the omnipotence of principle, moral and constitutional, must—if we would prevent unfortunate legislation becoming a cause of revolution, precipitate UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE; democratic legislation, however, as being synonymous with shielding the labour and fixed property of the country from the foreign trade alien money-power, is the best or only permanent security for monarchy in the executive, in these days of revolution.' Such a change in the constitution of Parliament must, I saw clearly, be the necessary result of the money-power in Parliament having degraded the questions of labour, or the EMPLOYMENT OF OUR OWN PEOPLE, from being a constitutional question (and the greatest of all those constitutional questions on which members of Parliament are only delegates) to being a mere fiscal question! I saw that there was no longer any guarantee to this country for the permanency to its best secured and most valued institutions (nor even of the crown itself), although no voice may have been lifted at the hustings against any of these; and I knew that the *ex post facto* assent of the constituencies did not make the proceeding right, but only included *them* in its guilt. The permanently important point was not whether the new policy of 1846 was right or wrong, but the result of this policy had an immediate importance; for great danger to the public peace must flow from any reduction of employment in this country, especially when the unfortunate legislation was not the act of the whole people, nor even of the existing parliamentary constituencies. The difficulty of our national position was and is the greater, from the public mind in this country having been so drugged by COBDEN AND THE FOREIGN INTEREST, who have deluded the people by calling themselves free traders, while their system is one only of free imports. What then were the working classes to do as a first step? I answered—Let them refuse their confidence to every man who refuses his confidence to them, let them refuse to listen to the details of any man

who is not their political friend in the sense of going with them for their political enfranchisement—in a word, for the principle of Universal Suffrage; which I firmly believe (in the absence of government by party, or, in other words, by constitutional principle) to be—in the true or patriotic, and not the party sense of Conservative—the most conservative measure that can be proposed this day in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, as sure to lead to our foreign trade being made reciprocal instead of one-sided; *the foreigner who is admitted to provide food for a portion of our people being driven to provide them with employment by taking British goods in return; while a just protection to highly taxed British agriculture would be had in the fact, that in the price of the British goods taken by the foreigner, is included our heavy national taxation.* I had always seen that the only means of attaining this great end was a COMPLETE ALTERATION OF THE CURRENCY. Our monetary system must be set free from its present dishonest and absurd basis, the foreign exchanges, and our prices made to represent a high British, not a low foreign or untaxed, standard of value. Thus and thus alone, I still firmly believe, can the property of this country meet the interest of the national debt, and thus alone can we protect British industry, vindicating the rights of fixed property and labour against that usurpation of the money power which has existed since 1819, and rescuing this country from the social confusion which must be the ultimate effect of the jarring principles of Peel's legislation of 1819 and 1846."

CONCLUSION.

Having at such great length laid before his readers the general industrial argument, of which for so many years Mr. Buchanan has been the apostle, the Editor would now, in closing, make a short summary. Before the rebellion of 1837, Mr. Buchanan had been engaged on the side of the people in many patriotic struggles, such as that of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada. And that he had some influence on the settlement of these is obvious, if only from the single well-known fact, that his assuring Lord Sydenham that no true Scotchman could be loyal to a government that would

make them dissenters by act of parliament, prevented His Excellency any longer considering it possible to settle the question otherwise than it has been settled. Subsequent to the rebellion, Mr. Buchanan's mission has been threefold: First, to shew in his own person that Responsible Government for Canada would be insisted upon by others than men esteemed Rebels. Secondly, to shew that patriotic or homely, or what is called Protectionist Legislation, would be insisted upon by others than those who were old obsolete Tories. Indeed, through Mr. Buchanan's labour (of which there is abundant evidence in the foregoing pages alone), it is now generally understood that Democratic legislation, as in Cromwell's time, when the foundation of England's navy and colonial system was laid, is the best, if not the only guarantee for patriotic legislation. Thirdly, to shew that Protectionism is not a mere favouritism to particular classes in the community, as its enemies pretend; it is simply "*protection to the currency of a country*," and that which should be in full volume, is the interest of every man and every class, except annuitants and money-mongers, whose interest it is to have money, which is their article, scarce and dear. Garibaldi has not more faith in the ultimate success of his mission, than Mr. Buchanan has in the public in all countries, before long, being brought to see that the question of the people's labour, and the question of money, are practically only one question, the solution of the one being the solution of the other. In the meantime, the greatest use which tariffs perform is, that they keep the money which is required at home from being sent abroad; and whatever he may think, the man who gives his influence to a system which leads to the export of money, is no patriot, or even philanthropist; for the amount of money, instead of native produce, exported from any country, is just a measure of the amount of employment lost to the working-classes of that country. Under our present currency laws there is the additional evil that the law has made all credit and confidence to depend upon the presence in the country of gold. It is thus clear, in Mr. Buchanan's view, that the great object of Customs is to protect the currency; a thing made of vital consequence to the working-classes and the holders of fixed property, by the existence amongst us of an ignorant, hard money law.

With regard to the prominent subject of Representation by Population, Mr. Buchanan has always regarded it as a mere quarrel about machinery of legislation; and has always shewn that the important question is "*To what use will it be applied?*" He thinks that the day has passed away when the farce will be tolerated of bad men—mere tonguey miscreants, as the *New York World* has it—talking of good Government, and trusting to make a living by inciting Province against Province and sect against sect. He therefore supposes that the acquisition by Upper Canada of more votes in proportion to Lower Canada, would make very little alteration in political parties. But if the result of such acquisition were that Mr. Brown would be able to deceive a greater number of electors, it is quite evident, now that he has come out in his true colors, that the greatest industrial misery would await Canada. Mr. Buchanan believes that the greatest blessing which could be conferred upon Upper Canada within the power of Canadian legislation, is the tariff as it now exists, which could not have been got but by the votes of Lower Canadians, so that it would probably not have been got had Representation by Population been in existance.

Mr. Buchanan prophesied the most dreadful effects in England from the adoption by England of a system cunningly called Free Trade, but which is only freedom to the Englishman to purchase the labor of the foreigner, without being freedom to the Englishman to sell his labor to the foreigner. No one, however, is more rejoiced and thankful that practically this apprehended evil has been avoided, subsequent at least, to two dreadful years, which followed the Free Trade era. But he will never admit that Peel's Free Trade measure was otherwise than the most revolutionary that ever was put on the statute book of any nation, as those most certain to reduce the employment and the wages of the working classes of his own country, while they, so far as they could do it, laid the foundation of the loss of England's Colonial Empire. The following were Mr. Buchanan emphatic remarks on this subject in 1849:

"No one rejoices more than I do, or is more thankful to God than I am, that by the most marked interference of Providence in the discoveries of gold in California and Australia, our mother

country is in the meantime saved. But let who will admit that humanly speaking there is any guarantee for the continuance of these gold importations, I shall never stultify myself by doing so. And when Peel originated the *Free Import* Legislation which was sure to take away gold, he had not the slightest right to anticipate them. The plan now suggested by me for the consideration of the Legislature of Canada is (and I shall always be anxious to have this understood) the very reverse of the theories before which Sir R. Peel succumbed in 1846, when I described his course as follows:

"'The Premier has left us in a condition worse than political chaos, as having robbed us of our principles. Even the principle that self-preservation is the first law of nature has been repudiated; and British Politics have been reduced into the two original elements of national politics—the Labor-power and the Money-power. The Labor-power must come to be represented by Social Economists, or practical men, or Patriots, the character of whose Legislation will be that it takes the circumstances of our own society into account —the Money-power being represented by Political Economists or Cosmopolitan Theorists, who would have the country legislate for the world, while they view Political Science as a system of pure mathematics, or, at best, one for the creation of wealth, without any regard to its distribution. Indeed, to my mind, it does not appear that the permanently important question is as to whether it is a right or a wrong thing, *per se*, that Peel has done. His impolicy, however great, appears to me to stand, in relation to his repudiation of moral and constitutional principle, just as a misfortune does to a crime. I myself, for instance, am opposed to Established Churches, even if these were the best churches possible, viewing partiality to any class of Her Majesty's subjects an impediment to general confidence in the Crown and Law of the Land; but give me power to injure the Church, or any other vital interest *by a side wind*, would I, as a minister, or even as a Legislator do it? If the constituencies do not wish the Church demolished, dare I, their servant, put it down? And if the constituencies do wish it put down, what need is there for me to interfere unduly? It has always seemed to me to be the duty of a minister rather to try to find evidence in favor of a respectable existency; and a state of things

does not deserve the name of constitutional or of moral, unless it is one in which a great Interest can repose with even more safety in the hands of its avowed enemy, seeing that he, as an honourable man, would require the greater evidence for its overthrow, to leave no shadow of a suspicion, even in his own mind, that the personal predilections had influenced his conduct as a public man. The reverse of the picture is a very humbling one. Behold the constituencies of the empire, standing in the position of trustees of the entire people, employing, as agent under the trust, the man of Tamworth, who immediately turns round and repudiates all obligation to abide by the terms of the trust deed, or even to act on any principle whatever! And what are we to think of our contemptible trustees in submitting thus to be bullied? What are we to think of the honour of our constituencies in delegating, by their *ex post facto* assent to Peel's conduct, AN OMNIPOTENCE OR ARBITRARY POWER TO PARLIAMENT which they had not to give! My own view has always been that we have in this transaction so gross a violation of our Legislative constitution as to amount (whatever may have been Peel's intention at the time) to a virtual abdication by the present constituencies. But the immediate importance of this unprincipled proceeding is what we have chiefly at present to do with, and that arises from the ACT BEING IN ITSELF VIRTUALLY WRONG, as tending to lessen instead of to increase the employment of our masses, at home, at sea, and in the colonies—thus containing in it the seeds of Revolution, both at home and in our dependencies, whether done constitutionally or unconstitutionally.'

And in Appendix (I) will be found proof that the foregoing were the sentiments of the *working classes* in England, Free Trade there having been carried by the *middle classes* not only without the assistance of the working classes, but in spite of their opposition.

No one who has studied the subject of the direful effect of *English Free Trade* on the Colonies can fail to see that it is under a plausible disguise, the contrary principle to that of Empire. Mr. Buchanan thinks that the only hope of England consenting to the necessary alleviations of so cruel a state of things required by the people of Canada, lies in the whole facts being exposed by men of

undoubted loyalty; just as to the cure of any disease the essential step is a correct knowledge of the disease. He reposes in perfect satisfaction under the feeling that he has done his duty not only to the people of Canada, but to the British Government, in being instrumental in bringing out the facts on this vital subject.

As so much has lately been said upon the subject of the necessity of Canada becoming more monarchical, an extract is given in Appendix (II) from the celebrated American author, Mr. Fennimore Cooper, showing his views and the views of Lafayette and others in France, in 1832, on the subject of a "Monarchy surrounded by Republican Institutions." Mr. Buchanan has not taken any part in this discussion, except to state his conviction that anything in the shape of monarchy in America must be supported and sustained by Republican institutions. It may however be mentioned here that in his opinion it was only the gross ignorance and mismanagement of the BritishGovernment that prevented the monarchical principle from being retained at the time of the American Revolution. The interests of the inhabitants of the old colonies required them to be independent of England, but there was no necessity for their becoming Republican. The same proposition which is now made of Canada setting up for herself under a British prince, would have been more reasonable in the case of the old colonies, as at that time this would have brought the whole of North America under one government, with no powerful enemy to threaten it. If America ever receives the monarchical principle, it will have to be under the name of an "Electorate," such as the Elector of Hanover; and Mr. Buchanan has stated his opinion that, after all, the most feasible settlement of the troubles of the United States would be found in an agreement between the North and South to forget the present in redeeming the error made by them at the time of the Revolution, when they went farther than simply asserting their independence of Europe. They might get Canada, with the assent of the British Government, to be a portion of such a monarchy under a British prince; and if so, the enormous acquisition of sea-board alone on the Atlantic and Pacific, not to talk of the thousands of miles of lake-coast in the interior, would be no small argument in the minds of the Americans. Many other great, and even more immediate

and pressing, arguments for such a ponderous and permanent organization of the future Government, as will make sure that the Greenbacks (in the payment of which every man, woman, and child is vitally interested) would be secure, so that the United States may be saved from the most fearful pecuniary distress that ever afflicted the inhabitants of any devoted country either in Ancient or Modern times. It is not asserted that this is a very *likely*, but only a *possible*, and the most judicious and patriotic way in which the Reciprocity question between Canada and the United States may be resolved.

In connection with this as affording considerable information with regard to the Reciprocity Treaty, the Editor has given in Appendix (III) Mr. Buchanan's views on the solution of "Slavery," being "*Labour in America greatly affected by Slavery in the South, and by the self-sustaining Penitentiary system in the North; the position of the Reciprocity Treaty.*"

As the most obvious practical step for those who hold patriotic views, in regard to Canadian labour, is the resuscitation of the Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry, we give its report in 1859 when it published for the information of Parliament, the Honorable Horace Greely's admirably written pamphlet "*Labour's Political Economy.*"

No man did more to shew in his own person the falseness of the insinuation of the *Globe* and other Free Traders that homely or Patriotic principles on the subject of the employment of our own people is necessarily associated with Toryism or narrow Political views, than the gentleman who endited the letter which it is thought well to give in Appendix (IV). We allude to the letter of the late Jacob DeWitt, Esq., M.P., to his friend Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, M.P., than which nothing can better show the absurdity of Free Trade, or prodigal imports in a young country like Canada, without money enough even for its local transactions.

Mr. Buchanan has suggested to the Editor that a view of the Relations of Canada with the United States and England could scarcely be complete without the Pamphlet and the subsequent Report of the Hon. A. T. Galt, late Finance Minister, written during his last official mission to England in regard to the inter-

ference with the Canadian Tariff by the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce. These are therefore given as an Appendix (V) Mr. Buchanan has the highest opinion of Mr. Galt's ability, considering him quite up to the British standard of great statesmen in this respect, although reprobating him as a Free Trader, Political Economist—or hard money Bigot.

This work has grown very much from time to time on the Editor, as the field comprised by the advertised title opened before him; and now again, he becomes alive to the obvious fact, that the Provincial Financial Question (which is so vital a consideration) for the Province's Industry calls for some allusion to THE GREAT QUESTION OF DEFENCE.

A brochure lately published by Mr. Buchanan, (who is Lieutenant Colonel commanding that finest of regiments, the 13th Battalion Volunteer Militia,) is therefore given in Appendix (VI) It is called "OUR BATALLION ORGANIZATION *should not be as Volunteers, but as a Militia Active Force.*" In a few words we may state Mr. Buchanan's conviction, the result of long experince, to be :—

1st. That no volunteer organization is at all fitted for external defence. He shows by his own experience, that volunteering is at best, only "*a company organization.*"

2nd. That the Province's only reliable organization for defence, is a Great Militia Active Force, on which every possible advantage should be bestowed. It should consist of 240,000 men, of whom one-fourth or 60,000 should each year drill for a month, or as much of a month as the country can pay for—these 60,000 men to be volunteers—the members of the Volunteer force, whose great duty, as embodied the whole year, would be as a civil force and as drill associations, nurseries in fact, for the Militia—the members of the permanent volunteers to have the preference to the volunteers of the Militia.

3rd. That the ordinary expense (or the expense in ordinary times) of the Militia should not be a charge upon the Provincial Exchequer. It should be raised as a local assessment by each municipality, and handed over to the provincial Treasury.

It need scarcely be said, that Mr. Buchanan considers the present

Volunteer system to amount to little or nothing; his own words are "It is a rope of sand."

A very valuable pamphlet, by the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, (published in England) is also given as Appendix (VII) Last year this was re-published in Canada, by Mr. Buchanan, agreeing to take as many copies as would pay for its publication. It is a noble vindication of the Militia of British America, and seems a natural link in the chain of evidence in regard to the Relations of Canada to Britain and the United States.

In the same appendix will be found a most important state paper of the United States, the special report of Mr. Commissioner Hatch, which pronounces the Reciprocity Treaty injurious to the United States, and recommends its abrogation! This oblique, but at the same time very clever document will speak for itself. The Editor would only remark, that it is evidently by a Buffalo man, who considers Buffalo the United States, and the interest of Buffalo the interest of the whole Union, a view which Mr. Hatch has found will not be concurred in anywhere else, even in his own country, although from one cause or another, there is no doubt, much feeling against the Reciprocity Law in certain localities, and among certain interests in the United States.

In order to avoid the necessity of more extended remarks here, Mr. Buchanan's biography is given in an Appendix (VIII), as it appears in the "*Sketches of Celebrated Canadians.*"

THE "GLOBE"

VERSUS

THE CANADIAN FARMER.

A series of articles which originally appeared in the *Hamilton Spectator*, during the month of January, 1864, from the pen of Mr. Buchanan.

I.

ARGUMENT.

Hon. George Brown, "the accuser of the brethren," not in reality a Reformer, but a Judas in the people's ranks, and professional political incendiary, who has made his living by inciting one section of the Province against the other, and creed against creed.—The interests of the Canadian farmer, not so dear to Brown as the favour of men of power in England.—His late renunciations of political principle too notorious to require particular notice here; but when he grasps the throat of the Province's material interest, we cannot avoid the death struggle.—England admittedly had no reference to the Colonies in her legislation in 1846, in regard to her tariff; but Mr. Brown insists that Canada should have reference to England and her tariff.—The hopeless position of Canada, in which Canada was left by England before she got the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States described in the words of the then Governor General Lord Elgin.—His Excellency admits that before the Reciprocity Treaty, the farmer of the United States got twenty-five per cent. more for his grain than the Canadian Farmer.

More and more, every day, it is seen that Mr. Brown is a Judas in the people's ranks, and has betrayed true Reform and the best interests of the Province with a kiss. He nominally goes for Reform, just as Tom Paine and such like always did, only while it suits his selfish purpose; and whenever the material interests of the Canadian farmer call for his taking a position that would injure him with his models,—the political economists in England, his want of judgment makes him decide that his personal interest lies in pleasing the latter. Instances of the renunciation in practice, by Mr. Brown and the *Globe*, of every principle for which they contended have recently been so notorious that they need not here be referred to. But a more serious position is now taken up by the *Globe* in regard to the material interests of the farmers of Canada, which is the great interest of the Province. Mr. Buchanan has thought it his duty to reiterate his well known opinion that since England in

her legislation had no reference to the Canadian farmer, that Canadian legislation should in the same way look only to the Canadian farmer, and that England ought not to stand in the way. But this patriotic course will not suit Mr. Brown, who thinks it his chief interest to stand well in England. The *Globe* insists that England is right to do as she pleases in regard to her Tariff, but denies that Canada should be allowed to do as Canada pleases in this respect. It assumes England to be quite right in ignoring Canada in her legislation, but holds that Canada cannot be allowed by England to ignore England. The *Globe* feels that England is quite right in holding that Canada is not put into a false position by English legislation, seeing that the Colony is only driven to send her wheat to England, and take in payment English manufactures ; and feels that Canada is quite wrong in holding that England would not be put into an unfair position by Canadian legislation, which would drive the mother country to send a portion of her manufacturers to Canada to eat Canadian wheat—thus saving to the Province the freight and charges across the Atlantic both ways, which are equal to a practical reduction of 25 per cent. of the value each way, or which, in other words, prevent the Canadian farmer receiving for his wheat sent to England more than half the quantity of supplies which the English farmer—who gets the same price for the same quantity of wheat—receives.

But we cannot to-day refer further to this vital subject than to give the following extract of a speech of Lord Elgin, at the period of the securing of the Reciprocity Treaty, which we recommend to the serious consideration of the *Globe*, and all such Reformers :

" Gentlemen, when I last visited the town of London, as was very truly stated in the address which the municipality presented to me yesterday, it was a time of political excitement. But there was one circumstance at that period which was not alone prejudicial to the interests of the country, but was the occasion of solicitude and regret to those anxious to promote its prosperity and best interests. *At that period the bushel of wheat raised on this side of the line was worth one-fifth less than the same article raised by the producer on the other side.* I might have been here a day sooner, if I had been able to leave Quebec on Saturday. But I

will tell you why I did not leave on Saturday. I was engaged in the afternoon of Saturday in giving the Royal Assent to a bill passed unanimously by the legislature of Canada, and I must do both branches of the Parliament justice for the unanimity with which they have passed that measure so important to the farmers of Upper Canada. (Cheers.) I was most anxious to bring into effect that treaty which will do away with such a discrimination again taking place, as regards the farmers of this country. (Great applause.)

II.

ARGUMENT.

Mr. Brown—in his ignorance—at the hopeless task of proving Free Trade to be patriotic.—Mr. Buchanan understands by Canada the land of Canada, or otherwise the farmers of Canada.—Miserable subterfuge of Mr. Brown in crying "Tory" to Mr. Buchanan, while at the same time insinuating that he has annexationist disloyalty—the Tories being in all time past, as they will be in all time to come *par excellence* the loyalists of Canada.—The speech of Mr. Hinck's, when Finance Minister in 1852, showing that it was admitted that if England had adopted another course in 1846, Reciprocity might have been obtained from the United States as a right, or in other words as a condition of the Free Trade granted by the Empire to them.

The *Globe* has set itself to the hopeless task of proving that free trade is a good thing for Canada. Now by Canada we understand the land of Canada, or, otherwise, the farmers of Canada. And we showed yesterday by an authority, Lord Elgin, whom the *Globe* will not object to, that the result of England's course was actually in practice ; that in 1854, before we achieved the Reciprocity Treaty, the price for farm produce was a fifth less on the North, or Canadian side of the frontier, than on the South or American side. The *Globe* tries to mingle up Mr. Buchanan with what it calls "Tory Protectionists." Now we do not believe there are any "Tory Protectionists" in Canada ; at all events, Mr. Buchanan is not and never was one. His protectionism, and the intelligent protectionism of Canada, goes no farther than the same principle every backwoodsman acts on, when he prefers paying in trade, or in that which he has, rather than in promises to pay that which he has not and cannot get—cash. We find that Canada never can become anything more than Ireland is by shipping abroad its farm produce and bringing back British goods at a large expense. The evils of

such an arrangement in the case of Ireland has not been anything so ruinous as they would be in the case of a country farther off, yet we see what has been the consequence to Ireland of free trade with a rich manufacturing country. We are merely protectionists as protectors of the currency, OR TO KEEP THE MONEY IN THE COUNTRY. The rising up of Home Manufactures are incidents, and very happy incidents they have been in the experience of Canada. Mr. Brown is not sufficiently a practical man to be able to understand us, but to show our readers that an abler Free Trader than Mr. Brown has adopted as the result of experience practical views on this subject, we quote Mr. Hincks' remarks in the House of Assembly on the 20th Sept., 1852:

"The Premier, (Mr. Hincks) said he had formerly been as staunch an advocate of theoretical free trade as the Hon. member; but HIS VIEWS HAD BEEN CHANGED BY EXPERIENCE, and he was now convinced that to legislate irrespective of other nations was not a wise course. IT WAS ADMITTED, THAT IF ENGLAND HAD ADOPTED ANOTHER COURSE IN 1846, RECIPROCITY MIGHT HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM THE UNITED STATES. He believed that a commercial treaty might be made even now; but not by conceding everything the Americans might desire. He complained that instead of all parties standing together in this country, as in the United States, industrious efforts were made in Upper Canada to intimate to the United States what they might do to counteract this policy. This was done principally westward of Belleville, by a parcel of small merchants, actuated by the most selfish motives, who did not want to have their relations with the United States disturbed. He did not, however, fear these people; they might do their worst. THE GREATEST ENEMIES OF RECIPROCAL FREE TRADE WERE CANADIANS THEMSELVES. It had been frequently said by Canadian newspapers that we did not offer enough; but the fact was, we had last year imported more goods from the United States of those included in the lists of reciprocity, than we had exported to them. ONE THING MUST BE ADMITTED BY THE MOST ULTRA FREE TRADER, AND THAT WAS, THAT IT WAS AN ADVANTAGE TO HAVE OUR GOODS GOING INTO THE UNITED STATES. The only way to obtain this, was to get a sufficient number of people interested to get the question fairly taken

up. The only time it was taken up, it fell through in the Senate, after an unanimous vote in the House. He thought the Senate had a majority in its favour ; and it had been recommended by the President. Now, it was all very well to talk of retaliation ; but he happened to know that the effect produced on the American mind by the Imperial action on the fishery question was most advantageous to this country, notwithstanding all that had been said at first about driving all our men of war back again. He did not know how any men with British or Canadian feeling, could see the position of our shipping at present without humiliation. Their vessels now passed through all our waters, and ours could not enter one of theirs. So that if the St. Lawrence and Champlain canal were opened, things remaining as they are, American vessels would pass from Lake Superior to New York by this navigation, while Canadian vessels would be driven quite off the waters. He was willing to trade with the Americans on fair terms,—to give them even what was more than he thought reasonable ; but he could see no reason why, with people who would make no concession to us, we should not try to get from them, on our canals, all the tolls we can. The Hon. member, however, admitted on a former occasion that he did not value Reciprocity. That was just where he differed from the Hon. member. HE DID NOT WANT, FOR A POLITICAL REASON, THE FARMERS OF CANADA TO THINK THEMSELVES WORSE OFF THAN THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES."

III.

ARGUMENT.

Adam Smith quoted against George Brown and his friends the English Free Traders, to shew that they violate the most sacred rights of mankind by their stupid dogmas.—Brown shown to be deceiving the people in his praising English Free Trade as the father of the Reciprocity Treaty, though he well knew at the time that the latter was only an improvisioned palliation to the circumstances of the Canadian farmer which prevented the crop of his loyalty, which English Free Trade must have necessarily occasioned.—Mr Hincks agreed with Mr. Buchanan that practically, he was the best loyalist in Canada, who determined that the farmers of Canada should have nothing to envy in those of the United States.—The views of Mr. Brown and his English Free Trade coadjutors in favour of a new country exporting its raw material, and adopting direct taxation, not only utterly impracticable, but positively farcical.—Yarranton and more modern authorities quoted.—Self-Government, called Responsible Government, including the power to legislate on its own trade, granted to Canada in 1841, at the Union, long before the Free Trade era, so that Mr. Brown is untruthful in his assertion that Canada got Self-Government as a set-off against Free Trade, although this assertion alone is an acknowledgment that English Free Trade required a set-off.—England's unalterable determination to centralize all manufactures in the mother country the cause of the loss of the old Colonies.—In the face of all history, past and present experience, Mr. Brown's idea of the intelligence of his readers is, that they will believe the contrary, which is tantamount to taking for granted that they will believe anything which he has the hardihood to assert.

"To prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry, in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."—Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book 4, Chap. 7.

Those who believe in Mr. Brown are compelled by him to eat any quantity of dirt. Take for instance his making them gulp, in the present discussion, trash like the following:

"It was the principle adopted by Britain in 1846 which produced the Reciprocity Treaty. It is those principles which will bring about its renewal. But for the change in the Imperial policy which Mr. Buchanan regrets so much, we never should have had free trade with the States."

If this were to be put in plain English, even the most abject of his dupes could not stomach it. It is just another way of telling his gaping auditory that a man is indebted for his stick or artificial leg to having had his leg cut off, or that it is well worth any one's while to have a mouthful of sound teeth extracted for the pleasure and profit of being in the fashion, and have an artificial set. Regarding the gross want of management in England, we have

only to call again attention to the important words of the Hon. Francis Hincks in a speech already quoted by us—words which were uttered under his grave responsibility as a Minister of the Crown:

"IT WAS ADMITTED THAT IF ENGLAND HAD ADOPTED ANOTHER COURSE IN 1846, RECIPROCITY MIGHT HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM THE UNITED STATES."

* * * * * * *

"HE DID NOT WANT, FOR A POLITICAL REASON, THE FARMERS OF CANADA TO THINK THEMSELVES WORSE OFF THAN THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES."

Two centuries ago England was ridiculed by continental nations for that very policy, *of exporting its raw materials and importing its manufactured articles*, which Mr. Brown would now aid the English Free-Traders in forcing down the throat of Canadians; for in 1677 we find YARRANTON writing:

"*The stranger buys of the Englishman the skin of the fox for a groat, and sells him back the tail for a shilling.*"

The *Globe* goes on to say:

"And Mr. Buchanan may rely upon it that the further Free Trade is carried by Canada, the more she will prosper. If we could abolish the tariff altogether, and pay the expenditure by direct taxation, we should do more for the prosperity of Canada than all that was ever dreamed of by a Protectionist."

We supposed that Mr. Brown's friends had already had enough of direct taxation and its dreadful effects in the MUNICIPALITIES. But supposing that the tax gatherers could collect directly, at the farm houses of Canada, the same amount which is now collected indirectly by Customs Duties (a feat which even backed by bayonets they could never achieve) *it would be no less the same payment by our people*, while we would be involved in an annual bankruptcy, and unalleviated beggary, through the unrestrained import of foreign labour to supplant our own, without our even having the countervailing advantage of freedom to export our labour. And if Canadians get the liberty to send their labour, in the shape of productions and manufactures, to the United States, what is this but the proposed Zollverein against which Mr. Brown protests.

Nor (in its insane attempts to place Canadians in a false position in respect to the mother country) does the *Globe* scruple to make the most barefaced mis-statements—a nice compliment this, to its intelligent readers! It says:

"The adoption of Free Trade, also, has been accompanied by the concession of large measures of liberty of action to the colonies, which tends more than anything else which can be conceived to secure the permanence of their connection with the mother country."

Unfortunately for the truthfulness of this statement, Canada got Responsible Government, and the power to legislate on its own trade in 1841, (long before the Free Trade era.) This greatest Reform was gained by Canada before Mr. Brown arrived in the Colony, whose insane course evidently is to persuade England to *take back* part of it, and *veto* any bill passed by the Provincial Legislature enabling Canada to co-operate with the United States in mutually shielding themselves from the deleterious effects on these countries of the low priced, not to say degraded, labour of Europe. Then again the Globe makes the following other mis-statement:

"The only colony which Britain ever lost—the United States of America—was sacrificed, not to Free Trade, but to the very opposite principle. It was, in fact, from the old ideas of colonial policy that the chief danger of a severance of connection arose."

Every reader of American history knows that the main thing which lay at the bottom of all the discontent of the old colonies was the determined and openly avowed policy of English statesmen not to allow the colonists to engage in even the simplest manufactures.

How far, of old, the people of the mother country went in the foolish and short sighted direction in which Mr. Brown is now going, may be gathered from the following:

"Manufacturers in American colonies," says Gee, the great authority on trade, a century ago, "should be discouraged—prohibited. We ought always to keep a watchful eye over our colonies to restrain them from setting up any of the manufactures which are carried on in Great Britain; and any such attempt should be crushed in the beginning, for if they are suffered to grow up to

maturity, it will be difficult to suppress them. * * * * Our colonies are much in the same state as Ireland was in when they began the woollen manufacture, and as their numbers increase, will fall upon manufacturers to clothe themselves, if due care be not taken to find employment for them in raising such productions as may enable them to furnish themselves with all the necessaries from us. As they will have the providing of rough materials to themselves, so shall we have the manufacturing of them. If encouragements be given for raising hemp, flax, &c., DOUBTLESS THEY WILL SOON BEGIN TO MANUFACTURE, IF NOT PREVENTED, therefore to stop the progress of any such manufactures, it is proposed that no weaver have liberty to set up any looms, without first registering at an office kept for that purpose, and the name and place of abode of any journeyman that shall work for him. * * * * * * * That all slitting mills, and engines for drawing wire or weaving stockings, BE PUT DOWN. * * * That all negroes shall be prohibited from weaving either linen or woollen, or combing of wool, or working at any manufacture of iron, further than making it into pig or bar iron. That they also be prohibited from manufacturing hats, stockings, or leather of any kind. This limitation will not abridge the planters of any liberty they now enjoy, on the contrary, it will then turn their industry to promoting and raising those rough materials. * * * If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations and our own, it will appear that *not one fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit*, for out of all that comes here they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families, all of which is of the merchandise and manufacture of this kingdom. * * All these advantages we receive by the plantations, besides the mortages on the planters' estates and the high interest they pay us, which is very considerable; and, therefore, very great care ought to be taken, in regulating all the affairs of the colonists, that the planters are not put under too many difficulties, but encouraged to go on cheerfully." New England and the northern colonies have not commodities and products enough to send us in return for purchasing their necessary clothing, but are under very great difficulties; and therefore, "*any ordinary sort will sell with them; and*

when they have grown out of fashion with us, they are new-fashioned enough for them."

And that it was not only the illiberal portion of England's statesmen, or those only of a bygone day, that approved of a policy so selfish and unjust on the part of England. We have the two facts (to which hundreds might be added), that Henry Brougham, now Lord Brougham, a member of the British Parliament in 1815, said that "England could afford to incur some loss on the export of English goods, for the purpose of destroying foreign manufactures in the cradle;" and ten years later Joseph Hume reiterated the same sentiment almost in the identical words, he desired "That the manufacturers of the Continent should be strangled in the cradle."

But for unblushing puerile nonsense and stupidity of admission, the following is perhaps the *Globe*'s best *morceaux* of all:

"The modern idea is that a colony is a place to which the mother country sends its surplus population, and with which it holds friendly connection, not restricting its trade or imposing taxation, but suffering it to manage its own affairs, and to trade where it pleases, but at the same time relying upon kinship to bring it to the old shop to buy, and to support the empire by arms when it is in need. This seems to us a stronger and more permanent connection than the old. There can be no chafing where there are no bonds. There can be no rebellion where there is no tyranny."

We would remind the *Globe* that his passive Government, any more than his passive loyalty, is not all that is required; and that there *can be* rebellion where there is starvation, whether there is tyranny present outwardly or not.

IV.

ARGUMENT.

The exposure of the selfishness and want of patriotism of the Free Traders, by Hon. Horace Greely, than whom no man has greater practical experience in America.—Mr. Brown is referred to Mr. Greely the American, and to Sergeant Byles, the admirable English writer on Social Science, for evidence that his Free Trade fallacies have been refuted over and over again.– Prof. Senior (whom Mr. Brown had quoted) shown to be not in his favour.—The Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry shown to be patriotic, and to desire the abolition of the Customs Duties on every article which Canada can grow or manufacture—the association having for its double object to enable the labourer in Canada to live as cheaply as the labourer in the United States, and protect him against the undue competition of the degraded labour of Europe.—Mr. Brown naturally a Tyrant if not a Tory, and only by accident a Liberal.

"**The difficulty in bringing this Tariff controversy to a conclusion**

grows out of the fact that *one party pays no attention whatever to the other's arguments.* We, who stand for Protection, read the writings of our opponents, and discuss the question with direct reference to their arguments ; but our adversaries coolly assume at the outset that all we have to say is nonsense and absurdity, dictated by selfishness or bigotry and never take the trouble of listening to us for the first minute. Thus, after we have patiently met their arguments, point after point, and as we think refuted them, they simply repeat their previous assertions, paying no attention to our replies, and deeming themselves unanswered because they have not looked at the answers. Our correspondent is a fair sample of the breed, calling himself a ' Whig "* (*why* a Whig ?). He coolly assumes that the first article in the Whig creed is a fallacy, and gives us a rehash of the most ordinary sophisms of free trade, with a seeming unconsciousness that they had ever before been uttered—much less answered."

HORACE GREELY.

Before reading the *Globe's* two mortal columns of reply, we had been told that it was the most horrid stuff, showing that he had not taken the trouble even to read Horace Greely's pamphlet " LABOUR'S POLITICAL ECONOMY," which *The Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry* went to the expense of republishing, in Toronto, in the Spring of 1858, for the use of Parliament. In this admirable little work every one of the *Globe's* fallacies are refuted, as they have been a thousand times before on both sides of the Atlantic.—If Mr. Brown would procure a copy of the Eighth, or any later edition of "*The Sophisms of Free Trade and popular Political Economy, examined* by John Barnard Byles, Sergeant at Law," he would never again allow such oft refuted fallacies to be reproduced *ad nauseam* in the *Globe.* They cannot suit his purpose at this time of day ; the people know better.

We were not prepared for such gross ignorance of the great question of the people, and which should therefore be the *first question in Canadian politics*, as the *Globe* now evinces. Mr. Brown's information seems to amount to a knowledge that Senior is used as a School Book in Upper Canada College, but he does not seem to have read even the introduction to it, otherwise he would

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* Mr. Brown, naturally a tyrant if not a Tory, and only by accident a Liberal, is an *Edinburgh Whig*—the basest of politics as that which least heartily enters into the circumstances of the masses—theoretical, not practical—selfish, not patriotic.

not continue to believe that he can find in books, however eminent the writers, the knowledge how to secure the greatest amount of WELFARE TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA, a country whose circumstances have had no precedent, except the United States. Had Mr. Brown read the introduction alluded to, he would have learned the difference between a political economist and a statesman. Senior, in the Introduction alluded to, says :

" The questions to what extent and under what circumstances the possession of wealth is, on the whole, beneficial or injurious to its possessor, or to the society of which he is a member ? What distribution of wealth is most desirable in each different state of society, and what are the means by which any given country can facilitate such a distribution ? All these are questions of great interest and difficulty, but no more form part of the science of political economy, in the sense in which we use that term, than navigation forms part of the science of astronomy. The principles supplied by Political Economy are indeed necessary elements in their solution, but they are not the only, or even the most important elements. The writer who pursues such investigations is in fact engaged on the great science of legislation ; a science which requires a knowledge of the general principles supplied by Political Economy, but differs from it essentially in its subject, its premises, and its conclusions.—The subject of legislation is not WEALTH, but human WELFARE.

* * * * * * *

" To decide in each case how far those conclusions (of the Political Economist) are to be acted upon, belongs to the art of Government, an art in which Political Economy is only one of many subservient sciences ; which involves the consideration of motives, of which the desire of wealth is only one among many, and aims at objects to which the possession of wealth is only a subservient means.

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" The Political Economist's conclusions, whatever be their generality and their truth, do not authorize him in adding a single syllable of advice."

But nevertheless Mr. Senior's clear warning as above, and although at the end of the introduction Senior says in regard to his

own book—" The reader will find it to consist, in a great degree, of discussions as to the most convenient use of familiar words "—yet the *Globe* insists on using SENIOR as a quack medicine which is fitted to cure all the disorders of humanity. We are presented by the *Globe* with a quotation than which there could be nothing less appropriate to the discussion, or more fatal to his own Free Trade argument. In the case of Tea, nature has simply placed an obstruction. But nature has placed no obstacle in the way of Canada, making (just as well or better) very many of the articles which are manufactured in Europe, thus raising up an independent home market for the Canadian Farmer. And in regard to Tea, Sugar, Coffee, and such necessaries of the people the views of those whom Mr. Brown stigmatises as *Protectionists* are far more liberal as well as more patriotic than his. Not daring to differ from the books, or from the Free Traders of England, he would single out these necessaries as the most suitable articles on which to raise the country's revenue ; whereas the following is the deliverance of the *Association for the protection of Canadian Industry*.

" The Executive Committee of the Association for the promotion of Canadian Industry takes this opportunity to press upon you the necessity of continuing the present organization for the purpose of defending the ground which has been gained, as well as on Parliament completing the measures necessary to the promotion of Canada on manufactures. These are : *First*, the abolition, at the earliest moment of the entire duty on Tea, Coffee, and such other articles as the United States manufacturers enjoy duty free. *Second* : the gradual reduction on the duties of general merchandise, which Canada does not produce or manufacture ; putting in lieu of these an ncrease of duty on such goods as are, from time to time added to the category of Canadian manufactures. Among these it is believed coarse cotton fabrics will be included, so soon as manufacturers in England and the United States can be assured of an incidental protection of from five to ten per cent. more than the present duty."

The Provincial Legislature gave the five per cent. shown above to be so great a *desideratum*, and hence the gush of manufacturing activity which we now see around us in every quarter of Upper Canada.

If there is any point at all in the *Globe's* remarks, it is in viewing them as an ill executed attempt at the *reductio ad absurdum*. In reply to such trifling on a subject so vital, a well-known patriotic writer in England has apposite remarks, which we shall quote below. We cannot pursue the subject to-day, farther, but would just remark that Mr. Buchanan might well turn round and say that he had read and understood Mill long before George Brown was out of his political petticoats. Whether Mr. Brown is so even yet might be questioned if we went only on the *Globe's* present puerile production, which is so crude that it looks more like the spoiled essay of an Upper Canada College boy, or perhaps of his sister. If it was not an "*imposition*" on the boy for bad behaviour, it certainly is an imposition on the *Globe's* readers, which they scarcely deserved.

Mr. Brown is strong in nothing but misrepresentation and depreciation. Mr. Buchanan never argued that Canada is wronged because England will not sacrifice British interests to her ; but he argues that Canada is wronged because England insists that Canada shall sacrifice Canadian interests to the benefit of a knot of middlemen in Manchester. For, mark you, it is not the artisans and weavers who complain ; they would be better as having two bidders, (the Canadian and the English employer,) instead of one for their labour ; but this would do away with the present attempted monopoly of the employer in Manchester, Sheffield, &c.; hence their howl of rage. Therefore, Mr. Brown's grand simile of the Emperor and Queen Victoria and war, falls to the ground. The question would rather be, would Queen Victoria have a right to say to Napoleon : "You must regulate your internal affairs to suit the views of my middlemen, otherwise there can be no alliance between us ?"

The following is the illustration which we promised above to give :

"Lastly, it is objected that according to those principles, England should grow wine in hot houses, though it would cost thirty times as much as foreign wine. Not at all. The moment the price of the domestic commodity exceeds by a large proportion the price of the corresponding foreign one, the main reason for producing at home ceases.—Take the supposed case of wine. Assume that it

would cost £100 to produce in England wine that would cost, from abroad, only £3. By importing instead of growing it, you could lose but £100, and must gain £97. You could lose but £3 at the outside, even supposing the whole of your wine producing land, labour and capital, utterly and for ever thrown out of employment. You can actually afford to throw away 97 per cent. of your former wine-growing capital; you are insured to that extent. Suppose that 50 per cent. of this capital is destroyed, you are still an actual gainer of 47 per cent. by importing wine from abroad, instead of producing it at home. Moreover an article of luxury, superfluity, and partial consumption (like wine in England), could employ but a very small proportion of the capital of the country, so that the whole of what is set at liberty has a much better chance of employment. In a word, the gain is large and certain, the risk is small, and such as it is, it effects but a small value. HENCE BUSINESS AND SUPERFLUITIES, FOR WHOSE PRODUCTION THE SOIL AND CLIMATE OF A COUNTRY ARE UNFIT, ARE THE TRUE AND LEGITIMATE SUBJECTS OF FOREIGN TRADE. If the views advocated in this and the last preceding chapter be correct, we may except to see countries where protection has existed rich and flourishing, and countries where it has not existed, poor, stationary, or retrogading. And this, as we shall presently see, is exactly what we do behold. Not that they, who are blinded by theory, will see it. For of them it may truly be said, Eyes have they, but they see not."

V.

ARGUMENT.

Mr. Buchanan's view that an American Zollverein would not only secure but aggrandize the British Empire, and be of incalculable benefit to the working classes in England, Ireland, and Scotland.—To preserve the Empire, Britain must yield the selfish principle of centralization of manufactures.—Canada must not be viewed as a third party, but as a party of England, with peculiar advantages in its power which are not open to the mother country, but which are open to the capital and working classes of Britain, if they will remove to Canada, which Mr. Buchanan calls England in America.—Canada cannot remain connected with England if coerced and treated as a Colony, and not allowed to dictate on the subject of its material interests as an independent country.—The reason why Lord Elgin found prices of Wheat, Barley, Lumber, &c., 25 per cent. more in United States than in Canada, is that the United States have a large manufacturing population.—There can be no industrial independence in Canada without such a demand for farm produce as will make rotation of crops possible.—The necessity of a Zollverein arising from the obvious fact that Canada gets free trade from the United States, unless the same tariff against Europe is levied at Quebec and Montreal, as well as at Portland, Boston, and New York.—Mr. Buchanan only desires to help in getting clearly understood the position in which England's precipitate adoption of one-sided Free Trade has left Canada—he considers that he can do this without suspicion, seeing that it is well known that he, his sons, and all whom he could influence would uphold the British Government, be it right or be it wrong.

"The establishment of an American Zollverein would not only secure but aggrandize the British empire, and be an incalculable benefit to the working classes in England, Ireland, and Scotland. To preserve the Empire, Britain has to yield the selfish principle of *centralizing*, which has ruined Ireland and India, so far as such countries could be ruined, and cost us the old American colonies. The principle of decentralizing the manufactures of the Empire is a principle which would secure for the *Empire* an enormous additional trade and influence. Through the instrumentality of some one or other of her dependencies (which might be called England in America — England in Australia — England in India, &c., &c.), she could secure free trade for all her mechanics that chose to go to these favoured localities, with countries that could never agree to free trade direct with England, without giving a death blow to their comparatively comfortable populations. For instance, England could never get free trade with the United States in manufactured goods, but no doubt the United States would be prepared to extend the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, thus throwing down all interior Custom Houses between Canada and the United States; which done, the Englishman, by coming to Canada, and manufacturing his goods at our endless water-powers, will be able to save the 25 per cent., or more, charged on the same goods going direct from England to the United States; and hundreds of mill-owners now in uneasy circumstances in England, would, under such an arrangement, immediately transfer to Canada their machinery and hands, to the infinite benefit of the population thus removed, and to the aggrandizement of the empire."—[From Mr. Buchanan's late speech at Toronto, being verbatim what appeared in his letters to the Toronto Political Convention of 1859.]

With more practical experience of the business of Upper Canada than any man now living, Mr. Buchanan believes the foregoing to be the interest at once of Canada and of the British Empire. As regards the Canadian Farmer especially, he is satisfied that it is the great *desideratum* permanently as finding him a market upon the spot for his roots and spring crops, which cannot bear the expense of exportation, thus rendering the rotation of crops possible, while at the same time securing him the superior market of the United States for his white wheat, than which indeed he has no other profitable market, until one is raised up in Canada through creating a manufacturing population here. We dare say that Mr. Brown does not even know that England is no market for our white wheat. The use to which it is applied is to mix with inferior wheats in baking; and England has generally on hand plenty of fine old wheat of her own growth for this purpose. The United States therefore is our only market for this staple article of Western Canada in the meantime; and our great policy should be to extend the market for it among ourselves by raising similar town populations to those which form the United States demand for it.

But George Brown is by nature and wicked works the most precipitate and shortsighted of mortals, and desiring to be a Solon (and he should see to it that it is to be *Solon* the noun, not the adjective, to which he is admitted) in the eyes of the British statesmen who are generally freetraders, and are in the position of the cunning fox which, having had the misfortune to lose its tail, tried to make the want of tails fashionable. To keep them in countenance, it would suit these delinquents to get other countries also to abandon all patriotic legislation. Having therefore left the Canadian farmer to take care of himself, Mr. Brown on behalf, if not at the request, of his British free trade masters, is mightily offended that Mr. Buchanan should show them up in their true character as actually, if not intentionally, *revolutionists*, as authors of a revolutionary measure, and one whose legitimate effect must be to break up the British Empire, their political economy amounting just to a conspiracy of money against labour in the Colonies (if the Colonies will allow it), as well as in the mother country. It is easily seen that it is not so much the Zollverein proposal itself

that Mr. Brown objects to, or that has started him into his present activity as representative of the English Free Traders, as the prominence given to the fact that it is the *necessary consequence* of the adoption by Britain of its monstrous system of irreciprocal free trade. As to the proposal itself (the Zollverein), Mr. Brown actually holds essentially the same views.

"There is no remedy," says the *Globe* of the 24th May, 1848, "for these evils under which Canada groans, but to increase the exports or diminish the imports from abroad. * * * Canada will never know permanent commercial prosperity until she has free trade with the United States, and has manufactures in a rising and improving state."

Mr. Buchanan could ask whether or not up to the time of the political Convention of 1859, the *Globe* did not publish in its prospectus, or confession of political faith, "National Free Trade;" and whether, on Mr. Buchanan announcing his Zollverein views in letters which he addressed to the said Convention, and after Mr. Brown had been spoken to like a father, by their mutual friend the Honourable David Christie, the great agriculturist, than whom no man has done more for reciprocity, the *Globe* was a convert, and hauled down national free trade, and, immediately after said Convention, put into the confession of faith, daily published in the *Globe*, "Free Trade with the United States." It thus appears that the *Globe's* attack upon Mr. Buchanan is a mere matter of battle on behalf of the Free Traders of England, and not on behalf of his own convictions.

"Now, in order" says the *Globe* "to show that England ought to carry out these propositions, Mr. Buchanan endeavours to prove that she has done us injury in adopting Free Trade. In support of his view, he quotes the following passage from Adam Smith: 'To prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind.' If Mr. Buchanan will show wherein England imposes any restriction of the kind indicated upon Canada, he will have established a good cause of complaint against her."

The foregoing is a misrepresentation of Mr. Buchanan's statements. In adopting free imports except with countries that would take her exports either free or on reasonable terms, he thinks Britain committed a great mistake, looking to the interest of her own people, which mistake has alone been redeemed by the discoveries of gold in California and Australia, the superfluity of gold making it just as easy for her to pay for imports in money as in British labour—an entirely unexpected state of things when Peel's legislation was perpetrated. Even in this case, however, it is evident that the gold paid instead of labour has been *a measure of the loss of employment* to Britain. That, however, is Britain's own matter. What Canada has to complain of is that Britain should not have stipulated with the United States that as a condition of the boon granted by her, Canada should have *free access to the markets of the United States for the same articles.*

This, as was shown by the speech of Mr. Hincks, which we quoted, could no doubt have been easily arranged at the time.

It will thus be seen that it is not Britain's adopting free trade, but her neglect of the interest of the Canadian farmer, in the arrangement, that we complain of. And will Mr. Brown deny the correctness of Mr. Buchanan's statement of the excessively delicate position, politically, in which this left Canada, as alongside a people *with greater advantages of markets?*

"It left (said Mr. Buchanan) the Canadian farmer (on the north bank of the St. Lawrence) only the English market for his produce, in which he has to compete, after paying all freights and expenses across the Atlantic, with wheat of countries where labour and money are not worth one-third what those are in Canada, while it gave to the American farmer (on the south bank of the St. Lawrence) this English market to avail of whenever it suited him, in addition to the American market."

So that Canada has a good cause of complaint against Britain, even though the mother country should impose no direct or legislative restriction on the trade of Canada. But Mr. Brown is well aware that Britain has imposed a restriction on the legislation of Canada; among the instructions to the Governor General from the Secretary for the Colonies, there being an order that he is not to

assent to any Act imposing differential duties. This is the most important possible curtailment of the Responsible Government granted to Canada; for the United States would not go into a treaty of Free Trade with Canada, unless we had here the same tariff against European labour; and it is no doubt the interest of Canada to have this as much as the interest of the United States.

"He would," continues the *Globe*, "stir up such fear in England, that the British North American Provinces will join the United States, as to compel the mother country to do the injustice to her own people which the great apostle of free trade, Adam Smith, deplores."

We should have thought that Mr. Brown would have felt it his first duty to get justice for Canada, and not to take sides against Mr. Buchanan and others who have the welfare of Canada as their whole object. Mr. Buchanan's opinion that a Zollverein in America, would be a boon to the mother country, as well as the Empire, is entitled to at least equal respect with Mr. Brown's contrary opinion, *if he has a contrary opinion*. Mr. Buchanan believes that if there was any temporary injury it would only be to middle men, as there would then be a glorious field here for Britain's working classes; but he does not think that the British importations into Canada would be lessened in coarse fabrics more than they would be increased in finer goods, in conseqnence of the improved prospects of the Province. Nominally, of course, the importations and exportations at Montreal and Quebec would be enormously increased, as the great bulk of the Trade of the Western States would follow the route of the St. Lawrence, which is itself no insignificant object to be attained through an AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN! Mr. Buchanan has no wish to suppose that either party (Ministerial or Opposition) are committed to his view, though of the two the Ministerial is most committed—both the Quebec *Mercury* and the Toronto *Globe* having, as we before said, come out for the Zollverein view since the last Session of Parliament.—The *Globe*, for its paltry party purposes, of course tries to mingle up the identity in this matter, of Mr. Buchanan and the *Spectator*. The *Spectator*, though agreeing with him (as all men must in his *patriotic objects*), as a general rule, expresses nothing which has not been decided upon

by the political party with which it acts. The question of whether or not it would be the best policy for the industry of Canada to establish a Commercial Zollverein in conjunction with the United States, has never been discussed by the Conservative party; although that party would unanimously, we are sure, uphold the integrity of Responsible Government, in holding that if the people of Canada, through their legislature, decide in favor of a Zollverein, as the true patriotic policy of Canada, there should be no impediments thrown in the way by the authorities of the mother country. They will not be deterred from this patriotic course by insinuations on the subject of their loyalty from such a quarter as the *Globe*. For such a discussion Mr. Buchanan has much the advantage of us as well as of the *Globe*, not only because he understands the subject practically, from forty years' experience as a merchant, but because he is not a strong party man. He says what he likes, and has a great many always inclined to think with him, because they know that he always thinks what he says.

The *loyalty cry* part of the *Globe's* ebullition is indeed truly laughable. Those of our readers who are old enough to have seen the elder Matthews, will remember something of the same kind in one of his personifications. He represented one man in America saying to another: "*You're an individual, Sir;*" and the other replying—*you're another, Sir.*" Now it unfortunately so happened that in his speech at the Toronto Opposition dinner, *Mr. Buchanan* had used the following pretty plain language: "Mr. Brown's chief, if not only claim to office, is that his having place and power is the only condition on which he will agree not to inflame the people and make them dangerous, even if he himself is not seditious." And Mr. Brown, in retort, points to certain expressions in the same speech which in his (Mr. Brown's) opinion would encourage annexation. A loyal man, however, cannot be made disloyal by a construction put by an enemy upon his language; any more than a political incendiary can white-wash himself by merely wheeling round and using loyal language for the time being.

VI.

ARGUMENT.

Mr. Buchanan quotes the authority, upon whom Mr. Brown ignorantly relies—Adam Smith, to show the insignificance of foreign trade in promoting the well-being of a people, in comparison with home trade; the whole exports and imports of a country not exceeding together ten per cent. of its transactions, although these alone are considered worthy of attention by Adam Smith's pretended followers; while the ninety per cent. or nine tenths of the country's transactions, (commonly called the Home Trade), seemed to be beneath consideration.—Lord Durham's exposure of the Mis-Government, by the British Government of Canada, or more properly absence of practical Government, such as Mr. Brown now proposes.—The process within the ten years previous, by which Canada was raised to that comparatively low position which Lord Durham found to compare so unfavourably with the progress and well-being of the United States.—Benjamin Franklin and C. H. Carey's descriptions of the desolating effects on the old Colonies of that British system, of which Mr. Brown is now the advocate?

As the best exposure of the Free Trade ravings of the *Globe*, we shall give a few quotations from authorities which Mr. Brown will scarcely question:

From Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Book 11, *Chap.* 5.

"The capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country, in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces by such operation two distinct capitals that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufacture of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. * * * * When *both* are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces by every such operation *two distinct capitals*, which had *both* been employed in supporting productive labour, and thereby enables them to continue that support. The capital which sends Scotch manufactures to London, and brings back English manufactures and corn to Edinburgh, necessarily replaces, by every such operation, *two British capitals*, which had *both* been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of *Great Britain*. The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too by every such operation two distinct capitals, but *one of them only* is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal, and brings back Portuguese goods to

Great Britain, replaces by every such operation *only one British* capital. The other is a Portuguese one. Though the returns therefore of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but ONE-HALF THE ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE INDUSTRY OR PRODUCTIVE LABOUR OF THE COUNTRY. * * * *

A capital, however, employed in the home-trade, will sometimes make twelve operations, or be sent out and return twelve times, before a capital employed in the foreign trade of consumption has made one. IF THE CAPITALS ARE EQUAL, THEREFORE, THE ONE WILL GIVE FOUR AND TWENTY TIMES MORE ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT TO THE INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY THAN THE OTHER."

But exactly the contrary policy is what Mr. Brown and the present race of English manufacturers suggest as our wisest course. We, however, have already actually experienced the advantage of the very contrary principle. And as a result, the prospects for Canada now are very different from what they were when our Customs' Duties on English goods were 2½ or 5 per cent. Every loyal subject, both in England and here, must rejoice in this, for it would have been absurd to expect that England could long have retained Canada, had the marked difference between this Province and the United States continued, which was thus alluded to in Lord Durham's celebrated report:

"By describing one side of the frontier, and reversing the picture, the other would be described. On the American side, all is activity and bustle. The forest has been widely cleared; every year numerous settlements are formed, and thousands of farms are created out of the waste; the country is intersected with common roads, etc. * * * * On the British side of the line, with the exception of a few favoured spots, where some approach to American prosperity is apparent, all seems waste and desolate. * * * * The ancient city of Montreal, which is naturally the capital of Canada,* will not bear the least comparison, in any respect, with Buffalo, which is the

* To see how the raising up of manufactures at Montreal has changed all this already, should shut the mouths forever of Mr. Brown and the Free Traders.

creation of yesterday. But it is not in the difference between the large towns, on the two sides, that we shall find the best evidence of our inferiority. That painful but most undeniable truth is most manifest in the country districts through which the line of national separation passes, for a distance of a thousand miles. There, on the side of both the Canadas, and also of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, a widely-scattered population, poor, and apparently unenterprising, though hardy and industrious, separated from each other by tracts of intervening forests, without towns or markets, almost without roads, living in mean houses, drawing little more than a rude subsistence from ill-cultivated land, and seemingly incapable of improving their condition, present the most instructive contrast to their enterprising and thriving neighbours on the American side. * * Throughout the frontier, from Amherstburgh to the ocean, the market value of land is much greater on the American than on the British side. In not a few parts of the frontier this difference amounts to a thousand per cent. * * * * The price of land in Vermont and New Hampshire, close to the line, is five dollars per acre, and in the adjoining British townships, only one dollar. On this side of the line a very large extent of land is wholly unsaleable, even at such low prices, while on the other side property is continually changing hands. * * I am positively assured that superior natural fertility belongs to the British territory. In Upper Canada, the whole of the great peninsula between Lakes Erie and Huron, comprising nearly half of the available land of the Province, is generally considered the best grain country of the American continent."

THE OLD BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM OF TRADE A DEATH BLOW TO THE COLONIAL FARMER.

Lord Durham, however, did not see Canada in her lowest condition, such as she was in before the days of paper money. Previously to Lord Durham's visit, and within our own recollection, the mightiest amelioration had occurred in the circumstances of the farmer of Upper Canada—the same introduction by us of banks, followed by business on a large scale, having simultaneously given him A TWENTY PER CENT. REDUCTION, AT LEAST, ON THE PRICE OF

HIS SUPPLIES, AND FULLY AS GREAT AN ADVANCE ON THE PRICE HE GOT FOR HIS WHEAT—the latter arising from the trade being no longer wholly in the hands of the foreign merchant, but being also competed for by Canadians through means of the banks. On the contrary,

"The British system (says C. H. Carey) had for its object a stoppage of circulation among the Colonists, with a view to compel the export of raw materials, and their importation in the form of cloth and iron. That such a policy tended towards the destruction of both land and man, was well understood by Franklin, according to whom it was in 1771, 'well understood that whenever a manufacture is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of lands in the neighbouring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land, and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufactures to that part of the country. It seems, therefore,' as Franklin continues, 'the interest of all our farmers and owners of lands to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries, such was then the almost universal feeling of the country, and to this, FAR MORE THAN TO THE TAX ON TEA, OR THE STAMP ACT, THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT WAS DUE. With the establishment of their independence, the necessity for submission to the system disappeared. The *habit* of submission continuing, however, its effects are felt in the fact that, with slight exceptions, the policy of the United States has been directed towards securing markets for raw products—a proceeding resulting necessarily in exhaustion of the land, dispersion of the population, and stoppage of societary circulation. * * * * The power to combine (continues Mr. Carey, referring to Virginia, which ignorantly had avoided manufactures) having no existence, coal could not be mined, nor could wool be spun, nor cloth be woven. The smaller the bulk of the commodities taken from the land, the less being the charge for transportation, the planter found himself limited to the most exhausting of all crops—Tobacco. HE LIVED, IN FACT, BY THE SALE OF THE SOIL ITSELF, and not by the product of his labour. He and his land becoming impoverished together, he was compelled to transport himself and his people to more distant

lands, with constant increase of the tax of transportation, and as constant decrease in the rapidity of circulation.' "

It is thus clear, that the early inhabitants of the United States were well aware how little a purely agricultural country really gets back when trading with a distant manufacturing one. GEE, ON TRADE—the authority of his day—whom I quote at length in my first note attached, states that the calculation then (in 1750) was that the colonist got back about one-fourth the value of his production from England. The Canadian farmer can easily understand that this could not be far from the mark, when at this day he finds that he cannot get more than about half the value which the English farmer does for the same quantity of wheat, from getting (in consequence of the distance) 25 per cent. less for his wheat if it goes to England, and paying 25 per cent. more to pay the expenses of importing the £75 worth of supplies which his £100 worth of wheat had purchased in England.

The whole export and import trade put together of a country are only about ten per cent. of its transactions ; YET THE PRICE WHICH THE FARMER GETS FOR HIS SURPLUS WHEAT WHICH HE EXPORTS FIXES THE PRICE OF ALL HE GROWS.

VII.

ARGUMENT.

The ministerial party more committed to Mr. Buchanan's Zollverein views than the Opposition, as both the Toronto *Globe* and the Quebec *Mercury*, the ministerial organs, came out in favour of Free Trade with the United States, since the last session of Parliament. —George Brown, Editor of the *Globe*, the Canadian Robespierre, extinguishing if he can the characters of his opponents when he cannot silence their arguments.—George Sheppard, Editor of the *Mercury*, the strong man and the mainstay of the weakest ministry, that an organ was ever called on to grind for.—His article in the *Daily Colonist*, in 1858, under the caption "MR. BROWN, THE FREE-TRADER, AND ADVOCATE OF DIRECT TAXATION, VERSUS, MR. BUCHANAN THE PROTECTIONIST AND ADVOCATE OF INDIRECT TAXATION."

In our article yesterday we accused only the Brown section of the organs of the Ministry with traducing Mr. Buchanan for their individual purpose or profit. The section of the Ministry represented by its chief organ the *Quebec Mercury*, looks on with silent contempt for its Ministerial coadjutors, and, we have no doubt,

with most supreme disgust. Nothwithstanding the extraordinary antics that the *Globe* is now enacting before high Heaven, that illustrious organ, as well as the *Quebec Mercury*, only a few months ago, came right out in favour of Mr. Buchanan's Zollverein views, the *Quebec Mercury*, however taking the precaution to say that it feared so great a boon would be denied to the Province by the Free Traders in the mother country. Mr. Brown's whole question evidently is, which is the most profitable opinion for himself to take up without the least reference to the people of Canada. Mr. Buchanan calls him the Canadian Robespierre, the difference being that when the French Robespierre could not silence the arguments of his opponents he extinguished the opponents themselves; whereas the Canadian Robespierre, less manly, deprives all who dare oppose him —to the extent the *Globe* can—of their character, not even sparing the late Robert Baldwin, who had the hardihood to approve of the Coalition Ministry. Mr. George Sheppard, the editor of the *Mercury*, is a man of intellect and practical experience, than whom no man knows better the horde of selfish men who delight in the name of English Free Traders or Political Economists, he having been brought up at the feet of these Gamaliels in his younger days. A strong man, he has been the main stay of the weakest Ministry that an organ was ever called on to grind for; but, just as Mr. Buchanan has so great an advantage in practically understanding the interests of the Province, Mr. Sheppard has the double advantage of understanding the true interests of industry, being the most eloquent writer on social science in Canada or perhaps any where else. We shall do no more to-day than give his opinions below, to show how identical they are with our own. When the following was written, he was editor of the Toronto *Colonist:*

[From the *Daily Colonist*, of Oct. 27, 1858.]

MR. BROWN THE FREE TRADER AND ADVOCATE OF DIRECT TAXATION, *versus* MR. BUCHANAN THE PROTECTIONIST AND ADVOCATE OF INDIRECT TAXATION.

The *Globe* attacks Mr. Buchanan under a caption "The Philo

sophy of Plunder," and the assertions in its article are, as is usual, wholly incorrect. The *Globe* asserts:

1st. The member for Hamilton has established his title to be considered a thorough-going partisan of the Macdonald-Cartier sort.

2nd. He has ostentatiously cultivated a reputation as a Political Economist.

Now, firstly, as to his being "a thorough-going partisan of the Macdonald-Cartier sort." The public cannot but remember that, at the crisis of the two days' or Brown-Dorion Ministry, Mr. Buchanan was one of those adherents of that Ministry who urged them to propound their policy, and offered to support them if they took up the question of employment more enthusiastically than the Macdonald-Cartier had done. Indeed Mr. Buchanan has always said that he hoped the day would come speedily when no man would dare to show himself at the hustings, who does not profess to view this great question of the people's existence as the great overshadowing constitutional question, and one far above the questions which we are accustomed to call constitutional, as the Crown privileges, the Upper House, the Aristocracy, the Church, &c. In his idea, all these are secondarily constitutional questions, and must for ever be in danger if the question of employment, on which all others depend, has not the chief and primary attention. So much, then, for the correctness of the *Globe* in insinuating that Mr. Buchanan is a mere partisan of certain politicians. The fact simply is that he views them not only as the party of order, but as better and more intelligent patriots than those who would introduce into Canada direct taxation and Free Trade.

And *secondly*, as to Mr. Buchanan having "ostentatiously cultivated a reputation as a political economist," we always before heard of Mr. Buchanan repudiating *in toto* political economy, and denying, properly speaking, that it is a science at all. Mr. Buchanan's opinion has always been that political economy is not a science, because a science is a system of fixed facts; whereas political economy, not to repudiate patriotism, must be a *system* of circumstances, seeing that a law that would suit an old country would not suit a new one—a law that would suit England as a rich

country would not suit Canada as a poor one, &c. So much, then, for the correctness of the *Globe's* second ground of attack on Mr. Buchanan. The truth is, that Mr. Buchanan, as Vice-Chairman of the banquet to Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars, at Hamilton, in giving the health of the Militia, coupled it with the health of Sir Allan McNab, whom he praised for having pushed forward the embodiment of the Militia during the Crimean war, a turn which might have left Canada peculiarly open to attack. He admitted the great cost, but argued that the expense of the Militia was simply a matter of spending so much money among ourselves, and that the cost was nothing proportioned to what such an outlay would be *if paid out of the country*. And to show that outlay in a country might be a good thing, because "spent among ourselves," he instanced the Queen's *drawing rooms*, at any of which every lady is expected to wear something of British manufacture. This is a good thing to the artisans of Britain, while it would be a bad thing to all classes if the ladies wore French silks, and the money expended had to leave the country. England, however, from her superiority in manufactures, has this great advantage, that most of her great expenditures are merely disbursements among her own people, and are a boon to them. IN A WORD, MR. BUCHANAN, LIKE OURSELVES, ADVOCATES PROTECTION ONLY FOR THE GENERAL INTEREST OF THE FARMERS WHO COMPOSE THE BULK OF THE PEOPLE OF UPPER CANADA. And if the *Globe* can find no stronger accusation against the Government than that its members are anxious for protection to manufactures, so far as they see this is for the interest of the farmers, we feel assured that Mr. Cartier's administration will not be a short-lived one on this account.

VIII.

ARGUMENT.

Honest national Economy and true political Reform, (such as we had before Brown came to Canada), consists not only in applying the people's money for their own benefit, but in securing the largest markets for the produce of the labour of our own people.—Mr. Buchanan's whole policy for thirty years has been to benefit the Canadian farmer, and through him secure the well being of all other departments of industry.—Lower Canada a warning; she exhausted, or, in other words, annually sold her soil by perpetual cropping of wheat at the instigation of Mr. Brown's friends, the British Political Economists.–Mr. Brown like his English friends, cares nothing for the people beyond their votes. He and they, either through the stupidity or something worse, have been the dishonoured instruments of establishing principles suitable only for the rich—annuitants or money mongers—and, which have caused the hopeless degradation of numberless poor families of the Province, whose only capital is the labour of to-morrow, in preference to which Gold,—the labour of the past, the property of the rich,—has, by the direful operation of the law, been preferred as an article of export; seeing that the amount of the precious metals exported is just a measure of the labour of the Canadian people which might have been exported, or to speak more plainly of the loss of employment to our own people.—The authority of the London *Times* given for the foregoing.—Mr. Buchanan remarking simply, that monetary reform would sooner be carried if people would reflect that the increased value of money means a cheapening of labour, and the increased value of labour means a cheapening of money.

"True political reform, (such as we had before the *Globe* came to Canada,) is, in a progressive state of Society such as we have in America, the truest Conservatism. We must be economical not only in applying the people's money for their own benefit, but in securing for our own people all the employment we can, in making the articles we require, seeing that when the manufacturers live in a foreign country they are not consuming the productions of the Canadian farms. No country can be great without having rotation of crops, and no country can have this without having a manufacturing population to eat the produce which is not exportable. [Cheers.] And so glaringly untrue is the industriously circulated notion that such policy would be injurious to the agricultural class, that my whole object in insisting on limiting the Provincial importation of manufactures and raising up factories alongside our farms, is to benefit the Canadian farmer, and through him all other classes, knowing full well, as I do, that it is the only solid and permanent foundation for the prosperity of the country. [Hear, hear.] *I was long ago warned, by witnessing the sad fate of Lower Canada, whose soil has been exhausted by overcropping with wheat.* Lower Canada blindly followed the interested or ignorant advice of the British Political Economists, and confined herself to growing wheat for export, little dreaming how large a per centage each year it took to represent the deterioration of the soil under such treatment of it. And what I wish for Upper Canada is a system of rotation of crops, to render which possible it is essential for us to have a town or manufacturing population to eat the vegetables and other perishable and bulky productions of the Canadian farmer."—*Mr. Buchanan's late Speech at Toronto.*

George Brown is coming out in his true colours. It turns out after all that he is no reformer. He is an *Edinburgh Whig*, but not a *Canadian Reformer*. Like nine in every ten of the leaders of the Liberals at home, the whole object of his REFORM CRY has been to build up a political party—a matter of votes in fact.

> "They hold no way so orthodox
> To try it, as the ballot-box,
> And, like the nation's patriots,
> To find, or MAKE, the truth by votes."

And it is not only as regards colonial labour, but as regards the labor of the mother country, that British statesmen have adopted the most disloyal principles, for they do not pretend to owe more allegiance to the BRITISH INDUSTRY (WHICH SHOULD BE THEIR POLITICAL MASTER) THAN THEY DO TO THE FOREIGN INDUSTRY. On the throne of patriotism they have set up political economy! Perhaps, however, we should be nearer the truth if we held that in England there never was, among her legislators, any more than the *pretence* of devotion to the interests of the British people. The success of the American Revolution shewed them, that no government could exist that had not the hearts of the people ; and the subsequent troubles in France made this still more clear. But they took the same line, *as we have seen the most unworthy politicians in Canada take*—to prove themselves *pure*, they cried out against an imaginary corruption.—But as in the one case so in the other, it was all mere empty words. The public men in England, instead of honestly associating the Government with the people in their interests, *humbugged* (to use an unmistakeable word,) both the crown and the people. That truly popular interests should prevail was no doubt the interest of the crown, but this would not suit the British statesman as representatives of the men of money. They knew that WELL PAID LABOUR is a convertible term for CHEAP MONEY. They therefore introduced a contrivance which blinded both the Crown and the people. At Cambridge they had learned that "*things which are equal to the same thing, are equal to one another*," and they taught this lesson both to the Crown and to the people. Their object of course was to prevent any actual *oneness* of interests between the Crown and the people ; so they had to use

considerable *sleight-of-hand*, and the *juggle* succeeded admirably. To illustrate which in Mr. Brown's case Mr. Buchanan gave this other quotation from Hudibras.

> "Indeed the pleasure seemed as great
> Of being cheated as to cheat;
> As lookers on feel most delight,
> That least perceive the juggler's sleight;
> And still the less they understand,
> The more they admire his sleight of hand."

They accordingly set up this thing called Political Economy, and succeeded in convincing the people that it was PATRIOTISM they were called upon to worship. Political Economy (said they) is the people's interest; Political Economy also, they averred to be the Crown's interest. And so, by the easiest *geometrical* process, the intrests of the crown and the people were *proved* identical, as being both identical with Political Economy. But the great popular condition was never fulfilled, of the establishment of a homely policy which by keeping money in the country would make it cheap. The Political Economists well knew that this was the convertible term for labour being made dear or employment fairly remunerated; and this would not suit persons on fixed incomes, and money lenders. They pretend to be *friends of humanity*, but are not friends of men as individuals or as classes: and as such were thus described by the Right Hon. George Canning, a statesman just alike to Freedom and the Throne, in his celebrated *Knife Grinder:*

"THE FRIEND OF HUMANITY AND THE KNIFE GRINDER.

FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

Needy Knife Grinder? whither are you going?
Rough is your road, your wheel is out of order;
Bleak blows the blast—your hat has got a hole in't,
So have your breeches!

Weary Knife Grinder! little think the proud ones,
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day, Knives
and
Scissors to grind O!

Tell me Knife grinder, how came you to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the squire, or parson of the parish,
Or the attorney?

Was it the squire, for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson, for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a law suit?

(Have you not read the Rights of Man, by Tom Paine?)
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.

KNIFE GRINDER.

Story! God bless you? I have none to tell, sir;
Only last night a drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

Constable came up to take me into
Custody; they took me before the justice:
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish
Stocks for a vagrant.

I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But for my part, I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.

FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

I give thee sixpence! I will see thee d — d first—
Wretch whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded
Spiritless outcast!

[*Kicks the Knife Grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of Republican enthusiasm and universal philanthrophy.*"]

These lines of Canning had chiefly in view Southey, who, though in his earlier career, was as incendiary in his appeals to the people as Brown here has been, subsequently distanced all others as an obsequious Tory; and this character seems the model

which Mr. Brown has placed before him to imitate. His *cry* for Representation was no doubt plausible, although the whole interest the people have in it depends on the use to which, as an instrument, if got, it would be put. Mr. Buchanan expressed this at the Toronto dinner:—

"A people may equally starve under a Republic and a Monarchy, and of itself Rep. by Pop. will not fill the belly; so that, admitting that it would be an improvement in our machinery of Legislation, and supposing it attained, his (Mr. Buchanan's) practical question to the Grits is one which they have not practical talent enough to answer, viz.: what practical measures they would carry by this new instrumentality to subserve the great question of the people's employment. [Much cheering.] Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's views on Rep. by Pop. are antipodal with those of Mr. Brown; so they must be a happy family."

Now, when people see the use Mr. Brown thinks should be made of the Canadian people's power—to use it against Canadian industry—they will not be so anxious to precipitate the question of Representation by Population.

We shall, for the present, leave Mr. Brown to study the following admission of the London *Times*, the great organ of his friends, the English Free Traders:

"For a whole generation," [said the *Times*, on the 5th of July, 1851, in its noble effort against its own friends, the Political Economists, and in favour of the Ten Hours Bill,] "*man has been a drug* in this country. It has scarcely entered into the heads of economists that they would ever have to deal with a deficiency of labour. The inexhaustible Irish supply has kept down the price of English labour, whether in the field, the factory, the army or the navy; whether at the sickle, the spade, the hod or the desk. We believe that for fifty years at least, *labour, taking its quality into account, has been cheaper in this country than in any part of Europe;* and this cheapness of labour has contributed vastly to the improvement and powers of the country—to the success of all mercantile pursuits, and to the enjoyment of those who have money to spend. *This same cheapness has placed the labouring classes most effectually under the hand of money and the heel of power.*"

In regard to this cheapness of labour, Mr. Buchanan remarks:

"Monetary reform would soon be carried if people would reflect that the increased value of money means a cheapening of labour, and that the increased value of labor means a cheapening of money."

IX.

ARGUMENT.

Seaman's *Progress of Nations*, an American work of great value, is quoted to shew that the episodes of Free Trade, or rather reduced tariff, into which American blockheads, without experience, like Mr. Brown and the English Free Traders, have periodically driven them—have been the only or chief cause of misery in the United States. —Seaman's view that Canada is still worse.—He however when writing did not know her patriotic legislation of 1858-59 saved Canada. Upon the principles of Mr. Brown and the Political Economists his taunt would still have stood good against Canada, with the natural crop of his loyalty as the consequence.—A record from the Hamilton *Spectator* of 30th July, 1858, of Mr. Buchanan's successful effort to secure legislation, whose object was to keep the money in the country—to prevent Canada sending off wool, hides, wood, and other raw materials, for which we got a very small sum of money, and getting back wool and cloth, leather and woodenware, agricultural implements, &c.,&c., for which the Province paid a very large sum—a sum, the continued payment of which for the manufacture of homely implements, would have entirely prevented us in so short a time recovering from the monetary distress of the Province, which commenced in 1857. See C. H. Carey's illustration of the dreadful experience in the United States of Free Trade, even when reciprocal.

"Though the ratio of the increase of the population has been greater in Canada than in the United States, yet their increase of wealth has barely kept pace with the population, and they are as poor as they were half a century since. They have enjoyed the blessings of *Free Trade* with England all the time, we have only a part of the time. Whenever we have attempted to supply ourselves by our own industry, with the comforts and necessaries of life, we have improved our condition as a people; and during the intervals of Free Trade and large importations of foreign goods, we have relapsed again into a condition bordering on bankruptcy; while the Canadians have been constantly exhausted, and kept so poor by Free Trade, as to be unable to get sufficient credit to have even the ups and downs of prosperity and bankruptcy in succession.—[From *Seaman's Progress of Nations*, a work of great value. Published by Charles Scribner, New York."

Upon the principles of Mr. Brown and the Political Economists this taunt could still have been made against Canada, with the natural crop of disloyalty as the consequence. But our principle has always been that he is the most loyal man who can do most to pre-

vent Canada having any thing to envy in the United States; and, in the *Spectator* on 30th July, 1858, we had the pleasure to announce the following:

THE VICTORY FOR PROTECTION IN CANADA.

"The successful result of the movement set on foot in the metropolis, at the instance of the able and indefatigable member for this city, having for its object the promotion of Canadian industry, shows what can be accomplished through a determined perseverance, and the untiring efforts of those engaged in the work. It will be remembered with what a shout of derision the movement was met by a portion of the Opposition press,* who attempted to laugh it to scorn, and denounced it as a futile effort to restore an exploded system of protection, highly detrimental to the best interests of the country. In no way discouraged by the reception they received the friends of the movement urged boldly, yet quietly, forward. Meetings were convened in various parts of the country, and a meeting of delegates finally took place in Toronto, at which the necessary course of action was decided on. Mr. Buchanan was the moving spirit of the laudable enterprise, and patiently but steadily pushed on the column, confident of ultimate victory. He had much to contend against, yet never faltered for a moment, and he now finds his efforts crowned with success. Had not the movement in favour of encouragement to native industry been started, we would not today have had the satisfaction of congratulating Mr. Buchanan, and those supporting him, upon the success of the efforts made to give a stimulus to home manufactures. Some three or four journals, among them the *Globe* and *Leader*, laboured most industriously to thwart the aim of the Association, but they soon found that it was useless, for the feeling of the country was with the Association, and the Government wisely yielded to the pressure from without, and conceded the chief demands of the Protectionists. The Tariff was altered to suit the views of those advocating the important change, and the country must eventually benefit largely by the wisdom displayed in giving the necessary protection to home

* The supporters of the present Macdonald-Dorion Ministry.

industry. By a decisive vote of 68 to 28 the tariff passed the popular branch of the Legislature, and the good effect of the policy adopted by the Government is already beginning to shew itself. We hear of confidence being imparted to commercial transactions; new manufactories are talked of, and those at present in operation have decided to sell at reduced rates. The increase in the protection to printing paper has induced the Messrs. Buntin *to reduce* their prices four per cent., and we have not the least doubt that other manufacturers in different branches will follow the example. Confidence has been restored, and it now only remains for the Government to carry through two important measures, the usury and abolition of imprisonment for debt bills, to render the victory complete. There can be no question as to the good effected by the policy pursued in commercial matters. The Free Traders, so called, have been worsted, and they have probably learned by this time that their nostrums are by no means palatable to the people of this country. What we want is more capital, and A CHECK UPON THE DRAINAGE OF MONEY FROM THE PROVINCE, and this we are in a fair way of obtaining, for the Tariff will reduce our importations, and retain within the country one half the amount expended in purchasing goods which we can manufacture ourselves. This is no trivial boon to a country like Canada; besides our markets will speedily be discovered that, *in a full market duties are no taxes.*

"For the victory so signally achieved in behalf of protection to home manufactures, we are unquestionably indebted to the member for this city, who instigated the movement, and through his unwearying exertions carried it out to a successful completion.—His detractors have been silenced by his success, and instead of ridiculing him, they will yet be compelled to admit that he has accomplished *what no other man in the Province had the courage to attempt.* All honour, then, to Mr. Buchanan for what he has done in the way of stimulating native industry, and at the same time giving an impetus to the trade of the country."

The simple question now is, are we prepared to give up our victory to the Political Economists and Free Traders, Free Trade in commerce being just what free thinking is in religion, not a new

principle, but an absence of any principle and of all patriotic legislation. Now we can afford to speak more plainly than men who for a moment would doubt their own loyalty, we being of that class who would stick to the old flag right or wrong; and we cannot find words sufficiently eloquent to denounce those ignoramuses or something still worse, who would attempt to try on old country theories (even if they had been proved in that old and rich state of things) in a new country like Canada. Though this country is not, and we trust never will be Republican, its material interests are the same as those of our Republican neighbours, the difference between the countries being merely a mere line of latitude. Canada, therefore, wants no untried theory of Trade and Industry, seeing that we have the actual and dearly bought experience before us of the United States, a country whose circumstances are identical with those of Canada; and the following extract from Carey, than whom there is no higher authority, is a record of the experience of that country.

We may remind our readers that Mr. Carey always uses the word commerce to mean internal, not external trade:

"The policy of the United States has been very variable—tending occasionally, and for short periods, to the arrest of the export of raw materials, and of gold. As a rule, however, the tendency has been in the opposite direction—the consequences have exhibited themselves in the stoppage and failure of Banks above referred to. They are found, for the first time, in the period from 1817 to 1824, WHEN MANUFACTURES CAME FREELY IN, AND COIN WENT FREELY OUT; for the second, in the calamitous years which preceded the passage of the Act of 1842. Excluding these two periods, it may be doubted if all the failures of Banks throughout the Union, in the thirty years from 1815 to 1846, amounted to the thousandth part of one per cent., or if the losses of the people by the banks amounted to even the millionth part of one per cent. upon the business which they so much facilitated. The losses resulting from the use of ships in a single year would pay, a hundred times over, the losses by all the banks of the country for a century—with the exception of the six years ending in 1824, and the five which closed in 1842.

"Then, as now, the country was strained in the effort to produce an export of raw materials, by which THE SOIL WAS TO BE EXHAUSTED; and then, as now, the precious metals followed in their train. The policy forbade the use of gold and silver coin. It forbade the use of credit; and hence it was that hoarding became so general in the years from 1837 to 1840, that the large export of corn to this country by the Bank of England, in 1838, had not even the slightest effect in restoring the confidence that had been lost. So it is now. The quantity of gold in the country is greater far than it has ever been, but it is shut up in treasury vaults, because of want of confidence in banks; it is being transported from South to North, or from West to East; or it is shut up in private hoards; but—and for the simple and obvious reason, that confidence has no existence—IT IS NOT IN CIRCULATION. All are looking for an explosion similar to those of the periods of 1817–20 and 1837–42; and all who can, prepare for it."

"Directly the reverse of this is what we meet with whenever the policy of the country tends to raise the prices of home-grown raw materials, and thus to arrest their export.—UNDER THE TARIFF OF 1828, SO PERFECT HAD BECOME THE STABILITY OF THE PRICE OF FLOUR, THAT IT REMAINED ENTIRELY UNAFFECTED HERE, NOTWITHSTANDING THE EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES OF FOREIGN MARKETS.* Under that tariff, the precious metals flowed in, and confidence was complete. The policy was changed, and mines ceased to be opened, while furnaces ceased to be built; and then confidence disappeared.—Under the tariff of 1842, money became abundant—not because of a large increase of import, but because of the almost instant re-establishment of public and private credit.—The gold and silver that had been hoarded, and thus for the time annihilated, then came forth, to become available for the purposes for which they were intended.

"All the facts presented by the history of the United States may be adduced in proof of the assertion, that *the country which*

* Let Farmers in Canada mark this.

maintains a policy tending to promote the export of raw materials must have against it a balance of trade requiring the export of the precious metals, and must dispense with their services as measures of value.

"Those facts may briefly thus be stated:—

"Protection ceased in 1818, bequeathing to free trade a commerce that gave an excess *import* of specie—a people among whom there existed great prosperity—a large public revenue—and a rapidly diminishing public debt.

"Free trade ceased in 1824, bequeathing to protection a commerce that gave an excess *export* of specie—an impoverished people, a declining public revenue—and an increasing public debt.

"Protection ceased in 1834–35, bequeathing to free trade a commerce that gave an excess *import* of specie—a people more prosperous than any that had even then been known—a revenue so great that it had been rendered necessary to emancipate tea, coffee, and many other commodities from duty—and a treasury free from all charge, on account of public debt.

"Free trade ceased in 1842, bequeathing to protection a commerce that gave an excess *export* of specie—a people ruined, and their governments in a state of repudiation—a public treasury bankrupt, and begging everywhere for loans at the highest rate of interest—a revenue collected and disbursed in irredeemable paper money—and a very large foreign debt.

"Protection ceased in 1847, bequeathing to free trade a commerce that gave an excess *import* of specie—a highly prosperous people—State Governments restored to credit—a rapidly growing commerce—a large public revenue—and a declining foreign debt.

"Since that time, California has supplied hundreds of millions of dollars in gold, nearly all of which has been exported, or is now locked up in public and private hoards; the consequences of which are seen in the facts that COMMERCE IS PARALYZED—THAT THE PRICE OF MONEY IN THE COMMERCIAL CITIES HAS RANGED FOR YEARS BETWEEN TEN AND THIRTY PER CENT. PER ANNUM—AND THAT THE INDEBTEDNESS TO FOREIGN NATIONS HAS INCREASED TO SUCH AN AMOUNT AS TO REQUIRE, FOR THE PAYMENT OF INTEREST ALONE, A SUM EQUAL TO THE AVERAGE EXPORT OF ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD."

X.

ARGUMENT.

Mr. Buchanan believes that foreigners or men with foreign interests, which is the same thing, have been allowed to usurp the electoral power of England, and he despises the public men of England who have had so little patriotism as to be their tools.—He has nothing in common with President Lincoln or President Davis, but as a Colonist he would rather be under the rule of either than that of the present English Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, or under those men from whom he derives his vitality, such as Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden.—The manure on the land in England costs as much as all the goods exported from that country, (See McQueen's Statistical Work), Mr. Brown overdoing his character of the British Lion, as being new to him.—Mr. Geo. Sheppard's editorial of the Toronto *Colonist*, in 1859, being a magnificent description of the position and interests of Canada.

THE "GLOBE" *VERSUS* THE CANADIAN FARMER.

"On occasions like the present, separate toasts are proposed to agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; but in Canada there is really but one interest: I should deplore the setting up, as in England, of a separate commercial interest composed, as Manchester is, of German Jews and others, whose only interest is in the prosperity of other countries, although they have the audacity not only to exercise political power in England,—but to think they should control the government, as indeed they now do. I have nothing in common with President Lincoln and President Davis, but I would rather as a colonist be under the rule of either than under that of the present English Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, or under those men from whom he derives his vitality, such as Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden. [Hear, hear.] In a country like this, if the farmer is right, all classes are right; and if the farmer is wrong, all classes suffer. Even in England this was the doctrine held up to the period of the renegade speeches of Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel in 1846, when they suddenly departed from the old principle that the land or agriculture of England *is* England, doing so in the face of the strongest evidence of the national risk they were running. I at the time assisted Lord George Bentinck in getting up the statistics which he spoke in Parliament, and I remember showing, on the great authority of "*McQueen's Statistical Work*," that *the manure put upon the land in England amounts to more than all the goods exported from that country*, (hear) although the latter, or foreign-trade interest, now entirely rules England. Happily England was saved the disastrous effects which must have flowed from her opening her ports, and giving foreign countries a claim on her for gold which she did not possess. Her prosperity, however, has been solely caused by the discoveries of the precious metals in 1847; and subsequently, it has been in spite of free trade, not in consequence of that mad theory. I have been anxious thus to show the last speaker, my friend, Mr. Johnson, the President of the Agricultural Association, that I desire to see no commerce, nor manufactures which have an interest subversive of the great interest of the country, which is that of Agriculture."—[*Mr. Buchanan's speech at the Dinner given to the Pioneers of Upper Canada, at London, U. C.*

In the same loyal *British Lion* spirit as Mr. Brown now rejoices in, some blockhead declared that the foregoing remarks were disloyal; on which occasion Mr. Buchanan referred him to the celebrated Edmund Burke's reply in Parliament on a similar occasion, "I am loyal to the king, but this does not require me to be loyal "to his man servant, his maid servant, his ox, or his ass!"

We yesterday recorded the triumph of Canadian Industry, in 1858, when we got the Tariff raised 5 per cent., or one-half what was wanted. In the following year the other 5 per cent. was extorted from Parliament, leaving things in the position that all that is now required (as no higher duties are wanted or were ever asked for) is the reduction, as soon as the Revenue will permit, of the duty on necessaries which we cannot grow or manufacture, such as sugar, tea and coffee.—And as our object is entirely practical, we cannot give a better view of the period we allude to than by quoting the eloquent words at that time of George Sheppard, Esq., which appeared as an editorial of the Toronto *Colonist*, he being *par excellence* the historian of that bright era of the Province, and the man chiefly looked to defend and work out, in concert with Mr. Buchanan, the great practical Industrial Reform then achieved for Canada—a Reform the patriotic benevolence of whose spirit is all that Representation by Population or any other improvement in our machinery of Government could ever have secured to us!

"The movement in progress throughout Western Canada in favour of a policy calculated to foster Provincial industry, is characterized by features which elevate it above the level of ordinary political agitation. None of the elements of partisanship are apparent in the proceedings that have already taken place upon the subject; and the various affinities of the gentlemen who are associated with the movement, are a guarantee that it is begun and will be conducted less with reference to party results than with regard to the accomplishment of purposes wider and more enduring than those which constitute the every day staple of political strife.

"The bitter experience of the period of depression through which the country is passing, has served to direct attention to considerations deeper than mere surface prosperity. It is seen that

some other test than the gross return of exports or imports is needed to determine the question of material advancement; and that the transient flush of prosperity which accompanies special occurrences, is not a reliable indication of surplus wealth or lasting resources. It is acknowledged that the policy which looks simply to the collection of revenue, or the mere adjustment of receipts and expenditure, is not the policy needed to secure the development of hidden wealth and strength; and that in the adjustment of a tariff due regard must be paid to the protection of interests, in their essence vitally important, but which from local causes, are as yet unfitted to encounter the rough competition of the world.

"*An obstacle always met at the entrance upon a discussion of this nature, is a common belief that there are certain infallible dicta of political economists universal in their application, and therefore conclusive in every argument, wherever it may be conducted.* [This is Mr. Brown's grand error.—Ed. *Spectator*.] It is necessary at the outset that we should surmount this by an appreciation of the fact, that scarcely two political economists agree even in the definition of terms—that they are at war with each other upon the point, whether political economy is an art or a science—that they differ in their record of facts and of the lessons they teach—and that the popular idol, Adam Smith, derives his greatness mainly from tradition, which, again, rests upon an inability to comprehend his logic or to harmonize its conclusions.

"Let it be conceded that abstract reasoning has no binding force in relation to national policy, which must be shaped to meet given circumstances, and we are freed at once from the intolerable bondage of a jargon, which is as inapplicable to Canada as Syriac or Chaldee. The question becomes, not what Adam Smith said in the last century, not what Mons. Bastiat has said to France, not what Mr. McCulloch now says to England, but what is actually wanted to suit the condition of Canada—what is most likely to promote the prosperity of Canadian industry and enterprise—what is calculated most effectually to elevate Canada in the scale of nations, and to secure the elements of her future greatness. Viewed in this light, dogmas are seen to be less efficacious than analogy. We are concerned, not so much to know the opinions of individ-

uals, as the lessons of experience which enables us to trace the operations of different forms of policy under different conditions of social strength. And we arrive then at the position, that as no resemblance exists between the actual condition of England, and the condition of Canada, in regard to capital, machinery, skill, labour, and raw material, so no attempt can properly be made to apply to the latter a system of taxation and finance, which may be fairly enough held to be peculiarly suited to the former.

"The inquiry is narrowed down to this:—When England was as Canada is, what was England's policy? When England was in a condition of infancy—speaking in an industrial and manufacturing sense—what was her course in dealing with other nations?—by what procedure did she seek to build up her native industry? And history utters no dubious reply. Always her policy was to protect her own skill and labour and capital, against the skill, labour, and capital of other countries—to offer encouragement by a protective tariff to home enterprise—to develop home resources under the sunshine of judicious legislative favour—and gradually to construct a manufacturing and trading power, which could afford fearlessly to encounter all competition, from wheresoever it might proceed. As she advanced in wealth and position, these fostering influences became less necessary. Protection had done its work, and England found herself not simply able to compete with other countries, as a manufacturing and maritime power, but intent upon the accomplishment of manufacturing and maritime supremacy. Of necessity, her commercial policy underwent a change. Herself equal to the exigencies of free trade, it became her interest to extend the free trade area to the widest possible limits; and thus to subject other countries to a degree of dependence upon her affairs.

"Epitomising England's progress, we trace, first, the era of agriculture, with an interest in open markets; next, the establishment of a carrying trade; third, the promotion of manufacturing industry under protective tariffs; next—as now—the possession of unparalleled manufacturing advantages, with supremacy on every sea.

"Canada has passed the first stage of national growth. We

are no longer exclusively an agricultural people. We have achieved respectability, at least in the carrying trade, and are enjoying advantages which ensure to us, with reasonable care, something like distinction in that respect. And the time has come when we must meet the third phase of advancement. We must aim at the creation of manufacturing industry, or consent forever to remain the commercial vassals of foreign capital—the industrial dependants of a distant people. Blink the alternative as we may, there it is, palpable and inevitable. We must continue subject to the fluctuations of a producing power, having the command of enormous capital, perfected machinery, and a labour-market that never ceases to be glutted; or we must resolve to turn to account our vast natural resources, to develop our hitherto neglected wealth, to profit by all the accidents of our geographical position—and so gradually and quietly, but surely, to secure a home market for our raw products, to encourage the investment of capital in local manufactures, and to win for ourselves the solid advantages, and the not unworthy honour which are inseparable from the possession of national power.

"Acknowledging, then, the necessity of promoting manufactures in the Province—acknowledging, too, the fact, that never in any country, have manufactures outlived the difficulties incident to their early stages, save under the discriminating protection of a tariff—acknowledging the testimony which comes to us from all sides from all forms of manufacturing industry, in support of the opinion that under the existing system, Canadian manufactures are exposed to a competition as ruinous as it is unjust; we hail the movement now begun as a gratifying sign of that more healthy public opinion which shall at once necessitate and justify the adoption of an amended commercial policy. A prohibitory tariff is not sought in any quarter. All that is asked is, such a judicious degree of protection as shall stimulate and shield Provincial industry; and we believe that this may be afforded without loss or inconvenience to any section of the community."

XI.

ARGUMENT.

Mr. Brown asks Mr. Buchanan to believe that the farther Free Trade is carried by Canada the more she will prosper, and that Canada should adopt a system of direct taxation—He also asserts contrary to what must be the evidence of his senses, if he has any, that the Canadian people should be well contented, and most grateful for the miserable policy pursued towards them by the mother country.—And Mr. Brown threatens that nothing but ruin will attend those who dare tell the truth on this subject, vital not less to the mother country than to Canada.—The policy of Mr. Brown and the English Free-Traders would make Canada a second Ireland.—History of the happy and promising condition of Ireland's industry previous to its legislative union with England.

"And Mr. Buchanan may rely upon it that the farther Free Trade is carried by Canada, the more she will prosper. If we could abolish the Tariff altogether, and pay the expenditure by direct taxation, we should do more for the prosperity of Canada than all that was ever dreamed of by a Protectionist." * * * * * * *

"The Canadian people are well content with the policy pursued towards them by the mother country, and they would be indeed ungrateful if they were not, for never has any dependency of any empire been more kindly and considerately treated than we. So deep rooted has this feeling become, that it is beyond the power of the Opposition to uproot it, let them resort to what guise or to what deceit they may. They will accomplish nothing but their own destruction."—[Article in the *Globe* commenting on Mr. Buchanan's speech; and his letter addressed to the *Globe*, stating that his effort was to prevent not to encourage Annexation.]

Mr. Brown's very ignorant, or most insane policy, as above (and he may take whichever horn of the dilemma he pleases) could have no other effect than to make Canada another Ireland during its connection with the mother country, which would be short indeed. Corrupt and truculent as many of Ireland's sons were at the time of the Union, we are not aware of any Irishman who so degraded himself as to use language like the foregoing, at once thanking England for what she had done and was doing for his devoted country, and denouncing, as disloyal, those who can see only ruin to Canada equally with Ireland in Free Trade with England. The late Lord Durham may thank his stars that Mr. Brown had not yet arrived in Canada when he made his celebrated Report, in which he dared to tell so much truth. And we take leave therefore quietly to suggest to Mr. Brown that he is altogether overdoing his new character of British Lion, who, with all

his faults, is a magnanimous beast. In England no one ever hinted at any shadow of disloyalty, when Sergeant Byles made the following remarks on England's wretched policy in regard to Ireland; on the contrary, he was called a patriot for making them.

"There is no novelty or strangeness, in this SUGGESTION OF PARTIAL AND TEMPORARY PROTECTION OF INFANT IRISH MANUFACTURES EVEN AGAINST ENGLAND. Enlightened and impartial foreigners have made it before. For example, the Baron Dupin, in France, and Mr. Webster in the United States of America, have given it as their opinion, that little good is to be expected without it, from any course of British legislation for Ireland. Nay, we have more than theory or authority to guide us. We have, in the past history of Ireland herself, actual experience both of *the advantage of protecting Irish manufactures against English*, and of the ruin attending the withdrawal of protection. Before the Union, Irish protecting duties existed on many English manufactures. Among others there was a duty on English woollens; a duty on English calicoes and muslins so high as to be nearly prohibitory; a duty on English silk. There were duties on English cotton yarn, cotton twist, and cotton manufactured goods. The Act of Union continued the duties on woollens and several other articles for twenty years. It continued the high duties on calicoes and muslins till 1808. They were then to be gradually reduced till they should fall to 10 per cent. in 1816, and nothing in 1821. The duties on cotton yarn, and cotton twist were continued till 1808, and were then to be gradually reduced to nothing in 1816. The linen trade was encouraged by a parliamentary grant, withdrawn in 1826. Now see the effects, first, of protection, and next, of its withdrawal, or rather a specimen of the effects. It has been stated by Dublin tradesmen, acquainted with the facts, that in 1800 they had 91 Master Woollen Manufacturers, employing 4918 hands. In 1840 the Master Manufacturers were 12, the hands 602.—Master Woolcombers in 1800 were 30—the hands 230. In 1834, Masters 5—hands 66. Carpet Manufacturers—in 1800, Masters 13—hands 720. In 1841, Masters 1—hands—. Blanket Manufacturers in Kilkenny—in 1800, Masters 56—hands 3000.

In 1822, Masters 56—hands 3000. In 1832, Masters 42—hands 925. Broad silk loom weavers in Dublin in 1800—at work 2500; in 1840—250. Calico looms in Balbriggan, in 1799, in full work, 2000. In 1841—226. Flannel looms in the county of Wicklow, in 1800—1000. In 1841—not one. In the City of Cork:

	1800.	1834.
Braid weavers,	1000	40
Worsted weavers,	2000	90
Hosiers,	300	28
Wool combers,	700	110
Cotton weavers,	2000	210
Linen check weavers,	600	none.

Cotton spinners—bleachers—calico printers—thousands employed utterly extinct. The linen trade, protected and fostered till 1826, was not in those days confined to the North of Ireland. In Clonakitty, in the County of Cork, £1200 a week were expended on the purchase of coarse linen webs, so late as 1825. In Mayo, £111,000 were expended in purchasing the same species of web. In 1825 the sum of two millions and a half sterling were expended in Ireland in the purchase of coarse unbleached home-made webs. I am obliged for these specimens of the ruin of Irish industry to Mr. Butt, Q. C. at the Irish Bar, who informs me that they could be very much extended."

If George Brown and those English statesmen, whom he would have us idolize, get their way, Canada would soon be in a position to be the object of pity as much as Ireland, and to have applied to her Tom Moore's words of lament for that unhappy land:

> "Oh! let grief come first,
> O'er pride itself victorious,
> To think how man has cursed
> What God had made so glorious."

"For nearly half a century," says the same patriotic writer, "Ireland has had perfectly Free Trade with the richest country in the world; and 'what'—says the author of a recent work of great

ability—'has Free Trade done for her? She has even now,' he continues, 'no employment for her teeming population except upon the land.' She ought to have had, and might easily have had, other and various employments, and plenty of it. Are we to believe—he says—the calumny, that the Irish are lazy and won't work? Is Irish human nature different from other human nature? Are not the most laborious of all labourers in London and New York, Irishmen? Are Irishmen inferior in understanding? We Englishmen, who have personally known Irishmen in the army, at the bar, and in the church, know that there is no better head than a disciplined Irish one. But, in all these cases, that master of industry, the stomach, has been well satisfied. Let an Englishman exchange the bread and beer, and beef and mutton, for no breakfast, for a luke-warm lumper at dinner, and no supper. With such a diet, how much better is he than an Irishman—a Celt, as he calls him? No, the truth is, that the MISERY OF IRELAND IS NOT FROM THE HUMAN NATURE THAT GROWS THERE—IT IS FROM ENGLAND'S PERVERSE LEGISLATION, PAST AND PRESENT.

"Before the Union there were under protection (against England) Irish woollen manufactures, Irish carpet manufactures, Irish blanket manufactures, and Irish stocking manufactures. These manufactures are now smothered and extinct. But what ought they to have been? with increased population and power of consumption and with the application of steam, with improved mechanical and chemical agencies! What would, and must they have been, but for the blight of English connection, withering at once BOTH THE POWER OF PRODUCING AND THE MEANS OF PURCHASING! What might they be made EVEN NOW, should England, instead of blindly chasing THE PHANTOM OF CHEAPNESS, no matter of what sort, at once seriously address herself to developing the unexplored but prodigious productive power of Ireland. But England is, at present spell-bound and paralyzed by her epidemic, yet ephemeral theories. Unless it be in conformity with her new doctrines, she will not listen to the most obvious measure of true policy for Ireland. She will support an artificial system to maintain myriads of Irish poor in idleness, but not hear of an artificial

system to marry them to industry. 'Buy,' says she, with bitter irony, to the penniless Irish, 'buy in the cheapest market. Don't make for yourselves, when you can buy of me cheaper than you can make.' Accordingly the Irish do, as all nations so situated needs must do, they go *without!* Innumerable Irish hands ready to labour—immeasurable quantities of Irish materials ready to be wrought up, innumerable consumers anxious to consume, and to produce in return, are, as if by enchantment, kept asunder. Without temporary protection, Irish industry is under-sold, smothered, rendered impossible. Universal, hereditary, and national idleness, poverty, and discontent, are the necessary consequences.

"Who, again we ask, is to blame. England and nobody else. Though it must be admitted that the theories which blind her to true Irish interests, have blinded her quite as much to her own."

XII.

ARGUMENT.

The thing miscalled Free Trade in England, carried by the middle classes, not only without the assistance of the working classes, but in spite of their opposition.—English Free Trade only freedom to our people to purchase the labour of foreigners, but not freedom to us to sell our labour to foreigners.—As in Ireland, so in England, the middle men an alien interest, caring nothing for the working class.—Any loyalty to the Crown a farce which has not been preceded, and built upon the loyalty which we owe to our own families, which is loyalty to a government antecedent to Monarchies or Republics.—This great truth singularly forgotten by the Sheffield Free Traders, who lately invoked Imperial interference into Canadian Legislation.—Neither party in Canada willing to admit the well-being of the Canadian farmer, or otherwise the employment of the people of Canada to be the first question in Canadian politics.—The humbugged Canadian people themselves to blame for this.—The Cabinet at Washington declared to Lord Lyons that their attention had been called by the *Globe* newspaper to the unfairness towards the Americans of the new Canadian tariff.—The Chamber of Commerce, at Sheffield, quotes the *Globe* as its authority for the fact, (which in truth is not a fact), that by the Canadian tariff the United States are favoured as compared to England.—Canada may well look on Brown as the man with his throat cut would look upon the perpetrator who could unblushingly stop to apostrophize his motives.—The Despatch of the Duke of Newcastle with the Sheffield protest against Canada, to continue to have responsible government in regard to its tariff.

"It is remarkable that Free Trade was carried by the middle classes, not only without the assistance of the working classes, but in spite of their opposition."—[Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymer, 1849.]

"Our complaint, therefore, against the Reform Act, is not with regard to the nature, but to the extent of the measure which it has produced.

In 1832 the necessity was felt of effecting a change which should secure a greater attention to the interests of the middle and working classes. The change which was actually accomplished resembled the answer of Jove to the hero's petition—he granted half the prayer, the other half he scattered to the winds. Since 1832 we have had a systematic course of legislation, in which the wants and wishes of the middle class have been carefully attended to, and their interests habitually consulted. But have we seen signs of the same solicitude with respect to the necessities and interests—certainly not less pressing nor less important—of the working classes?

* * * * * * *

"This is our charge against the Reformed House of Commons, that it has dealt effectually with no question where the interests of the middle class ceased to be co-extensive with those of the working class."

[From the *Morning Chronicle*, when the organ of the Peelites:]

"I need scarcely say here, that there exists no doubt at present, of *the loyalty to the British Crown of the Canadian people.* Tested in the best way, they have proved this, viz., by suffering more, and being *more energetic in the cause*, than almost any other portion of their fellow-subjects have been in circumstances so required to do. But it should never be forgotten that there is a loyalty which, having its origin in nature, is earlier than, and superior to, the duties or loyalty due to Dynasties, or particular forms of Government, and which is indeed the only legitimate or permanent cause of the latter loyalties! viz., THE LOYALTY WHICH WE OWE TO OUR OWN FAMILIES. And I feel it the more an obvious duty to make this explanation here, as the great truth contained in it seems to have been singularly forgotten by the English Political Economists, who lately invoked Imperial interference in Canadian Legislation, and by the British Ministers of the Crown who did not at once tell them that Imperial interference would be a violation of the Responsible Government happily established in Canada—a Government responsible only to the Canadian Hustings."—[From Mr. Buchanan's Pamphlet—*Blue Book for the Hustings*—the chapter shewing Political Economy, meaning thereby, Free Trade simultaneously with a hard money system to be the contrary principle to that of Empire.]

By the publication of the following, Canadians were startled by finding that no one cares a straw for the employment of the people of Canada, but all stand for Free Trade, or as they call it, *sound principles of Legislation*, so that the protection of their own Provincial interests must be attended to by themselves, or Canada will be sacrificed, and remain the miserable country industrially it hitherto has been; while all the while Canada had, and still has within it, in profusion, the elements of greatness and prosperity—

had, and still has, in a word, the most boundless resources, were these only economized, or not flagrantly dissipated by the Province being drained of money to pay for over importations. Our readers cannot forget that Canada was indebted to that patriotic sheet the *Globe* for the visit to the Province of Mr. Hatch of Buffalo, who reported so unfavourably to the continuance of the Reciprocity Law. The Cabinet at Washington declared to Lord Lyons that their attention had been called to the unfairness towards the Americans of the new Canadian Tariff by the *Globe*. The *Globe*, also, as will be seen by the following correspondence, has the enviable honour of being found the *Judas* who has betrayed us into the hands of the English Political Economists. Their informant, too, as to the injustice done to England by Canada was the *Globe*. Their chief complaint, however, is that by the Canadian Tariff the United States are favoured!

Canada may well look on Brown, as a man with his throat cut would do on the perpetrator, who could unblushingly stop to apostrophize his motives!

> "So the struck eagle, stretched upon the plain,
> No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
> Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
> Winging the shaft that quivered in his heart.
> Keen were his pangs; but keener far to feel
> He nursed the pinion that impelled the steel;
> While the same plumage that had warmed his nest
> Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast."

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA WITH THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CANADIAN TARIFF, OR CANADIAN CUSTOMS ACT,—MOVED FOR BY ISAAC BUCHANAN, ON 2ND APRIL, 1860.

RETURN.

To an Address from the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, dated 3rd April, 1860, for all the Correspondence with the Imperial Government, on the subject of the Canadian Tariff, or the Canadian Customs Act.

By command,

C. ALLEYN,
Secretary.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 18th April, 1860.

[COPY.]

No. 40. GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
TORONTO, March 26, 1859.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose a copy of the Tariff of Customs duties which have been enacted by the Legislature of this Colony.

It is to be regretted that the necessity which exists for meeting the financial engagements of the Province, and the depression of last year, have compelled the Government to propose rates of duty so high as those imposed by the present Act.

I am aware of the objections which may be offered to the principle of "ad valorem" duties, but I must necessarily leave the representatives of the people in Parliament to adopt that mode of raising supplies which they believe to be most beneficial to their constituents.

There is nothing in the system adopted which professes to impose differential duties, or to fetter the freedom of trade.

(Signed) EDMUND HEAD.

The Right Honourable
SIR E. B. LYTTON, BART.,
&c., &c., &c.

[COPY.]

No. 23. DOWNING STREET,
August 13th, 1859.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to you the copy of a Memorial which has been addressed to me by the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Sheffield, representing the injury anticipated to their Commerce by the increased duties which have been imposed on imports by the late Canadian Tariff.

I request that you will place this representation in the hands of your Executive Council, and observe to that body that I cannot but feel that there is much force in the argument of the Sheffield manufactures. Practically this heavy duty operates differentially in favour of the United States, in consequence of the facility for

smuggling, which so long a line of frontier affords, and the temptation to embark in it which a duty of twenty per cent. offers. Regarded as a fiscal expedient the measure is impolitic, for whilst any increase of contraband trade must be at the expense of the Exchequer, the diminution of foreign importations will probably more than neutralize the additional revenue derived from the higher duty. Whenever the authenticated Act of the Canadian Parliament on this subject arrives, I may probably feel that I can take no other course than signify to you the Queen's assent to it, notwithstanding the objections raised against the law in this country; but I consider it my duty, no less to the Colony than to the Mother Country, to express my regret that the experience of England, which has fully proved the injurious effect of the Protection system, and the advantage of low duties upon manufactures, both as regards trade and revenue, should be lost sight of, and such an Act as the present should have been passed.

I much fear the effect of the law will be that the greater part of the new duty will be paid to the Canadian producer by the Colonial consumer,* whose interests, as it seems to me, have not been sufficiently considered on this occasion.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

SIR E. W. HEAD, BART.,
&c., &c., &c.,
Canada.

[COPY.]

The Chamber of Commerce, &c., of Sheffield, to the Duke of Newcastle.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.

SHEFFIELD, 1st August, 1859.

To His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies:

MY LORD DUKE,—In accordance with a promise made by us on

* This is Sir Robert Peel's heresy, as if all the *consumers* that require legislative protection were not *producers*, and as if (to be profitable, which is here another word for permanent) their production must not be always the larger quantity, and that in which they are more interested than in their consumption. —ED. SPECTATOR.

the 20th ultimo, when we had the honour of waiting upon your Grace on behalf of the Merchants and Manufacturers of Sheffield, to represent the injury anticipated to the trade of this town from the recent advance of the import duties of Canada, we now beg respectfully to re-state the reasons why such injury is apprehended. These reasons may be said to be two-fold. First,—Those arising from a conviction that it is the deliberate policy of the Government of Canada to foster native manufactures by fiscal protection and every other means in their power. And Second,—Those arising from a consideration of the fact that there exists close to the Canadian frontier, a body of competing United States Manufacturers, to whom such contiguity more than counterbalances the fact that they have to pay the same duties as ourselves.

For proof that we are not mistaken about what the policy of the Canadian Government is, we would refer Your Grace to the tone of the whole press of Canada, to the speeches of Members of the Canadian Parliament, on both sides of the House, and especially to the steady increase of duties levied on Sheffield goods under every successive tariff. It will be sufficient to say on the last point, that within 18 years, or less, the duty levied on Sheffield goods has been steadily advanced from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 20 per cent.

We would remind Your Grace, in the second place, that while there is a protection in favour of Canadian Manufactures against Sheffield, of from 35 to 40 per cent., consisting of Land Carriage, Freight, Insurance, Commission, Shipping Expenses, Duty, &c., that owing to the close contiguity of, and cheap transit from, the competing seats of American industry, similar goods can be sent across the Canadian frontier by United States Manufacturers at a cost of from $22\frac{1}{2}$ to 25 per cent.

It is therefore plain that the American Manufacturer has actually an advantage over the Sheffield Manufacturer of from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 per cent. As this is a natural protection, however, and consequently one which remains about the same, be the Canadian duty what it may, we only name it to show Your Grace how great the obstacles are, naturally, against which Sheffield has to struggle, and for the purpose of remarking, as another objection to any increase of duty, that it is actually the interest of American Man-

ufacturers, that the Canadian duties should be raised, since any hindrance or confusion caused to Sheffield Manufacturers can only tend to divert the demand towards markets easier of access, and with which intercourse is more quickly exchanged than with Sheffield.

It is important, too, to remember that the American Manufacturer has more than 1,000 miles of unguarded frontier over which he can smuggle with impunity.

The Merchants and Manufacturers of Sheffield have no wish to obtain special exception for themselves, and do not complain that they are called upon to pay the same duty as the American or German, neither do they claim to have their goods admitted free of duty; all they ask is, that the policy of protection to native Manufacturers in Canada should be distinctly discountenanced by Her Majesty's Government, as a system condemned by reason and experience, directly contrary to the policy solemnly adopted by the Mother Country, and calculated to breed disunion and distrust between Great Britain and her Colonies. It cannot be regarded as less than indecent and a reproach that while, for fifteen years, the Government, the greatest statesmen, and the press of this country have been not only advocating, but practising the principles of Free Trade, the Government of one of her most important colonies should have been advocating monopoly and protection; under the artificial stimulus of this system, extensive and numerous hardware manufactories have sprung up, both in Canada East and West, and the adoption of increasing duties has been the signal for more to be commenced. We are aware that the fiscal necessities of the Canadian Government are urged as the chief cause for passing the late Tariff Bill. This is not the whole truth; no one can read the papers of the Provinces, and the speeches of the members of both Houses, and be deceived for an instant, but even if that were the cause, we conceive that Her Majesty's Government has a right to demand that what revenue is needed shall be raised in some other way than that which is opposed to the acknowledged commercial policy of the Imperial Government, and destructive of the interests of those manufacturing towns of Great Britain which trade with Canada. As some evidence that this new tariff is objectionable on

Colonial grounds, we would draw your attention to the following extract:

THE NEW CANADIAN TARIFF.

Mr. Galt's Tariff is bearing with dreadful severity on our trade. The imports at Toronto, for the first six months of 1859, were $1,939,928, while those of the corresponding period last year, were $1,534,131, shewing an increase of 27 per cent. The duties collected in the same period in 1858, were $168,161, and in 1859, $286,100; which shew an augmentation on the burden of the people, of very nearly 70 per cent. The exports during the six months of 1859 were only $147,444—$37,069 less than in 1858, and $138,656 less than we paid in duties alone. With decreased means of payment we have imported more, and paid more to the Government than last year. How can a country prosper under such burdens as the present Government have imposed—[Toronto, W. C., *Globe* of July 8th.

With profound respect,
We remain, &c.,
(Signed) CHARLES ATKINSON,
Mayor of the Borough of Sheffield.
ROBERT JACKSON,
Master Cutler for
JOHN JOBSON SMITH,
President of the Chamber of Commerce.
CHARLES E. SMITH,
Honorary Secretary.

[COPY.]

No. 118. GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
QUEBEC, Nov. 11th, 1859.

MY LORD DUKE,—I did not fail immediately to call the attention of my Council to your despatch of 13th August, No. 23. The subject was by them referred to the Finance Minister, (Mr. Galt) who has reported thereon.

According to the recommendation of the Executive Council, I now forward, for Your Grace's consideration, a copy of this Report.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) EDMUND HEAD.

His Grace,
THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,
&c., &c., &c.

We regret that our space will not allow us to give Mr. Galt's Report at present.

XIII.

ARGUMENT.

A statement of the advantages practically experienced under the German Zollverein.—The organizing of labour, the problem of the whole future for all who pretend to govern men.—The problem a far more practically important one in its solution than the discovery of the solar system, or of the circulation of the blood, a knowledge of which was not necessary to their providential operation, seeing that happily they were not liable to be tampered with by Sir Robert Peel, and his equally inexperienced successors.—To be charged with disloyalty by a political incendiary, like Brown, savours of "Satan reproving sin."—One feels it the unkindest cut of all.—One feels himself in the same humiliating position as one lectured on morality, by a person at present drunk, or who had never been sober.—Despatch of Earl Cathcart, Governor General to Mr. Gladstone, Colonial Secretary, predicting the ruin of the Canadian Farmer and the discontent of the Colony as the result of English Free Trade.—Corroboration by the legislature of Canada.—English Free Trade, only freedom to Foreign farmers to sell their wheat untaxed in the markets of the highly-taxed Englishman, but not freedom to the latter to sell his labour in the market of the same foreigner.—The Colonial connection now endangered by the same supercilious ignorance and determined adherence to unpractical as well as unpatriotic theories of British statesmen which formerly lost the old colonies.—Statement of what is required to prevent the Canadian farmer being deeply injured.—If this can be achieved, or in other words the direful effects of English Free Trade legislation averted, by any mode less objectionable than by an American Zollverein, so much the better.

"The facts (regarding the German Zollverein) above given, prove: 1st. That the prices of the raw products of Germany have tended upwards, to the benefit of her farmers, and to that of the agricultural interest of the world at large. 2nd. That the prices of all manufactured commodities have tended downward—enabling the farmer to profit doubly: first, by obtaining more of the precious metals for his corn: and second, by obtaining more cloth for any given quantity of those metals. 3rd. That the reduction in the cost of conversion has been so great, as to enable the people of Germany largely to supply the world with food and wool in the form of cloth: and thus to aid the farmers everywhere in obtaining supplies of clothing. 4th. That the improved condition of the

German farmers has enabled them greatly to increase their demands upon the tropical countries for cotton, coffee, rice, and other rude products of the earth. 5th. That under the system of Colbert, now adopted in that country, commerce tends steadily to grow, while the power of the trader tends as regularly to decline. 6th. That, with increase of commerce, there has been a rapid increase of individuality in the great community that has now been formed, manifested by a steady and regular increase of revenue, entirely uninfluenced by the great crisis of 1840 '42; and but slightly effected even by the revolutionary movements of Western Europe in 1848. These results correspond precisely, as the reader will perceive, with those obtained in France, Spain, and Denmark; while they are directly the reverse of those observed in Ireland and India, Turkey and Portugal."—*C. H. Carey's Principles of Social Science.*

[It must be kept in view that by Commerce he means Home Trade, and that by Trade he means Foreign Commerce.]

When now closing, for the present, our remarks on this which should be the first question of Canadian politics, we would state our entire concurrence with the words of Carlyle: "This that they call organizing of labour is, if well understood, the problem of the whole future for all who pretend to govern men;" and with the still more striking words of Byles: "To find employment for the people, is just the very thing which is so supremely difficult as to be often pronounced impossible. It is the problem remaining for the true Political Economist to resolve. Its solution will be an event not less brilliant, and far more important to mankind than the discovery of the solar system." However advantageous may be a knowledge of the general laws of nature, their operation is in no way affected by that knowledge. In social science, on the contrary, circumstances are the facts, and the laws must be adopted by ourselves in conformity with these; for it is clear that what may be prudence in an old and rich man, or an old and rich country, may be imprudence in a young and poor man, or in a new and poor country. And if in such a matter the *Globe* will persist in dealing in theory instead of practical knowledge and experience, and in getting its knowledge from books, some of them a hundred years old, it is the case of the blind leading the blind.—For ourselves we are so deeply impressed with the importance of the subject that we repeat the sentiment in Mr. Buchanan's letter to the *Globe*—why should we not, throwing little matters of politics to the winds (and

all other matters are little politics), be able to unite in trying to get such arrangements as will preserve Canada to England, without deeply injuring the people of Canada.

We shall now give a few more instances of plain speaking in regard to Colonial misgovernment, which will show the absurdity of Mr. Brown's present charges of disloyalty—even if we could admit that he is the person to make such charges—even if he had not written a thousand times more equivocal in the *Globe*, such for instance as his article of 18th September, 1860 : " Let the *Times*, let the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues be assured, that we have reached a crisis in this country which must end, and that speedily in one or two ways ; either in the change of the Union Act, with the aid and consent of the Imperial Parliament that will secure equal rights and immunities to the people of Upper Canada in proportion to their numbers, or in a violent disruption of the present political relations of the Provinces towards each other, and possibly towards Great Britain."

Copy of a Despatch from His Excellency Earl Cathcart, K.C.B. Governor General to the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Montreal, January 28, 1846.

SIR,—My attention having been very earnestly called, by the members of the Executive Council of this Province, to the apprehensions they have been led to entertain, by discussions which have recently appeared in the English newspapers, pointing strongly to a change in the Corn Laws, I am induced at their earnest desire, even with no better foundation, to bring the subject under your consideration by the mail which leaves this night, as the opportunities for communication at this season are so unfrequent, as to produce inconvenient delays.

The Province of Canada is so vitally interested in the question, that it is a duty of the Executive of the Province to urge on the consideration of Her Majesty's Ministers, a full statement of the necessity of continuing protection to the colonial trade in wheat and

flour, and of the effect of any changes by which the protection hitherto given would be taken away.

The improvement of the internal communications by water in Canada, was undertaken on the strength of the advantage of exporting to England our surplus wheat and flour by Quebec. Should no such advantage exist, the revenue of the Province to be derived from the tolls would fail. The means of the Province to pay principal and interest on the debt guaranteed by England would be diminished, and the general prosperity of the Province would be so materially effected, as to reduce its revenue derived from commerce, thus rendering it a possible case, that the guarantee given to the public creditors would have to be resorted to by them for the satisfaction of their claims.

The larger portion, nearly all of the surplus produce of Canada, is grown in the western part of it; and if an enactment similar in principle to the Duties Drawback Law should pass Congress, permitting Canadian produce to pass through the United States for shipment, and the English market was open to produce shipped from American ports, on as favourable terms as if shipped from Canadian ports, the larger portion of the exports of Upper Canada would find its way through the canals of the State of New York, instead of those of Canada, rendering the St. Lawrence canals comparatively valueless. The effect of the Duties Drawbacks Law has been to transfer the purchase of sugar, tea, and many other goods to New York, from whence nearly all of these articles for the supply of Upper Canada are now imported.

Should such a change in the export of Canadian produce take place, it will not only injure the Canadian canal and forwarding trade, but also the shipping interest engaged in carrying these articles from Montreal.

A change in the Corn Law, which would diminish the price the Canadian farmers can now obtain, would greatly affect the consumption of British manufactures in the Province, which must depend on the means of the farmers to pay for them. An increased demand and consumption has been very perceptible for the last two years, and is mainly attributable to the flourishing condition of the agricultural population of Upper Canada.

Even if a relaxation of the system of protection to the colonies is to be adopted, it is of infinite consequence that it should not be sudden. The ruin that such a proceeding would cause, is incalculable.

The political consequences to the government of the colony involved in the foregoing suggestions, are sufficiently obvious (viz: alienation from the Mother Country, and annexation to our rival and enemy, the United States), as also must be those arising from the trade of Upper Canada being, as it were, transferred from Montreal to New York. This latter consideration belongs, however, less to the operation of the Corn Laws, though partially connected with that branch of the subject.

I trust the importance of these observations will form a sufficient apology for my intruding them upon you at this time; but as the subject to which they refer will, in all probability, engage the early attention of the British Parliament, I have thought it right that you should have some previous knowledge of the bearing any such measures would have on the interests of this colony.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) CATHCART.

Extract of address of the Legislative Assembly to the Queen, dated 12th May, 1846:

"It therefore becomes our duty, as faithful subjects of your Majesty, to point out what we sincerely believe must be the result of measures which have for their object the repeal of the laws affording protection to the Canadian export trade. First, it will discourage those at present engaged in agricultural pursuits, from extending their operations; secondly, it will prevent the influx of respectable emigrants from the mother country, who have for many years past settled in large numbers on the waste lands in the Province, and who, by their industry and capital, have materially contributed to that happy advancement of the country which we have before noticed; and, lastly, it is much to be feared that should the inhabitants of Canada, from the withdrawal of all protection to their staple products, find that they cannot compete with their neighbours of the United States, in the only market open to them, they will naturally, of necessity, begin to doubt whether remaining

a portion of the British empire will be of that paramount advantage which they have hitherto found it to be.—These, we humbly submit, are considerations of grave importance, both to your Majesty and to the people of this Province; and we trust we need not assure your Majesty that any changes which would tend in the remotest degree to weaken the ties that have for so many years, and under trying circumstances, bound the people of Canada to that land which they are proud to call their mother country, would be viewed as the greatest misfortune which could befall them."

Extract of a celebrated speech by Sheridan in regard to Britain's misgovernment of India:

"It looks as if some fabled monster had made his passage through the country, whose pestiferous breath had blasted more than its voracious appetite could devour. * * * * Am I asked why these people arose in such concert? Because they were people in human shape; because patience under the detested tyranny of man is rebellion to the sovereignty of God; because allegiance to that power that gives us the *forms* of men commands to maintain the *rights* of men. * * * Never was this unextinguishable truth destroyed from the heart that man is not the property of man; that human power is a trust for human benefit; and that when it is abused, revenge becomes justice if not the bounden duty of the injured. These, my Lords, were the causes why these people rose."

Extract from a pamphlet by Mr. Buchanan, "*The success of Canadian manufacturing no longer doubtful*," of which a thousand were issued to Parliament and the country in 1860:

"We neither respect nor fear the present race of men in England who call themselves statesmen. From their patriotism we expect nothing, any more than from their lamentable ignorance of the Colonies.* But from their fears we might look for something, if they would only reflect how the old American colonies were lost to England; and in the time, we are confident the people of England, and through them the Governments of England (which, in the

* See the *Globe's* repeated exposures of the ignorance of even the *Times* newspaper on Canadian subjects.

present day, whether Whig or Tory, are mere mouthpieces of the Manchester school), must come to feel that Free Trade is impossible, and, if possible, is the contrary principle to the principle of Empire. *Sum Romanus*—I am a Roman citizen—was a proud, because a substantial boast; but while this wretched Manchester school bears sway in the Imperial Councils and Legislature, a British subject has a heritage of *Duties* to be performed, without being in the possession or prospect of a single peculiar privilege to be enjoyed—our national blockheadism making him share his national advantages with all the countries in the world, not one of which will share its national advantages with British subjects.

"In Canada our peculiar danger arises from the influence of old country people, who seem all to have, from not taking time to reflect, confidingly believed the Manchester politicians, and adopted as a truth that greatest of all untruths, that free imports is Free Trade—it (English Free Trade) being only FREEDOM TO BUY FROM OTHER COUNTRIES THEIR LABOUR, BUT NOT FREEDOM TO SELL TO OTHER COUNTRIES OUR PEOPLE'S LABOUR. This, and the desire to get popularity with the many, or influence with the few in England, have hitherto prevented our Provincial statesmen speaking out, and making clear to the Colonial Office the decision of Canadian public opinion on this the most vital of all subjects for Canada. They will now, however, speak out, and declare in the most unmistakable terms, that the use of the Canadian Legislature is not to take care of other parts of the empire, or of the world, but to promote and to defend Canadian interests; and that Canadians are no longer blind to the fact that this patriotic policy can best be attained, and, indeed, can only be attained, by firmly adhering, under every possible circumstance, whatever be the result, to the following Resolution:

"*That while we in Canada have no wish farther to increase our Customs duties, and while we look to doing away entirely with those on Tea, Sugar, and all articles which we do not grow or manufacture, our Provincial policy is not to incur debt for anything we can avoid, and we shall never consent to reduce—otherwise than as a matter of* RECIPROCITY WITH THE UNITED STATES—*the duties on articles which we can grow or manufacture.*"

MR. BUCHANAN'S SPEECH

AT THE DINNER GIVEN TO THE

PIONEERS OF UPPER CANADA,

AT LONDON, C. W., 10TH DECEMBER, 1863.

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(From the London Free Press.)

ISAAC BUCHANAN, Esq., M.P.P., being loudly called on, rose to respond.* He said:—Mr. Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen, my name, as the Chairman has explained, is on the list of those expected to reply to the toast of the day, the Pioneers of Upper Canada, as being one of the Pioneers of Upper Canada; but I thought it better to delay my remarks, as other Pioneers have spoken at such length. On occasions like the present, separate toasts are proposed to Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures; but in Canada there is really but one interest. (Cheers). I should deplore the setting up, as in England, of a separate commercial interest, composed as Manchester is, of German Jews and others, whose only interest is in the prosperity of other countries, although

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* The Toast was "the Commerce Trade and Navigation of Canada."

they have the audacity not only to exercise political power in England, but to think they should control the government, as indeed they now do. I have little in common with President Lincoln and President Davis, but I would rather as a colonist be under the rule of either than under that of the present English Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, or under those men from whom he derives his vitality, such as Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden. [Hear, hear.] In a country like this, if the farmer is right, all classes are right; and if the farmer is wrong, all classes suffer. Even in England this was the doctrine held up to the period of the renegade speeches of Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel in 1846, when they suddenly departed from the old principle that the land or agriculture of England *is* England, doing so in the face of the strongest evidence of the national risk they were running. I at the time assisted Lord George Bentinck in compiling the statistics which he spoke in Parliament, and I remember showing, on the great authority of M'Queen's Statistical Work, that the manure put upon the land in England amounts to more than all the goods exported from that country, (hear) although the latter, or foreign-trade interest, now entirely rules England. Happily England was saved the disastrous effects which must have flowed from her opening her ports, and giving foreign countries a claim on her for gold which she did not possess. Her prosperity, however, has been solely caused by the discoveries of the precious metals in 1847, and subsequently, it has been in spite of free trade, not in consequence of that mad theory. I have been anxious thus to show the last speaker, my friend, Mr. Johnson, the President of the Agricultural Association, that I desire to see no commerce, nor manufactures which have an interest subversive of the great interest of the country, which is that of agriculture. It is easy, however, to show how much benefit has accrued to the Canadian farmer from the improvements made in our systems of trade and locomotion. As the Pioneer of the wholesale trade, I opened a branch of our Montreal house in Toronto in 1831. The freight—the first merchandise forwarded by me in 1831, from Montreal to Toronto, was one dollar per hundred weight, and the freight in 1863 is only about a tenth part

of a dollar. (Hear, hear.) Previous to my coming to reside in Upper Canada, I had spent a great part of two years travelling among our connection in this western country, and thirty years ago I wanted no guide to the Talbot and Longwoods roads. In the winter of 1830 I slept a night at the store of Mr. John McFarlane, at what was then called "Number Nine," in Aldboro', on the Lake Shore. I remember that we could see the stars through the roof, and that I slept in a tavern bunk, using my fur cap as a night cap! and did time permit I could give many such illustrations of the olden day. I held an opinion different from my class in Montreal, the merchants there having at that early day been opposed to the establishment of more Banks. Up to that time the Montreal merchants had no competition in the purchase of the wheat of Upper Canada, for which the farmer could not get cash except at the periods of the year when it suited the few Montreal buyers. The result was that they had to get their supplies on long credit, and paid at least a third more in price than now, while they got at least a third less in price for their wheat, so that the farmers at that time gave two bushels of wheat for what he now gives one. (Hear, hear.) Such has been the beneficent effect of the establishment of Banks in the interior, which raised up a competition with the Montreal merchants for the wheat of Upper Canada, and of the simultaneous establishment by myself and others, of wholesale businesses in the interior. (Loud cheers.) No interior part of the United States, and no interior country in the world, can boast of a trade with its connections so direct with the first markets in Europe and other countries. In manufactures, too, our success has been marvellous; every article attempted to be manufactured being reduced in price compared to what the imported article was sold at. The strides in the science of agriculture have been as great, if not greater, than in any country in the world. (Hear.) Canada has established a system of education probably also the finest in the world, the Educational Department manufacturing all the scientific instruments, books, &c., required by the schools, which now number in Upper Canada 3,910, with 316,287 scholars, this number being more than a fifth part of the whole population. (Hear, hear.) The Pioneers had, in fact, left very little for their successors to originate. We

have constructed the finest system of railroads, canals, and macadmised roads at half the cost to our own population which these have entailed on other countries. We have established, as municipal institutions, little local parliaments giving the people more direct control over their affairs than they have in any other country, except the United States. At the time of the Union in 1841, we wrenched from the British Government the two great reforms, without which the spirit of annexation could not have been allayed in Canada. I refer to the attainment of the entire control of our own Legislative and Executive acts, which we call Responsible Government (loud applause) ; and secondly, our attaining the powers of a country, in regard to the regulation of our own tariff and trade, uncontrolled by the Imperial Government. (Cheers.) Hitherto, in this respect, Canada had only been in the position of a dependent colony. I have thus shown that, as Pioneers, we had sufficient cause of self-respect without the aid of such a demonstration as is to-night given to us. The Pioneers of our Canadian society can with pride exclaim, in the language of the Latin poet, "*Si Monumentum quæris circumspice!*" But, on receiving my invitation, I felt a great object would be served by such a demonstration of giving honour to whom honour is due. This meeting, in short, I view as very valuable, in shewing a characteristic among the youth of Canada, the want of which is the cause of all the evils of the United States. In the United States the fifth commmandment is practically left out of their code of morals (hear, hear), and hence they want the advantages which are derived from discipline and authority having been recognized in the government of the family, which is a government antecedent to those of Monarchies and Republics. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, your time will not permit me to do more than simply to suggest that great good would arise from a meeting of this sort, being held on this day in each year. The present personal gratification enjoyed is great, of meeting those whom we can with heartfelt truth address in the words of Campbell's "Hail to the Chiefs"—

> "Types of a race who shall the invader scorn,
> As rocks resist the billows round their shore;
> Types of a race who shall to time unborn
> Their country leave unconquered as of yore."

Facts for Canadian history would be saved which are now being hurried as things floating on the surface of a river, soon to reach the ocean of oblivion. I would also suggest that a little money be raised among us for collecting the incidents of the War of 1812, and other great epochs in the history of Canada. (Hear.) I am a member of the library committee of Parliament, and I may mention that with misplaced economy we have given up a machinery of this kind which has till now existed. Up to this period we have paid an old gentleman in the Niagara district £100 a year to collect facts for history, and I would suggest that if we form a Pioneer Society that we avail ourselves of his services. I may mention that the last piece of work done by him was a sketch of the life of my lamented friend, the late Hon. William Hamilton Merritt. Allow me, in closing, to pay a tribute of respect and admiration to this our late friend, Mr. Merritt; to him the province has been more indebted than to any other man; and like myself I feel sure that many here present will feel it a great privilege to have the opportunity of subscribing to the monument about to be erected in the county of Lincoln, to this the greatest of all our pioneers (hear, hear); and in the mean time I propose that we now drink to his memory in solemn silence. The toast was honoured in solemn silence, amid which Mr. Buchanan resumed his seat.

MONEY AND LABOUR.

MONEY AND LABOUR.

Few people have any conception how thorough Mr. Buchanan's investigations have been on the Twin, or rather, Siamese Subjects of Money and Labour. The Editor has thought how to give the reader some idea of this, and, at the same time, to co-operate with Mr. Buchanan's great aim, which has ever been to draw people's attention to (or to lead people to think upon) these vital considerations; and he has determined that nothing could give a better illustration of what is now alluded to than to give in the Appendix (X) the contents of Mr. Buchanan's pamphlet, called *Blue Book for the Hustings;* along with some few remarks by Mr. Buchanan on very interesting points. And the following quotation from that pamphlet seems an appropriate conclusion to these introductory remarks:*

"That which we have long seen to be a great and self-evident truth seems now to be about to become a national conviction—that under our present British principles of money, or monetary law, it is an utter impossibility for any country to have any continuance of prosperity, because OUR PROSPERITY NECESSARILY AND IMMEDIATELY IS THE CAUSE OF ADVERSITY. Prosperity, or more bidders for our own country's labour, leads to higher wages, and as a national consequence, higher prices. The foreigner then finds it cheaper for him to buy gold for exportation, *this article being prevented by law from rising in price*, and THE HOPES OF THE WORKING CLASSES ARE IMMEDI-

* The Editor had not determined to publish this until after the portion alluded to had been printed.

ATELY DASHED TO THE GROUND, UNDER THE DOUBLE EFFECT OF LESSENED DEMAND FOR THEIR LABOUR, AND OF THE PARALYSIS INTRODUCED INTO THE MONEY MARKET THROUGH THE THREATENED EXPORTATION OF GOLD. The great error of our Legislation is thus seen to be that gold, while only a money or *counter* to our home trade, can be used as an exportable commodity by the foreign trade, and is practically so used the moment the price of our own productions rise above the lowest raw material price. Even Lord Palmerston, I have been told, now feels it due to himself to deny that he personally had any implication with the BARGAIN between Lord John Russell, the then premier, and Sir Robert Peel, to which I have alluded, (viz., that while Peel gave a fair consideration to the Russell government, his monetary measures would not be called in question,) and has gone the length of asking for information on the subject of '*this taxation money.*' "

"In the meantime, however, like all previous and probably all future Reformers, we have long been made to suffer the martyrdom necessarily the consequence of what at first appears to the world as '*the folly* of the truth,*' a point which the celebrated Swiss, Dr. Vinet (who writes this in the most eloquent French of modern days) so well explains in the following beautiful words :

"' Not only an opinion which all the world rejects, but a hope which no one shares, or a plan with which no one associates himself, brings the charge of folly, before the multitude, against the rash man who has conceived it, and who cherishes it. His opinion may seem just, and his aim reasonable ; he is a fool only for wishing to realize it. His folly lies in believing possible what all the world esteems impossible. * * * * *

"' Many reason upon this subject as if nothing had happened since the day when God, looking upon his work, saw that what he had made was good. They speak of truth as if its condition amongst us were always the same. They love to represent it, enveloping and accompanying humanity, as the atmosphere enve-

* The French medical word *folie*—insanity.

lopes and accompanies our earth in its journey through the heavens. But it is not so; truth is not attached to our mind, as the atmosphere to the globe we inhabit. Truth is a suppliant, who, standing before the threshold, is for ever pressing towards the hearth, from which sin has banished it. As we pass and re-pass before that door, which it never quits, that majestic and mournful figure fixes for a moment our distracted attention. Each time it awakens in our memory I know not what dim recollections of order, glory and happiness; but we pass, and the impression vanishes. We have not been able entirely to repudiate the truth, we still retain some unconnected fragments of it; what of its light our enfeebled eye can bear, what of it is proportioned to our condition. The rest we reject or disfigure, so as to render it difficult of recognition while we retain,—which is one of our misfortunes, —the names of things we no longer possess. Moral and social truth is like one of those monumental inscriptions (level with the ground) over which the whole community pass as they go to their business, and which every day become more and more defaced; until some friendly chisel is applied to deepen the lines in that worn-out stone, so that every one is forced to perceive and to read it. THAT CHISEL IS IN THE HANDS OF A SMALL NUMBER OF MEN, WHO PERSEVERINGLY REMAIN PROSTRATE BEFORE THAT ANCIENT INSCRIPTION, AT THE RISK OF BEING DASHED UPON THE PAVEMENT, AND TRAMPLED UNDER THE HEEDLESS FEET OF THE PASSERS-BY; in other words, this truth dropped into oblivion, that duty fallen into disuse, finds a witness in the person of some man who has not believed that all the world are right, simply and solely because it is *all* the world.

"'The strange things which that strange man says, and which some others repeat after him, will not fail to be believed sooner or later, and FINALLY BECOME THE UNIVERSAL OPINION. And why? Because truth is truth; because it corresponds to everything, satisfies everything; because, both in general and in detail, it is better adapted to us than error; because, bound up by the most intimate relations, with all the order in the universe, it has, in our interests and wants, a thousand involuntary advocates; BECAUSE EVERY THING DEMANDS IT, EVERY THING CRIES AFTER IT, BE-

CAUSE ERROR EXHAUSTS AND DEGRADES ITSELF; BECAUSE FALSEHOOD, WHICH, AT FIRST APPEARED TO BENEFIT ALL, HAS ENDED BY INJURING ALL; so that truth sits down in its place, vacant as it were, for the want of a suitable heir. Enemies concur with friends, obstacles with means, to the production of that unexpected result. Combinations, of which it is impossible to give account, and of which God only has the secret, secure that victory. But conscience is not a stranger here; for there is within us, whatever we do, a witness to the truth, a witness timid and slow, but which a superior force drags from its retreat, and at last compels to speak. IT IS THUS THAT TRUTHS, THE MOST COMBATED, AND, AT FIRST, SUSTAINED BY ORGANS THE MOST DESPISED, END BY BECOMING IN THEIR TURN POPULAR CONVICTIONS.

"'This, however, does not prevent all such truths from being combated, and their first witnesses from passing for madmen. At the head of each of those movements which have promoted the elevation of the human race, what do you see? In the estimation of the world, MADMEN. And the contempt they have attracted by their folly has always been proportionate to the grandeur of their enterprise, and the generosity of their intentions. The true heroes of humanity have always been crowned by that insulting epithet.'"

Mr. Buchanan was perhaps the very first person on either side of the Atlantic, who had the hardihood to proclaim that a country's legislation should have in view its working classes or producers alone*—seeing that the fact that the other classes are above the necessity of labour, shows that they can take care of themselves. The knowledge is beginning to dawn on minds open to honest conviction, (if they only dared to express it to themselves and others) that what we have been in the way of calling the interest of the country, is often the ruin of its working classes; whereas, that which is for the interest of the working classes, can never be the

* The Cobden-Peel heresy being, that consumers alone should be legislated for.

ruin of a country: so that Mr. Buchanan's proposal is seen to be the only philosophical one, that our rule should be to make sure of the well-being of our masses, as the first object in the politics of every country,—no understanding that producers form the great bulk of the consumers, and that it is as producers, their greater interest lies, their production being more than their consumption, otherwise it would be unprofitable, and their employment would at once cease.

By the following quotation it will be seen that the AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN'S benevolent and patriotic principle is beginning to be appreciated in Britain, as being the guarantee for the employment of the working classes of the mother country.

(*From the Annan Observer of February*, 1864.)

Parliament meets to-day, and great things may depend on its first proceedings. A change of Ministry is a not improbable event. The firmness of the Premier and the position of Denmark render it indeed highly probable. Who are to succeed the present men? Lord Derby and Mr. D'Israeli? Great and deserved as their fame is in wars of words, are they the men for the present emergency? Have they a policy—a policy that will at once commend itself to the masses of half-starved workingmen in the manufacturing districts, now far advanced in their second, and many in their third year of pauperism and parish relief, with prospects of worse coming better? Have they a policy to benefit even the agricultural labourers, and keep them from flooding out of England and Scotland as they are doing out of Ireland? If they have, let them declare it; if they have not, let them stand aside. In that case they can do good either to the indoor workers or the outdoor workers, or to the country at large. They may consider themselves bound in honour, by pledges given more than six years since, to abstain from following their better judgments. If so, let their conscientious scruples be respected; but let them make way for men not unhappily pledged as they are. Surely if such men are rightly sought for they will be found.

Old Toryism is palsied—hopelessly so. Whigism is much the

same—hopefully so. Radicalism waits only the capture of the Dannewerk, and the apotheosis from Downing Street of Lord Palmerston to bring forth "reforms" in litters—base whelps of Birmingham, Rochdale, or Manchester kennels—abolition of primogeniture, abolition of entails, abolition of the law of hypothec, abolition first of church rates, then of church. As for peerage and royalty, such as they are, treat them according to circumstances—the one may be made as harmless as the other. Before all other yells, however, let there be a great extension of the franchise, if that be thought compatible with the supremacy of the powers that really be, and rule those that only seem to be; otherwise a smaller extension of the franchise; but in either case an extension specially directed against present landed interests—an extension professedly liberating the people, but in reality binding them with tighter and more subtle chains.

Reform, extension of the franchise, &c., &c., captivating phrases, but impotent to procure the big loaf which Free Trade promised to get, but failed in getting. Yet they will be listened to again, if real benefits are not offered to the people in their stead.

Thanks to Free Trade, old Toryism, or even old Conservatism, is now impossible. True Conservatism must outbid Radicalism—must offer to honest industry palpable benefits instead of plausible but lying promises.

What has true Conservative statesmanship got to offer to the workmen who are willing to work? One thing—which is worth ten times all the nostrums that Radicalism ever has offered or can offer, were they all realized and made the law of the land—viz., the opening of the British colonies as fields for all kinds of honest industry. And that is the *sole* policy by which the workmen, agricultural and manufacturing, *can be* peaceably elevated from their present notoriously downtrodden state. Radical statesmen won't offer that. They can't. It goes against their Confession of Faith in what has been called "the gospel of enlightened selfishness." It would make what they call *their* hands really free, which is the very last thing they would like to see. Ay, but will it not make the agricultural workman really free too? and how will landlords and farmers like that? It *will* make these workmen free too, and some—let us

hope not all, or even a majority—of the landlords and farmers may think such liberty excessive, and quietly argue that it is not desirable for the sake of the working-people themselves;—as the master manufacturers, and the merchants, and the bankers, and moneyed men, or the bulk of them, together with all their organs of the press, will loudly and fiercely argue that it would ruin the *poor* operatives, whom they have pitied so much and praised so much for their noble patience, and consoled so much with hopes of the good times coming. Coming !—these have been coming any time these two years—and yet are they not as far off as they seemed two years ago ?—nay, farther, for is it not now nothing but Surat ! Surat ! Surat !—nothing but the detested Surat !—and not enough of that for the operatives to work at, and prevent sinking themselves deeper in debt ?

BUT IS NOT THE FIELD OF THE BRITISH COLONIES REALLY OPEN BOTH TO MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL WORKMEN ?* If not, where is the obstacle ? The obstacle has always had a fine name ; formerly it was called Protection, now it is called Free Trade ; but under the former name it was, and under the present name it is, a stringent monopoly. And it was to strengthen this monopoly, to extend and entail the divorcement of manufactures from agriculture in the colonies, and to render more sure and expeditious the transference of land in Britain from the territorial classes to the moneyed and manufacturing millionaires, that the permanent and universal-peace-insuring and the big-loaf-procuring policy of Free Trade was invented, to bring upon the operatives and the people at large the strong delusion in which they believe, and under which they, in two senses, lie.

In conclusion for the present, Conservatism in England, to succeed to place, and hold it, needs to encourage Conservatism in the colonies,—needs to encourage the marriage of agriculture with manufactures there—which can be done only in one way—the way by which alone such marriage has anywhere been consummated—viz., by protection to manufactures—colonial protection. And that, to be effective, must be large.

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* Here is the principle of the American Zollverein.

FREE TRADE IN MONEY, THE ONLY FREE TRADE WE WANT.

OR PROTECTION THROUGH THE CURRENCY, THE TRUE PROTECTION TO THE HOLDERS OF BRITISH COMMODITIES, STOCKS, AND LABOUR—BEING A *BROCHURE* PUBLISHED BY MR. BUCHANAN, IN LIVERPOOL, IN 1847, WHEN THE MERCHANTS SENT, WHAT HE DEEMED, A CONTEMPTIBLE MEMORIAL TO GOVERNMENT.

Protection to the Money and Currency of this country, which are the spinal marrow and life's blood of every British interest, is now loudly demanded; all parties now seeing clearly the vital and immediate necessity of such an infusion of patriotism (or patriotic selfishness) into our monetary legislation as will secure just protection to British labour, as well as enable Free Trade to be carried out to the greatest practical extent—viz., to an extent that does not lead to the reduction of our NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT.

Although charity must not end at home, it must begin there. Any such common sense course is, however, far from being the present policy of this nation, for we give the foreigner who is not charged (in import duty or otherwise) his proportion of our national burdens the same nominal price, in gold at the *untaxed* price, as Englishmen who have to deduct from their price more than 25 per cent. paid by them in taxes directly and indirectly. The cruelty of this to our own people arises from want of "Protection to the Currency." To the extent British taxes and profits are added to British prices, our manufactures, freights, &c., become dearer than gold, which is fixed at the untaxed and profitless foreign or natural value, so our gold is exported; thus causing not only wide-spread desolation throughout the land, but enabling the foreigner to bring back, say a third more commodities than otherwise he could, to compete with British labour, for (through our insane legislation) he is in the foreign market enabled to sell his Bill at par instead of at 25 per cent. discount. The present system in fact affords *a protection to the foreigner* to the extent of 25 per cent. (or whatever our taxation amounts to). The foreigner ought to get the same *curtailed quantity* of gold (which he takes abroad as a commodity, not as a money), as the Englishman gets of commodities in exchange

for that same amount of gold, or, in other words, the foreigner ought to be paid in pounds as depreciated as the Englishman's pound is (*measured in the commodities* which the Englishman gets for the price of his wheat or the amount of his freight list.)

MONETARY REFORM THE VITAL CONSIDERATION FOR HOLDERS OF COMMODITIES AND STOCKS, WHILE IT IS THE GREAT MEANS OF PROTECTION TO BRITISH LABOUR.

To the Editor of the Liverpool Standard.

LIVERPOOL, 26th May, 1851.

SIR,—Agreeing entirely with Mr. Duncan's* *principle* of paper or emblematic money, I am also persuaded that a day will suddenly arrive when almost every man in Liverpool will be anxious to join a monetary expostulation with the Government and the Legislature. I think, however, that *any sort* of paper money, *properly secured*, will be found as good for the purpose of preventing mercantile panic as any other, (although the plan of Mr. Duncan, the issue of government notes, would of course reduce taxation to the extent of the interest on the circulation of the government paper); and my object is now to show *how small* a change in our monetary legislation is required to save the holders of commodities and stocks.

THE TRUE PROTECTION TO BRITISH LABOUR, AND THE ONLY POSSIBILITY OF CARRYING OUT FREE TRADE, MUST ARISE FROM OUR GIVING THE FOREIGNER IN OUR MARKETS DEPRECIATED POUNDS, SEEING THAT WE MUST GIVE HIM THE SAME NUMBER OF THESE POUNDS AS WE GIVE TO OUR OWN AND OUR COLONIAL PRODUCERS, WHOM WE PAY IN GOODS DEPRECIATED† BY TAXATION; for instance, the American and Englishman get the same nominal price for the same quality of wheat in the Liverpool market, but

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* Jonathan Duncan, Esq., of London, was at that time lecturing on Money in Liverpool.

† They get less in *quantity* to the extent prices have taxation added to them; and if taxation cannot be added to price, it must become a deduction from wages.

the latter is paid in British goods, whose prices include the heavy taxation of this empire, as well as our enormous local burdens, while the American, instead of getting paper money, which will buy gold at a British, or enhanced price, of £5 per ounce, gets paper money which he can convert into gold at the foreign or untaxed price of £4 per ounce, so that instead of selling his bill in New York (for the proceeds of his wheat) for 25 per cent. discount, or for £75, he sells it at £100*; and thus he can bring back 25 per cent. more *wheat*, to oppose the British agriculturist, than the latter got in British *commodities* in exchange for *his* wheat. It is thus clear that though they got the same nominal amount in *money*, they did not get the same quantity of *commodities* for the wheat sold in the Liverpool market. It is a very great mistake to suppose that this hardship to our home agriculturist would be reduced by our being able to induce the Americans to take manufactured goods to the full amount of the produce they send us. On the contrary, the fact is, that the proceeds of the American wheat sold in Liverpool, to which I have alluded, would in every case be accounted for in pounds sterling worth the same invariable weight of gold: and the American would actually be able to compete more successfully with the British farmer the more goods go to America from Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow, as this would turn the exchanges more in favour of England, and thus give him more money in New York for his bill on Liverpool for £100 sterling. But even the *Manchester* men begin to see that the blighting effect upon prices, of our present unpatriotic money law, is no less detrimental to our manufacturing than it is to our agricultural population. Any one can easily see this who is aware that the prices of our manufactures both for home and foreign trade are dictated, in the long run, by the price which the foreigner is willing to give us for our surplus production; such a person must, with the least consideration, have no difficulty in seeing that gold at a fixed foreign price becomes an iniquitously false *standard of value*, to the extent any taxation or

* Indeed he sells his bill at £109 to £110 when the exchanges between the countries are at par; but this arises from the Americans having *protected their currency*, by making the sovereign a legal tender with them at a price which is upwards of 9 per cent. higher than it is a legal tender at in England.

profits are added to the price of British productions. I have often before shown how it is only when things in this country are as depressed as gold at £4 the oz. that the foreigner prefers taking British goods. He then gets, say 80s. for 20 bush. wheat, and his choice of a remittance is between 80 yards of cloth at 1s., or one ounce of gold for 80s.; but when a good state of the home trade gives him 100s. for his wheat, he can get an ounce and a quarter of gold, whilst he finds the cloth also so advanced in *price* that he can of it get no more than 80 yards as before (the cloth rises in price, and the gold rises in *quantity!*) The foreigner's taking the gold not only reduces the employment of our artisans, but throws the home trade into confusion, the export of gold always having the effect of extirpating our currency and bank facilities. Thus it is that we denounce a low fixed price of gold as a gross injustice to British industry, while we would wonder that it should have been allowed to exist since 1819, did we not see that under the old protective system (up to 1846), our general exports were kept above our general imports, so that foreigners could not *actually remove* our gold; they even then, however, had the advantage of us in selling dear to us when things were prosperous here, while they had it in their power to take a draft on their own country at the low exchange of sovereigns at £3 17s. 10½d. the oz.—which in America being a legal tender at 9 per cent. higher, will make our now low prices 9 per cent. better to the American as compared with the *nominal* price of his commodity in America. And we trace all our industrial evils to Peel's having in 1819 made money a foreign interest in the state—an interest to which the distress of all others is prosperity ("dearness of money!") and Peel's system of free imports, while money remains a foreign commodity, at a low foreign price, we view as equivalent to depressing Englishmen to the level in remuneration, and below the level in comfort, of the foreign serf or slave—regardless of the habits of John Bull or of his circumstances, as having to support an expensive Government, Church, and National Debt, with local and corporation burdens amounting to about as much more.

I, however, think it best to throw my views into the shape of a memorial, as this is the form in which they may come to be wanted;

and reflection has shown me that a monetary movement will be more effectually and quickly made by us *as a community* than as an association or league, while this would also have the advantage of preventing, for the present, any rencounter of particular men's former antipathies on other questions, such as Free Trade and Protection, if not of disarming such hostilities, about mere nominal differences of opinion, in the future, among all men who have no interest in party or faction.

We may be divided into two great classes: there is, first, the men who have hitherto had their *character* mainly as a means of supporting their families; second, the men who have large realized *capital*. The former class cannot (now that there is a perpetual *cheapening* going forward) be expected to stand the losses which are common; and they cannot hereafter be trusted by the Bankers, who have, therefore, to give their money cheap, although it is not plentiful, to the diminished number of bidders for their discounts (comprised in the second class). The second class, to whom I have alluded, of our merchants, see, too, that their ruin is only *delayed*—the same class, or the capitalists, among the manufacturers being already anxious to throw their capital out of co-operation with labour, seeing that "wages of labour" cannot in their downward course be made to keep pace with the decline in *prices*, so that there are now no "wages of capital." All these men of capital must in the mean time continue to reduce their means, and in their turn will be overthrown when the Bankers come to lose *their* credit (which is the chief thing Bankers lend to the public)—A THING INEVITABLE under our present money law, whenever gold comes into demand for exportation, as from gold not being allowed to rise in *price* even when, being scarce, it has risen in *value*, money has to be made scarce and dear by the Bank of England, as in 1847, this being the only means of crushing down prices of commodities to the point that will express the difference between the *value* and the *price* of gold. The foreigner then gets more money for his gold, by the poor man being thus driven to give more of his time and labour for the same money; and till this point is reached it is (under our unpatriotic money law) the foreigner's interest to take our gold, leaving our manufactures, causing in this way commercial panic

and universal bankruptcy. The present *cheapness* is that self-same *curse to the community* which Mr. Huskisson pointed out in the great speech which he made in the House of Commons, on the 18th of April, 1826, against a reduction of prices arising, not from increased abundance, but from decreased ability to consume manufactures;* but, nevertheless, and although I am a protectionist (except where I can get *two-sided* Free Trade), I would not recommend the poor man to submit to protection through the Custom-house at present, or ever again to allow his interests to be tossed about as the mere foot-ball of contending political parties. Having got the "cheap loaf," our population should stick to it till it is gradually raised in price simultaneously with their wages, and with the prices of all other commodities, in the only legitimate and permanent way—viz.: by means of *free trade in money;* and it seems to me that it is clear, from the late report of the London Association for Protection to British Industry, that the protectionists having come to see that "free trade in money" is virtually "protection

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* The following are Mr. Huskisson's words:

"I am the first to declare my conviction, that if from any circumstances the price of wheat were at this moment to be reduced materially below what it now is, there is nothing which could more contribute to aggravate the existing distress, and to take away the best chance of early relief. Sir, I say this advisedly. I say that the present average price of wheat is one which could not, in my opinion, be materially lowered without producing more of suffering than of relief to all classes of the community. If the house could suddenly and materially reduce the price of all necessaries of life, so far from relieving, it would only aggravate the general distress. * * * * *

"Cheapness, without a demand for labour, is a symptom of distress. Cheapness always prevails where enterprise is at a stand. * * * *

"I admit that if unlimited foreign imports, which the war has suspended, were now again allowed, bread might be a little, though a very little, cheaper than it now is for a year or two. But what would follow? The small farmer would be ruined; improvements would everywhere stand still; inferior lands now producing corn, would be given up and return to a state of waste; the home consumption and brisk demand for all the various articles of the retailer (which have so much contributed, even during the pressure of war, to the prosperity of our towns, and especially of those which are not connected with manufactures or foreign commerce) would rapidly decline; farming servants, and all the trades which depend on agriculture for employment, would be thrown out of work, and the necessary result of the want of work would be that wages would fall even more rapidly than bread."

to commodities and wages," will now be willing to confine their present movement to the attainment of "the reform of the currency"—raising no questions about increased customs duties, or about the navigation laws, till it is seen how far monetary reform will go to carry out their patriotic view of preventing our national employment being given away to foreigners.

Mr. Duncan's *principle* of money is no doubt correct, and the public are infinitely indebted to him for his gigantic and self-sacrificing efforts to popularize a great principle; we may even admit that had we to originate a system in a new country, his plan, or details, might be what we would adopt; but surrounded as we are by circumstances and prejudices in favor of gold as the *security* of the circulation (if not as the standard of value), the mercantile community must tell Mr. Duncan plainly that we cannot submit to any sudden revolution of our monetary system, especially as we see that we can attain his principle of paper money as well through the present machinery of the Bank of England, as is shown in the memorial subjoined. We must *first* secure paper money through our present bank system; and when this is done most of us will have no objection to see Mr. Duncan's system of Government paper money established *alongside of it*, and gradually supplanting it, to the extent the public get confidence in taxation notes, or to the extent these displace the circulation of the present banks.

Yours respectfully,

A Liverpool Merchant.

SKETCH OF A MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN AND THE OTHER BRANCHES OF THE LEGISLATURE

The Memorial of the undersigned Merchants of———, Sheweth—

That it has become, and is daily becoming more and more, painfully apparent that they, in common with all holders of commodities and stocks, have been disabled by legislation from any

control over their own and their families' prospects in life—the position of the Bank of England, instead of the state of British markets, being what now controls prices and wages, and dictates the fate of every merchant and every man connected with business or stocks.

That certain and speedy ruin to the Bank of England, as well as every British interest, is inevitable—as these are being crushed between the contradictory principles of British legislation—our money laws basing all our national confidence or banking on the presence of gold in the Bank of England, while our system of free imports is perpetually leading to the diminution of that basis, and, as a necessary consequence, of that confidence.

That to save this country from general bankruptcy and universal ruin in all its interests, the principles of British legislation must be reconciled, or made uniform, by the monopoly to gold, and the restrictions on the establishment of new banks, being made to follow the fate of all other monopolies—which can easily be effected as regards the details when once the wisdom of Parliament shall have become alive to the necessity of this; for the Act of 1819 has only to be so far altered as *to do away with gold as a standard*, while *retaining it as the security of the circulation;* and the Act of 1844 need not be farther changed than to admit of new banks of issue being established under similar restrictions or securities to the present ones.

That the *details* of the new measure need not be more complicated than as follows:— The Act of 1819 has only to be so far changed as to make Bank of England notes a legal tender at its own counter, as they at present are elsewhere, to the extent of the 14 millions owing by the government and the amount of specie in its vaults—*the Bank, however, being bound down never to reduce its specie under a certain point, say fourteen millions;* and the Act of 1844 has only to be extended *so as to allow of new banks*—whose issues might be confined to two-thirds the amount of certain public securities (to be specified by the Act of Parliament), lodged with the government—and *so as to allow the Bank of England, and all other Banks, to issue one-pound notes.*

Periodical panic is the inevitable consequence of our commercial

legislation; any considerable measure of prosperity, or rise in prices, causes the deepest distress, by making it the interest of the foreigner to take away our gold; and if some such step as the foregoing is not taken in time, there will be a repetition, in a more aggravated and permanent form, of the panic of 1847; and the Liverpool memorial of October, 1847, be it remembered, was in the following humiliating language; asking from an individual as a favour what they should demand from the law as a right, viz., that legislation shall not enable the foreigner to invade the sanctity of their personal concerns:—

"*To the Right Honourable the Lord John Russell, First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury, the Memorial of the Undersigned Bankers, Merchants, Traders, and others, Inhabitants of Liverpool,*

"SHEWETH,—

"That your memorialists beg respectfully to represent to your lordship the present deplorable condition of the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country, and the imperative necessity for such immediate relief as it may be in the power of the government to afford. Produce of every description is only saleable in small quantities and at an enormous sacrifice. Bills of Exchange and the most valuable securities are inconvertible into cash, even at great depreciation, except in the most insignificant amounts. Foreign orders for produce and goods cannot be executed for want of the customary facilities for the disposal of bills drawn against them. Confidence is all but annihilated, and the currency of the country is in a great measure withdrawn and hoarded.

"It is needless, on this occasion, to enquire by what combination of causes this lamentable state of affairs has been brought about. A crisis of unparalleled severity exists, and your memorialists believe that it is in the power of the Government to allay alarm and restore confidence, by coming to the relief of the commercial and manufacturing classes *by a temporary advance on the credit of the country.*

"Your memorialists believe that it is not only the interest, but

the duty, of Government to afford relief, inasmuch as they confidently believe that the utter prostration of the manufacturing and commercial interests cannot otherwise be prevented, whereby the labouring population will be immediately thrown out of employment, *and an amount of misery and destitution witnessed, unexampled in the annals of the country.*

"Your lordship may depend upon us, when we assure you that if the present pressure be not removed, merchants, and other traders of undoubted respectability, who are not only solvent but rich, and who have merchandise and bills, which, under ordinary circumstances, would afford easy and ample means of meeting engagements, will inevitably be compelled to stop payment."

"THE GLOBE'S PERSONALITIES REVIEWED,"

BEING A LETTER FROM

MR. GEORGE SHEPPARD

TO THE

TORONTO LEADER,

DECEMBER, 1861.

"THE GLOBE'S PERSONALITIES REVIEWED."

TO THE HON. GEO. BROWN.

SIR,—"I still live." Your attack of this morning has neither crushed nor cowed me. You have overdone your work, and have unwittingly afforded an excellent opportunity of showing the extent of your veracity, and the conscientiousness which pervades your grossest personalities.

Our quarrel, as *The Leader* has said, was not begun by me. You, or your paper, commenced it. During the last twenty months you have assailed me whenever the slightest pretext could be found; and since July last, you, or those for whom you are responsible, have advertised me as "Jeff. Davis's agent," with my "pockets full of rebel gold," and as a "ministerial hireling," ready for pay to do the work of the government you oppose. I have taken no direct personal notice of these attacks, partly because the source from which they emanate is duly appreciated by every man whose good opinion I care to have; partly because, until now, you have abstained from the mention of my name. Your article in this morning's *Globe* changes the aspect of the case. I am now honoured by your unmistakeable abuse, and you thus confer upon me a right to speak to you, of you, and of myself, with a freedom which in ordinary circumstances would be inexcusable.

I am not afraid, sir, to introduce your indictment, and perhaps I ought to thank you for printing your accusations in a shape that admits of specific reply. Here is the substantial part of your editorial article:

"But for public and patent reasons Jeff. Davis's agent might have remained for years without the slightest reference being made

by the *Globe* to him or his affairs. But when the recognized organ of the Canadian Government became the mouth-piece of American slave-holders and the stirrer up of hate and discord between Canada and the neighbouring Republic, it was necessary to show that an emissary from Richmond was among us and at the helm of the paper. When citizens of standing and worth, who had ever upheld British principles and British Institutions, were denounced in *The Leader* as Republicans at heart and enemies of their country—it was impossible to keep back the fact that the man who so denounced them was but a few weeks before the panegyrist of American Republicanism and the paid hireling of Southern Secessionists. When gentlemen were denounced by name in the Government organ, and pointed at as marks for public insult and attack on our streets, simply because they were natives of the Republic—how could we conceal that the man who penned the incendiary lines was one who had himself found refuge from his misfortune in that same Republic? And when this same Mr. Sheppard ventured to denounce all and sundry because they did not bend down to his gods—how was it possible to refrain from showing from the man's hundred Harlequin changes that his opinions were utterly worthless? But a few years ago, a roaring English Chartist and editor of a Chartist paper in England—then agent for the settlement of English emigrants in the Western States—then a defender of Railway and York Road Jobbing in the Toronto *Leader*—then editor of the Washington *Republic*, which breathed its last under his manipulation—then the subsidized editor of the High Tory Toronto *Colonist*, which died in his hands—then a fit of patriotism and avowal of conversion to the views of the opposition—then editor of the Hamilton *Times*, which speedily withered in his hands, and a fierce advocate for dissolution of the Canadian Union—then the editor of the slave-mongering secession Washington *Constitution*, which he soon 'did to death'—then a secession writer at Richmond—and lastly editor-in-chief of the Toronto *Leader*, excruciatingly loyal, eulogistic of Jefferson Davis, fastidious on buttons, given to regimentals, and death on Yankee Railway Managers, Yankee Lecturers, and Yankeedom in general. The political lectures of such a man must be valuable, indeed—and if Mr. Beaty will only

keep him at the desk a few weeks longer, we venture to predict that not even the York Road revenue will save *The Leader* from the fate of its four illustrious predecessors."

Let me ask you, Mr. BROWN, upon what pretence of propriety you prefer these sweeping charges. To complain of a man's "harlequin changes" is to insinuate that the author of the complaint is an embodiment of consistency. To accuse him of being a "paid hireling," is to suggest the inference that his antagonist is an incarnation of disinterestedness. To sneer at him as the subject of "misfortune," is to excite a belief that the individual who sneers has been blessed with unvarying prosperity. Are you in a position, sir, that justifies any of these suppositions? I do not press the question in any private sense. I ask, can you on "public and patent" grounds aver that what you allege to be sins on my part, do not also attach to your own skirts? You consistent! Why, if change of opinion or alliances constitute a harlequin, you are a political Grimaldi. You have danced round the ring again and again, now serving Mr. BALDWIN, anon slandering him—now flattering Mr. HINCKS, anon decrying him as worse than a highwayman; at one time consorting with tories to defeat reformers—at another working with the Clear Grits for the extinction of conservatism; for a season libelling Messrs. HOLTON, DRUMMOND, LEMIEUX, SANDFIELD MACDONALD, and FOLEY—then conciliating their favour, and taking them to your arms as colleagues in the memorable two-days' cabinet. There is no limit to your gyrations —no end to what you choose to designate inconsistency. I do not suggest that these changes have been criminal. In the old country, with institutions fixed, and classes and parties well defined, unvarying adherence to one set of opinions or one band of associates is impossible; and it is still less so in a province, where politics embody not so much of principle as of personalities, and where individual mutations, in or out of public life, occur with a frequency unknown elsewhere. Here, all of us lie down sometimes with strange bedfellows; and it has been your lot to do so amongst the rest. Experience should render you tolerant toward others. And since you would resent as a libel the allegation that your alternate friendship and hostility had been dictated by corrupt motives, I

may insist that the same judgment shall be meted to me until evidence be found to prove the contrary. At least, in the meantime, I deny your right to arraign me for inconsistency; and I defy you or any man to prove that in any change I have made, corrupt or sinister motives are discoverable. Most of my changes have been against my own interest. As to the "hireling" part of the business, you have used an offensive epithet in a connection which you know to be indefensible. Any payment I have received for service rendered has been legitimate; and I am therefore no more of a "hireling" than your managing editor, Mr. GORDON BROWN, or your counsel, Mr. ADAM WILSON, or any other person who in the pursuit of a lawful avocation receives an equivalent for skill and labour employed. No more of a "hireling," Mr. BROWN, than you were willing to be when you negotiated with Mr. HINCKS for the editorship of the Montreal *Pilot;* and not half so much of a "hireling" as were you when you transferred yourself from New York to Toronto to be the organist of the Scottish Kirk. Nor is it seemly in you to talk sneeringly of seeking "refuge from misfortune" in the republic. One Mr. BROWN and family did that under circumstances which you would fain have forgotten. I never did. Neither fraud nor misfortune ever compelled me to seek "refuge" anywhere.

And now, sir, I propose to look in detail at those of your imputations which more particularly affect my professional character. Your aim is to blast it. I am fortunately able to show that you have only succeeded in traducing it.

"But a few years ago," you state, "I was a roaring English chartist, and editor of a chartist paper in England." The same statement has been circulated before by the minor prints of your party. It is not true. There is nothing disgraceful that I know of in the honest advocacy of ultra political reforms; and we have the testimony of Mr. Justice COLERIDGE as to the profound reading and thought which were exhibited by chartists who were tried before him for sedition. It would not be difficult, indeed, to find amongst the intelligent working classes of England chartists immeasurably your superior in grasp of mind or familiarity with the principles

that underlie political discussion. But I never was a chartist, and never edited a chartist newspaper. On the contrary, I always opposed chartism, on the ground that whatever evils and wrongs exist in England are non-political in their origin ; I publicly opposed the FEARGUS O'CONNOR land scheme at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and afterwards had the chartists for my bitterest enemies in a movement in which I engaged at Hull. With regard to the press in England, an enumeration of the newspapers with which I was editorially connected will establish my denial. In 1839-40, during a brief residence in the west of Scotland, I wrote for the Ayr *Advertiser*, a moderate Whig. From 1840 to 1848, with the exception of a few months in 1843, I was employed upon the Newcastle *Courant*, a neutral paper ; during a portion of the period representing the London *Daily News* in that part of England, and during the panic of 1837 contributing articles upon PEEL's Banking Bill to the London *Morning Herald*. From the spring of 1848 to the date of my departure from England in the spring of 1850, I edited the Hull *Eastern Counties Herald*, a commercial and at that time a non-party journal—a journal as far removed from chartism as the *Globe* is from decency. Therefore, Mr. BROWN—borrowing a saying of Junius—*I will not call you a liar, for I have proved you one.* Next, " agent for the settlement of English emigrants in the Western States." A Quixotic affair, I confess, and one of which I had good reason to repent. I remember, however, that though my judgment may have erred, I faithfully carried out an unprofitable contract, and that I did not terminate the agency without possessing evidence of the honest employment of every shilling entrusted to me.

" Then a defender of railway and York road jobbing in the Toronto *Leader*." Your chronology is at fault, Mr. BROWN. When I came to Canada from the Western States, *The Leader* was not in existence ; and in 1851 I was associated with yourself upon the *Globe*—then the organ of the BALDWIN-LAFONTAINE Ministry —until my removal to Washington in the autumn of that year.

" Then editor of the Washington *Republic*, which breathed its last under his manipulation." Again, not true. The *Republic* was the organ of the FILLMORE administration, and when Mr. FILL-

MORE vacated the presidency, my relations with the *Republic* terminated, and I returned to a farm in Flamboro'. The *Republic* outlived my departure. That my labours as one of its editors were satisfactory to its proprietors is established by evidence which is at your service if you desire to examine it. I may refer you to adherents of the federal cause, not likely to be specially partial now-a-days to a southern sympathizer. Mr. PIKE, then of the *Tribune*, now federal minister to the Hague, and Mr. TRUMAN SMITH, then senator from Connecticut, held strong opinions about myself and the *Republic*, which modesty will not suffer me to repeat. Your friends, Mr. DANA, of the *Tribune*, and Mr. RAYMOND, of the *Times*, may also introduce you to Mr. JOHN O. SARGENT, one of the proprietors of the *Republic*, who, I am sure, will convince you of your error. Or, as you have intimacies at Washington, your principal, Mr. SEWARD, may readily learn from another of the proprietors, Mr. GEORGE GIDEON, whether your version of the "manipulation" or mine is correct; and it is possible that Mr. GIDEON may feel at liberty to tell of propositions which were made to me last February, wholly at variance with your allegation.

"Then the subsidized editor of the high Tory Toronto *Colonist*, which died in his hands." Not "subsidized," Mr. BROWN. So far from having profited pecuniarily by the editorship of the *Colonist*, I lost by its acceptance, and you know it, sir. You know that I relinquished a good position in the office of the Canada Life Assurance Company, which I had held four years, to resume a connection with the press. And you know that I surrendered the editorship of the *Colonist*—under circumstances that should bring a blister on your tongue and a blush to your cheek when you pervert them to my injury. Others do not forget, though you may, the service you received from me as editor of the *Colonist*. You were assailed personally upon the floor of parliament, and I forfeited valuable friendship by words of kindness penned in your behalf. I was not then aware that you are insensible to high motives and deaf to honourable appeals; I supposed you to be a man capable of truth and fairness, and subject to their influence; and I wasted good feeling by stretching to you a generous hand. For the moment you were profuse in your expressions of gratitude;

but those who knew you better than I, predicted that the gratitude would prove a sham, and that, should the positions be reversed, you would crush instead of help me. "You are generous," said a gentleman to me on the morning on which the article appeared, "to a man who has not a spark of generosity in his nature; you deprecate severe attacks upon a man who shows no mercy to his opponents, and is approachable only with the weapons that are used against a bully." My friend was right, and I wrong. Had I been as well acquainted with you as I am now, I should have said that Mr. POWELL did the country good service, and that you deserved the castigation he administered to you. Please accept this as my mature opinion, and as the only atonement I can offer for the folly of treating you as a reputable opponent. I shall not be guilty of it again.

Moreover, it is not true that the *Colonist* died in my hands. Eighteen months after my separation from it, its then editor, Mr. O'BRIEN, indited a friendly notice on the occasion of my emancipation from the bondage of the *Globe*.

It suits your convenience to pass in silence my connection with your journal. I am not surprised; for the man who in 1858 sought my services, and in 1860 published my praise, now attempts to convey an impression adverse to my usefulness. From the BROWN of to-day, mortified and sour, I appeal to the BROWN of January, 1860, for a refutation of the calumnies now heaped upon me. The following editorial paragraph from the *Globe* of January 28th, 1860—emanating as it did from your own pen—almost renders unnecessary any other vindication in reference to proceedings prior to that date:

"We are sure the Reform party will learn with pleasure that the Hamilton *Times* is about to be placed in a still more efficient position than it has enjoyed yet; and that it is to be placed under the Editorial care of Mr. George Sheppard, who for eighteen months past has been connected with this journal. Mr. Sheppard will be a great acquisition to the press of Hamilton. He is an able man and an excellent writer. We part with our *confrere* with regret, but at the same time heartily rejoice that he is about to assume a position in which he may be of essential service to the liberal cause, and earn new laurels for himself."

How happens it, sir, that a writer who in January, 1860, was "a great acquisition" to a newspaper, one who, according to your own estimate, was capable of "essential service," and who may be supposed to have won some laurels as the condition-precedent of the "new laurels" you indicated;—how happens it, I ask, that such an one is now vilified by the *Globe*, slandered by yourself, and maligned by your echoes? I shall essay an answer to this question bye-and-bye. It involves a little bit of political history, and I desire to keep it distinct from the strictly personal account which I am endeavouring to settle with you.

"Then editor of the Hamilton *Times*, which speedily withered in his hands." My severance from the *Times* arose out of private matters, with which neither you nor any man has a right to meddle. I only know that it did not "wither," and that the parties who then held a proprietary interest proposed terms with a view to my continuance. Besides, it is no secret that the *Times* was a sharp thorn in your side. Had it been "withering" very visibly, you would not have employed your hounds to bark at it, nor would you have reproduced their barking in the *Globe*.

"Then the editor of the slave-mongering secession Washington *Constitution*, which he soon did to death." Are you, sir, incapable of aught but lying? Or are you stringing together lies and guesses, under an expectation that the truth will never overtake them? I went to Washington, not as editor of the *Constitution*, but under a confidential engagement with the Breckenridge Central Committee, and maintained that relation until the close of the presidential campaign; the invitation which took me thither having proceeded from gentlemen who had opportunities of knowing me whilst connected with the *Republic* seven years previously. How my services were appreciated you may learn through the medium of one of your Washington friends, Mr. CAMERON, Secretary of War; for the chairman of the Breckenridge Committee, Governor STEVENS, is at present colonel of the Highland regiment, and he knows better than any other person exactly what I did at Washington. During last winter, I contributed daily to the *Constitution*, but I was not responsible either for its conduct or its fate. That fate was not death, as you allege, but removal from Wash-

ington to Montgomery, the capital of the Southern Confederacy, subject to some arrangement made by Mr. BROWNE, the proprietor, with the proprietors of one of the Montgomery papers.

"Then a secession writer at Richmond." Plainly, another lie, sir. Mr. DANIEL, of the *Examiner*, offered me an editorial position upon that journal, which I declined; and all the writing I ever did at Richmond was as correspondent of a foreign journal.

My present connection with *The Leader* is hardly a fair subject of remark. I am acting as the friend of Mr. LINDSEY, who was for several months debarred from duty by illness, and whose attention, since his recovery, has been absorbed in domestic affairs. But as sickness did not exempt him from the assaults of the *Globe*, I cannot reasonably expect that you will be considerate or even truthful in referring to myself as his substitute. It is, however, satisfactory for me to know, as I do on the authority of Mr. BEATY, that since July the circulation of each edition of *The Leader* has largely increased, and that it is to-day more prosperous and more influential than ever. If you believe what you have been base enough to write, you would pray from morning till night for my continuance here. And it is because you are aware of the growing power of *The Leader*, and of the odium which attaches to the *Globe* as a Canadian organ of the Washington government, that you seek this method of prejudicing a formidable rival. It is the trick of a coward, as false as he is contemptible.

I propose, sir, to say a word touching your general accusation, that I am a "hireling," available by any party who may pay me; and I shall again place yourself against yourself. Your convenient memory may not recall a meeting held subsequent to the St. Lawrence Hall Convention, in 1859. Mr. MOWAT may refresh your memory, if at fault. It was alleged, you are aware, that my motion for "pure and simple dissolution," in amendment to your vague resolution, was in pursuance of an arrangement between ourselves; and, on the occasion I refer to, you spoke of the expression of this idea by one of your acquaintances. You added your reply, which was something like this: "A bargain with SHEPPARD to humbug the Convention? Preposterous! If I wanted to make such a bargain, he is about the last man I should apply

to for the purpose. He is too unmanageable for that." You were right, Mr. BROWN.. There was no compact between us in the Convention. You and I acted independently of each other, as Mr. HOLTON can testify. And your familiarity with me had taught you that I could not be readily "managed" when trickery was to be accomplished. Others have formed the same estimate. I am, as you describe it "cantankerous" when gammon is on the board. And I submit, therefore, that by your own testimony I am acquitted of the pliability which is the prime element in the composition of a "hireling." I have changed my ground often, and my alliances more than once; but no politician in or out of Canada can prove that any of these changes has been mercenary in its origin. I have avoided fixedness in business simply because I am inflexibly resolved to avoid debt. *I have returned from the Grit to the Moderate ranks simply because excellent opportunities of observation have satisfied me that the leaders of the ultraists are dishonest, that they are engaged in a vulgar scramble for office, and that their party, disorganized as it is, is powerless for good.*

There is a wide difference between those who, like myself, have been at Washington, and those who, like yourself, "look to Washington." I have not been behind its scenes without learning some useful lessons. I went prepossessed in favor of the American system. I returned convinced that that system is rotten to the core; convinced that, practically, it is vastly inferior to the British system—that it is more demoralizing both to politicians and people—and that its democracy leads to but one alternative, anarchy or despotism. Your gentlemen who "look to Washington," on the other hand, ignoring the teachings of the past, and discarding the striking warnings of the present, persist in striving to force Canada down the rapids of democracy, that, with the province Americanized, you may realize the gains which will remain beyond your reach so long as the people of Canada cherish attachment to the mother land.

The repeated endeavours you have made to render me responsible for a species of Canadian Know-Nothingism are almost unworthy of notice. All I have done has been to direct attention to the selfish, clannish, impolitic temper which has been and yet is displayed

by northerners whom British capitalists have invested with authority over others. It is too bad that upon the Northern Railroad, owned and sustained by British subjects, only Americans have had a chance of employment under Mr. GRANT. He, and others like him, if they come here in good faith, should evince a spirit the opposite of that which, until very recently, has prevailed in the management of the Northern Railroad; and if they refuse, they must expect criticism and censure. Professing as you do strong British feelings, you should be the last to palliate, still less to defend, the exclusiveness in which many Americans amongst us indulge.

And now, Mr. BROWN, let me revert to the question mooted in a previous part of this letter. Why did you and I differ? Why did we separate? An article which I sent to the Elora *Observer*, and which appeared in its columns some time in December, 1859, partially furnishes an answer. Having found a constitutional agitation more awkward than you anticipated, you sought to set aside the decision of the Convention, or to thrust upon the party your own version of the compromise entered into. I said in the *Observer* what I was not allowed to say in the *Globe*, and thereupon we quarrelled. The editorship of the Hamilton *Times* enabled me to expose the insincerity, the dishonesty, of the movement as controlled by yourself; and those exposures led to the feud which has its climax in your disgraceful outburst of this morning. You denounced me because, having detected the fraud you were practising upon the oppositionists of Upper Canada, I dared to expose you and to invoke upon you the scorn you deserved. From then till now, your journal has followed me with a petty vindictiveness that has known no limit. Upon every possible occasion it has assailed me, imputing to me functions with which I have nothing to do, and trying to injure my professional standing in Canada; and now you, sir, concentrate your envenomed hate in a single article, with the hope that by piling lie upon lie you may succeed in crushing me. Thank God, I am beyond your power. My livelihood is not dependent upon your good will; my future is not contingent upon your patronage.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE SHEPPARD.

December 14th, 1861.

THE IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCE

BETWEEN THE

PRINCIPLES OF MR. BUCHANAN

AND

THOSE OF MR. BROWN.

LETTER OF

MR. BUCHANAN TO THE HON. GEO. BROWN,

SHEWING THE TERMS UPON WHICH HE OFFERED
TO VOTE FOR HIM AS

SPEAKER OF T E LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

ON THE OCCASION OF THE LATTER BEING

NOMINATED TO THAT OFFICE

BY HIS PARTY.

THE IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCE

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AND

THOSE OF MR. BROWN.

Mr. Brown's newspaper, the *Globe*, is generally "down" upon some public man whom it wishes to *ostracise*. Mr. Buchanan is the person at present in this alarming predicament. The *Globe* accuses him of anything and everything the most remote from the truth, such as of being a Republican some years ago, &c., &c.* In various numbers of the same journal, especially in one in which an article appears, written during the last session, about the time that Mr. Buchanan voted want of confidence in the present Administration, a letter which he wrote previous to the opening of the same session, to the Hon. George Brown, who was an aspirant for the Speakership of the Assembly, promising that gentleman his vote is alluded to, and the charge of inconsistency, endeavoured to be fastened upon Mr. Buchanan, based on the said letter. The *Globe*, in its eagerness to destroy Mr. Buchanan, politically, has even gone so far as to threaten to publish this important State paper! To shew how little Mr. Buchanan values the menace of such an one as the "Editor-in-chief" of the said journal, at the Editor's urgent request he

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* Those of our readers who wish to gratify a commendable curiosity as to the number and nature of the iniquities of which Mr. Buchanan stands charged are referred to the columns of the *Globe* for the last three months.

has favored him with the letter in question, which goes to show that the only evidence of inconsistency against Mr. Buchanan is, that of trying to the last to think well of Mr. Brown's motives; the writer of it was at length driven to consider him the most unprincipled of all politicians, or, in his own words, "not good enough to be bad."

LETTER OF MR. BUCHANAN TO THE HON. GEO. BROWN,

SHEWING THE TERMS UPON WHICH HE OFFERED
TO VOTE FOR HIM AS

SPEAKER OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE LATTER BEING

NOMINATED TO THAT OFFICE BY HIS PARTY.

MOUNTAIN, HAMILTON, 1st August, 1863,
Saturday Evening.

MY DEAR SIR:

I write you a line to say that if your name is proposed for the Speaker's chair, I shall have great pleasure in voting for you. I should be truly glad of the opportunity to pay you all the respect I can, without violating my conscience; and this is to admit the goodness of your motives, and the wonderful energy of your character. The fact that I cannot go farther on your road, would seem to make it a duty to myself, as well as to you, to give you my assistance so far, thus shewing that no personal enmity, or ill-will, is the cause of my subsequent or previous expressions of want of confidence in the way in which you seem to think you can serve a new country like Canada.

You think that a Political Economy suited for Britain (and one the very contrary of that under which the infancy of that country prospered) is equally suited for this young country. I cannot give (though I have tried hard to do so) my mental assent to any pro-

position of any approach to Free Trade in a new country. I, in fact, deny that political economy is a science at all! A science is a system of fixed facts; and the facts of Political Economy can only be *circumstances*, unless we would legislate with our eyes shut, and without the least reference to the country in which we legislate.

I see that the Free Trade Legislation of England was a horrible blunder from 1842 downwards, and I believe the opening of its flood-gates in 1846, would have caused a Revolution in England, from want of employment alone, but for—first—the providential existence of the Mexican War, which gave England back, from America, every sovereign America had drawn, and afterwards (immediately) the providential discoveries of California and Australia as gold fields. But for these sources, we could not have given the world the gold which Peel's open ports secured to foreigners, without their giving the least equivalent. Gold did not exist in the necessary quantity, even although (which must have done) we were willing to give British labour at half nothing for it. And I see that even discoveries of Gold would not make Free Trade tolerable in Canada, circumstanced as she is. We have proof positive of this in the sad experience of Lower Canada, in the past. She followed the advice of England, and did nothing but grow wheat, allowing England to furnish her with her supplies of goods. She got Gold, or its equivalent, just as much as if there were Gold mines at Acton; and she grew and grew wheat till she could grow no more. The land, like an impoverished animal, became the prey of insects. She had not known that rotation of crops is necessary, and that this cannot be attained without a home manufacturing and artizan population, to make the farmer a market for his roots, vegetables, milk, beef, and other things which he cannot export. I see that (let them do their utmost) the Northern States and Canada cannot export enough to pay for the least importations, to which practically, we can reduce our purchases from foreigners; so in *our circumstances*, it is practical patriotism to prevent the country becoming spendthrift in the particular of purchasing more than the least quantity of foreign labour. The less money we send away to pay for foreign articles, the more we have to expend upon articles of home manufacture, and in local improvements. Now, if I knew

that this (the employment of the people) is the only question of any comparative importance in Canada (and I have this great guarantee for the correctness of my opinion, that no man is more interested than I am in the country taking large importations) what must *I* think of you as a practical patriot, if you do not see it of any importance at all? It is clear that either I must have a great contempt for you as a practical man, or for myself!! I must suppose that you have done, and will do, incalculable harm in inculcating "Free Trade" (or large purchases by Canada, of foreign labour) from day to day. I have no doubt you think yourself a patriot, but you are deceiving yourself, just as every day we see men who think they are Christians, but are not so.

It is obvious that as a practical patriot, I think you unsound at the core. I deeply regret this. I have neither desire nor ability to be a leader in politics, and I would as soon follow you as any other man. Even in respect to the foregoing matter, or the employment of Canadians, there is evidently *a great gulf between us*, and THE ONLY RESULT, I believe, OF REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION WOULD BE TO WIDEN YOUR FIELD FOR DOING HARM ON THIS VITAL MATTER OF OUR PROVINCIAL EMPLOYMENT. More power would be given to new comers, not one in a thousand of whom know anything about the great interests of Canada. I have always placed a high, because a true, value on the advantage to United Canada, of the greater experience of Lower Canada as a country. But for the votes of the Lower Canadians, we would still be buying from the United States our Agricultural Implements, Machinery, Boots and Shoes, Cotton Yarn, and all our Cotton and Flax Goods, &c., &c., and we would not have recovered yet from the money panic of 1857. This service of Lower Canadians to Upper Canada is of more consequence to Upper Canada than all the harm they have done us, or have been represented to have done us,—supposing such representations all true, which they are not. But supposing that, instead of doing great harm, situated as we are, representation by population was as undoubtedly as right and good a thing as the freeing of the Slaves in the Southern States; should we not take warning by seeing the lives and treasure sacrificed by Lincoln and Seward? The goodness of the principle will not

atone to the widows and orphans, or for the bankruptcy of the country. It never seems to have struck you that, to adopt the principle of Representation by Population, is just to decide against a Federal Union with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, for these small colonies never could join Canada upon such a principle.

And supposing that some good instead of considerable evil, were to arise through the discussion of Representation by Population, there could be no good that would bear the least comparison to the injury done the people of Canada, by your putting into abeyance the legitimate vital matters which should be discussed under the Constitution, in order that the Constitution itself, or, in plainer language, a Revolution might be discussed in the face of immense armies on our frontier. IN THIS VIEW ALONE (YOUR REQUIRING TO GIVE UP THE AGITATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES FOR SOME YEARS) I SHOULD LIKE TO SEE YOU IN THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR.

A political party in Canada, that dares not make the individual well-being (for which employment is only another word) of the people of Canada the first and most essential thing in its politics, has always seemed to me something monstrous, besides being a contradiction in terms. The most practical loyalty in Canada is to labour that Canadians should have nothing to envy in the United States, but those who would allow the English Boards of Trade, and the Manchester School of Politicians to dictate to Canada, justify the Canadians in complaining that their liberty is not that of a country whose laws are dictated by its own public opinion, but that it is a dependent colony. Under such circumstances, how long could the connection last? If Canadian labour is to have no advantage even in Canada, (it having none in the Empire elsewhere) Canadians will feel that, as British subjects, their heritage is one only of duties to perform, and disadvantages to face, and not of privileges to enjoy, as was the heritage of him who could say of old "*Sum. Romanus.*" Even if fitted for England, Free Trade is not fitted for Canada nor for the Empire. Free Trade, in truth, is the contrary principle to that of Empire, which under its blasting operation is a mere bundle of sticks with no bond of union. In Canada no one wants protection to Manufactories, except to the

extent to which it is the farmer's interest to promote these, in the double view of their existence finding him an *additional* market for wheat, and the only other market he can have for farm products that wont bear the expense of exportation, and of their at the same time finding employment, without expatriation, to such of his family as are unfit for AGRICULTURALISTS.

I could not number myself amongst any party that did not make the greater employment (which under the law of supply and demand means the better paid employment) of Canadians the first question of Canadian politics, and this can only be attained through the most determined efforts to limit importations, so that our money may not be squandered on foreign labour. A Canadian who gives a hundred sovereigns and gets its value in British goods, does not get an equivalent. He only gets an equivalent if Britain takes for them in payment the produce of Canada. In giving away Gold, he gives away a portion of the basis on which the superstructure of all confidence, credit, and circulating medium is built, and there is scarcely any telling to how many times the taking away of the hundred sovereigns injures the country, unless the exports of the country are equal to its imports, which in the Northern States and Canada, they never are, practically, however much they may appear to be so. I have lately got hope in this matter from a new quarter. Some, whose consistency compels them to uphold the *principle* of Free Trade, see its evil in Canada, and propose that *for a limited period*, say ten years, or during the infancy of Canadian Manufactures, there should be protection. To this compromise I would agree.

Yours faithfully,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

The object of these few concluding remarks is to refer to an article on the RECIPROCITY TREATY by "*A. A. B.*," which lately appeared in the *British American Magazine*. It has evidently been written in England, and however well meaning, does not go to the root of this vital matter. The writer says: "*If the Colonies wish to retain the existing connection, they must be ready to do what is in their power to assist their fellow-subjects at home by reciprocating benefits.*" The difficulty is, however, that people in the old country and in Canada have different notions of the policy on the part of the colony which would confer the greatest amount of reciprocal advantage. It is, unfortunately, a foregone conclusion in the minds of people at home, equally expressed in the foregoing and in the following quotation, that the policy which so many in Canada think best for the working classes of the mother country, as well for the people of Canada, must necessarily be at the expense of the mother country.

"*Should, however, the West be beaten, and a compromise be come to in the States, by which Canada and the provinces would be required to grant favourable conditions to the States, then the time would be come to consider what ought to be done; for it would be then that the political bearing of the subject would become of vital importance, and that the colonies would have to decide whether they would retain the English connection or reject it for that of the States.*"

We would again repeat, that the proposed Zollverein is entirely an industrial measure, and would have no political bearing whatever. Canada is determined to remain true to the mother country politically, though also determined to remain true to itself industrially.

Mr. Buchanan's stating that England must arrange to make Canada neutral territory, in case of war with the Americans, is only the least offensive and strongest way of getting the government and people of the mother country to reflect that the Free Trade legislation of Britain left the colonies no industrial advantage to fight for.

In regard to the political position of Canada, Mr. Buchanan's conviction that the best, if not the only way, to save her to the Empire is rapidly to increase and strengthen her producing population, which he believes can only be done either by a perpetuation of the present Reciprocity Treaty, or by the introduction of more extended commercial intercourse with the United States, which he has named "An American Zollverein;" and to awaken the people of Britain, as well as Canada, to this great truth is the object which Mr. Buchanan sees to be all important at this crisis of affairs.

HOW MR. BUCHANAN WOULD SETTLE THE RECIPROCITY TREATY DIFFICULTY.

Mr. Buchanan's mind, however, is entirely practical,* and his having proved the right of the people of Canada to do as they please in Legislation, and also the advantage to any country in North America of a tariff, does not interfere with his practising what he preaches in regard to "*Political Economy being a science not of fixed facts but of circumstances.*" And he has kindly enabled the Editor, in closing his labours, to be the first to announce the quarter from which Mr. Buchanan now looks for the means of saving the Reciprocity Treaty for the Canadian farmer.

Mr. Buchanan would hold fast to the general patriotic view of which he has been the apostle, that no general theories should be allowed to undermine the great object of each country's legislation, the greatest amount of well-being or employment for its own population; but in all his speeches and writings he has always insisted that the first procuring and afterwards securing the best markets for the produce of the Canadian farmer is the indispensable condition of the well-being of all other classes as well as of the farmer. And

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* "British principles (says Mr. Buchanan, in one of his writings), before the present unprincipled days, differed from all other theories in this, that they embodied themselves in well understood British interests, and that the theory was immediately departed from whenever it was seen to undermine the interest to promote which it was set up. How different this from the course of the Americans who worship SYSTEM, and persist in their Banking and other theories, long after it is clear these are destroying the great interests to promote which they were instituted."

as he sees the continuation, if not the extension, of the Reciprocity Treaty to be absolutely necessary to this great end, he considers it the plain duty of the Canadian statesman to keep in view this vital interest of the farmer to the setting aside for the present of all minor considerations, and *all other considerations he holds to be minor*.

Though local political influences in the United States may lead that country under temporary excitement to forget the interest of its whole people (which certainly is bound up in the Bonding System and Reciprocity Treaty with British America), and may even lead to the twelve months' notice being given of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, Mr. Buchanan has great faith in the sober second thought of the American people, especially as the CIRCUMSTANCES enable Canada to make certain concessions as a *quid pro quo*. The circumstances alluded to flow from the alteration of the American currency. The increased volume of circulating medium in the United States has in the same proportion increased the wages of the people, and, therefore, the cost of manufacturing in that country. In these circumstances the Canadian manufacturer would be as well *protected* by the tariff that existed at the formation of the Reciprocity Treaty as by the increased one that now exists in Canada. ON CONDITION, THEREFORE THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD YIELD TO CANADIAN VESSELS IN THEIR PORTS THE SAME COASTING PRIVILEGES AS ARE YIELDED AMERICAN VESSELS IN CANADIAN PORTS (AND IT IS A MONSTROUS THING THAT THIS SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE CASE ALL ALONG), MR. BUCHANAN WOULD BE WILLING TO REDUCE "RECIPROCALLY" THE CANADIAN CUSTOMS' DUTY TO WHAT IT WAS FORMERLY ON ALMOST EVERY ARTICLE, THE IMPORTATION OF WHICH FROM THE UNITED STATES IS SHOWN TO HAVE FALLEN OFF UNDER THE OPERATION OF THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.*

* Mr. Buchanan would not make any sweeping change or unhinge the Tariff generally. He would not do more than is required by the circumstances. He is fond of quoting Sir Francis Bond Head's didactic delivery, when in Canada, as to the absurdity of the British Government's latterly insisting on *acting too much*, and on general principles rather than with reference to the exact circumstances; this Sir Francis represented to be quite as unreasonable as if a physician were to insist on *dosing* a whole family whenever any one of its members required to be *dosed!*

These simply are Mr. Buchanan's views at this moment on this great question. The Editor would not presume to add any remark of his own, but in closing he would give expression to a feeling which is very general, viz: that even in case the notice of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty is given, it never will be abrogated; the obvious interests of both countries so loudly protest against any thing so suicidal.* A judicious negociator appointed by each country could easily reconcile differences. Men like Mr. Buchanan and Mr. J. W. Taylor of St. Paul's, Minnesota, who have already shown that they understand the subject thoroughly, and, at the same time, who have the greatest respect for each other's countries, could settle the basis of an arrangement, either at Quebec or Washington, in a single week, if not in a single day.

The general principle long held by Mr. Buchanan, (with which we know Mr. Taylor and other distinguished Americans are delighted), will be found running through all his speeches and writings, is contained in page 181, viz:

"*That while we in Canada have no wish farther to increase our Customs' duties, and while we look to doing away entirely with those on Tea, Sugar, and all articles which we do not grow or manufacture, our Provincial policy is not to incur debt for anything we can avoid, and we shall never consent to reduce—otherwise than as a matter of* RECIPROCITY WITH THE UNITED STATES—*the duties on articles which we can grow or manufacture.*"

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* Legislation will be required to effect the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, and the Americans will probably delay this from time to time; though voluntary and liable at any moment to be upset by either party, the mutual advantages meantime would be just the same. Mr. Buchanan thinks the Opposition in the United States is more to the bondage or obligation for ten years than to the terms of the treaty, and even the notice may not be given when the Americans reflect that this would put it into the power of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to alter their legislation.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE ADDRESS OF THE METROPOLITAN TRADES' DELEGATES TO THEIR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN ON THE INTERESTS AND PRESENT POSITION OF THE LABOURING CLASSES OF THE EMPIRE, SHOWING THAT THERE IS LITTLE OF THAT ENTIRE SATISFACTION AMONG THEM WHICH THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

There is not recorded an era in the history of our country, nor indeed, in the history of all nations, when the great subject of the natural and social rights of those who live by means of their labour, which required to be so thoughtfully considered, so clearly explained, and so zealously and faithfully supported, as the present era.

Intimately connected as we are with the interests of labourers, by being members of that class who have to support themselves and their families by the constant exercise of labour, and being entrusted by so many of our fellow labourers of this nation with the great duty of ascertaining, so far as we may be able, the great operating natural and social *causes* which affect, either beneficially or injuriously, the condition and the prospects of all who are engaged in labour, we desire to call the earnest attention of all the working men of this great country to the following declaration of our views.

On looking steadily and carefully at those natural sources from which the physical well-being of all men, in every nation of the world, are derived, we discern that none of the material productions in nature, adapted either for food or for clothing, for shelter or for any other purpose, varied and abundant though these materials are, can be acquired excepting through the instrumentality of the *labour* of man. We discern, moreover, that little advance-

ment could have been made in the necessary, useful, or ornamental appropriation of the crude materials of nature, if the efforts of labour had not been made in separate departments of industry, or, as it is called by writers on political economy, the division and sub-division of labour.

The efforts of labourers being thus directed to a multiplicity of employments, each man undertaking a particular occupation for the purpose of ensuring a common and general object, which is, superiority of production both in quantity and quality, these efforts of labourers have become *united* efforts by reason of the productions of each labourer being received and exchanged by and with his fellow labourers, the several productions thus becoming, by this fact of exchange, the constituted means by which the labourers and their families are supported.

On considering anxiously the social principle thus involved by the action of labourers having become an *united*, and, hence, a dependent action—the one being dependent on the other, by the fact of exchange, for the purpose of consumption, of each other's production—we see that some *rule* or *law* of action is indispensably necessary for preserving the constituted right, or the due enjoyment of those who have entered upon this conjoined course of labour, involving, as it does, production of commodities on the one hand, and consumption of them on the other.

By looking carefully on the simple state of things just alluded to —the combination of the passive matter of nature, and of the active power of the labour—the elements of the earth and the labour of man directed to educe, to alter, and to modify these elements for use and convenience—we see the manner in which the interests of man in a social state are constituted. We see that man must, by the constraining character of those circumstances with which his natural condition is surrounded, unite himself with his *neighbour* in order to accomplish any satisfactory and successful progress, or acquire the possession of those things that are necessary for his comfortable subsistence. A most important question, arising out of the state of things just alluded to, is then presented to us, which is, who constitutes this neighbour with whom the agreed union of labour, together with the exchange of productions resulting from it, takes place?

To this important question one right answer, and one only, can be given, which is, he who is *nearest*—that is a fellow-countryman. We see then, that in the order of nature, *priority* of connection—*priority* in the union of labour—*priority* in the exchange of productions or in commerce must spring up and subsist between men in that particular sphere which they inhabit, this great social act and principle prevailing in every community or nation. By this course it is that the connection of family with property is established.

Seeing, then, that the priority of connection just alluded to must of necessity subsist, and attaching to this priority a rule or law of progress, which is required everywhere and over everything, we maintain that the social obligations of men are of that character which requires them to attach themselves in the first place to the interests of their fellow-countrymen or fellow-labourers. We maintain that commerce, which is an exchange of productions between man and man, should be conducted, in every nation, in such a manner as to comprehend and preserve to the utmost degree the interests of all the members of the nation. Hence we advance and maintain the principle that established and home trade should *first* be considered and preserved, and that changes and foreign trade ought to be undertaken only by means of that value or capital which may be over and above what is required for maintaining in their enjoyments, the members of each nation.

You will discern that the principle of commerce just adverted to by us is that principle which was anciently adopted by our ancestors, the incorporation of it in our laws and in our practice having formed one of the most important and influential characteristics of the British Constitution, though the principle has been so partially, and hence, so unjustly applied, as to derange and destroy its own operation, thereby causing the minds, even of many thoughtful and honourable men, to suspect its truth, to deny its utility, and to demand its rejection.

Deeply impressed by the degraded social condition of so many men in our own, and also in other nations—so many human creatures being seen to suffer under the tremendous evils of poverty and destitution—a class of men have been induced, during the last

seventy-five years, to direct the power of their minds to an investigation of the science of Social and Political Economy. Foremost of these writers was Dr. Adam Smith. The work of this celebrated writer, appearing under the striking and alluring title of "*The Wealth of Nations*," many persons were induced to read the elaborate statements, and the ingenious reasonings contained in it, and also to place reliance on those commercial doctrines which are mainly propounded in it. Since the departure of Adam Smith, a number of other writers have sprung up who have received him as their chief authority, or leader. Thus a modern school of Political and Social Economy has been reared in our country. By this school all the most important subjects, connected with the physical interests of men, have been freely dealt with; for besides a discussion of the natural means placed within the appropriation of man for his maintenance, together with the various methods invented and adopted by man for making this appropriation, his right to introduce his offspring into the world, has been discussed also. The main result of the intellectual effort of this school is the adhesion given by its members to the doctrine of *free* social and commercial action.

We have it thus announced to us that it is under the operation of unregulated, stimulated and universal competition, we are henceforth to live.

Cheapness is proclaimed to be the one great and desirable attainment. But the cheapness that is attained under this system is not the result of fair and distributory abundance—being mainly acquired by diminishing the enjoyments, or the consumption, of those by whose labour productions are derived, and by that economy of labour by which, in so many instances, the labourer is cast off altogether from employment, because a cheaper, that is, a less consuming instrument than his body, is invented and applied. The labour of the working man thus becomes a superfluous commodity in the market, so that he must either be an outcast altogether from society, or else find some way of doing more work for less materials of consumption; and even then, if he should succeed in this course of realising cheapness, he becomes instrumental in bringing many other of his fellow-labourers down to the same degraded level to which he is reduced.

Bad and appalling, however, as is the existing condition of so many whose only means of supporting themselves and their families is the exercise of their daily labour, yet we maintain that the prospect before us is still more dark and gloomy. We declare to you our conviction that a far greater degree of suffering and of destitution impends over the labouring classes and their families, both of this and of all other nations, unless the falseness of the free or competitive system be thoroughly penetrated, clearly exposed, and a course of general commerce, very different from that emanating from the free system, be entered upon.

It has become a matter of the very highest importance that every working man, and, indeed, the whole nation, should be made acquainted with the delusion that prevails regarding Adam Smith's writings, as also the writings of those who, together with Dr. Adam Smith, constitute the modern school of Political Economists.

It has been asserted throughout the country, and often within the walls of Parliament, that the subject of the rights of labour, comprised as these rights are in the principles of general commerce, has been so well and so fully considered and explained by this body of writers, that the vital subject is to be viewed as a subject thoroughly understood and settled. Writers and statesmen have asserted this with so much confident assurance that laws, on which the welfare of the whole nation depends, have been in some instances, made, and in others abrogated, in accordance with the principles advanced by this school of economists.

Now a more fatal delusion than that of placing faith in the proficiency of this school, cannot be entertained, and we are bound to announce to you that a deception of the grossest character has been practised on the nation with regard to it. This assertion we will prove, and the proof shall be derived from the leading economists themselves, they having been under the necessity of admitting that the true characters of the main branches of the science of Social Economy have not been discovered by them.

The proof which we will adduce first, is derived from the writings of Mr. M'Culloch, who, himself being a disciple of Adam Smith, and acknowledging him as his leader and master, has, nevertheless, admitted in a passage in the introductory part of his

own work, that his master was very deficient. The following is the passage :—

"However excellent in many respects, still it cannot be denied that there are errors, and those too of no slight importance, in '*The Wealth of Nations*.' Dr. Smith does not say that, in prosecuting such branches of industry as are most advantageous to themselves, individuals necessarily prosecute such as are, at the same time, *most* advantageous to the public. His leaning to the system of M. Quesnay—a leaning perceptible in every part of his work—made him so far swerve from the sounder principles of his own system, as to admit that the preference shown by individuals in favour of particular employments is not always a *true test* of their public advantageousness. He considered agriculture, though not the only productive employment, as the most productive of any; the home trade as more productive than a direct foreign trade; and the latter than the carrying trade. It is clear, however, that these distinctions are all fundamentally erroneous. * * * Perhaps, however, the principal defect of '*The Wealth of Nations*' consists in the erroneous doctrines laid down with respect to the invariable value of corn, and the effect of fluctuations in wages and profits on prices. These have prevented Dr. Smith from acquiring clear and accurate notions respecting the nature and causes of rent, and the laws which govern the rate of profit; and have, in consequence, vitiated the theoretical conclusions in those parts of his work which treat of the distribution of wealth and the principles of taxation."—*Principles of Political Economy*, by J. R. M'Culloch.

If you will examine carefully the foreging extract, you cannot fail to discern how great those deficiencies are which the pupil alleges against the master, for he declares him to have been ignorant of the true character and value, firstly, of home trade; secondly, of foreign trade; and, thirdly, of the carrying trade between nations. A pretty extensive category of ignorance this is; and then in addition, he declares that the master was not able to discover the laws which govern the rate of profit. Now, as all increase of wealth is comprehended by the term of profit, so, failing to discover and apprehend the whole subject of the creation of wealth.

The next category of deficiences, admitted by the schoolmen them-

selves, we derive from the writings of Mr. Malthus. They are comprised in the following passage :—

"Since the era of these distinguished writers, the subject has gradually attracted the attention of a greater number of persons, particularly during the last twenty or thirty years. All the main propositions of the science have been examined, and the events which have since occurred, tending either to illustrate or confute them, have been repeatedly discussed. The result of this examination and discussion seems to be, that on some very important points there are still great differences of opinion. Among these, perhaps, may be reckoned, the definitions of wealth and of productive labour —the nature and measures of value, the nature and measures of the principles of demand and supply ; the origin and progress of rent ; the causes which practically retard and limit the progress of wealth ; the level of the precious metals in different countries ; the principles of taxation, &c."—*Principles of Political Economy*, by T. R. Malthus, edition 1836, page 3.

By this passage from the writings of Malthus, containing his *latest* judgement, for the work has been published since his death, you will see how much the writers on Political Economy have left for succeeding inquirers to explore, to discover and to explain to the world.

The next evidence which we will adduce, is derived from the recorded judgment of a scientific and practical statesman, one who, having attached himself to the liberal political party, before entering on public life in the House of Commons, devoted himself with the Edinburgh schoolmen, to an especial study of the science of Political Economy. We allude to Francis Horner. He studied patiently and perseveringly Adam Smith's work. He studied also the science of Political Economy. The result of his studies are communicated to us in the following passages :—

"We have been under the necessity of suspending our progress in the perusal of '*The Wealth of Nations*,' on account of the insurmountable difficulties, obscurity and embarrassment in which the reasonings of the 5th Chapter are involved. It is amusing to recollect the history of one's feelings on a matter of this kind. Many years

ago, when I first read the 'Wealth of Nations,' the whole of the first book appeared to me as perspicuous as it was interesting and new. Some time afterwards, while I lived in England, I attempted to make an abstract of Smith's *principal* reasonings, but I was impeded by the doctrine of the *real measure of value*, and the distinction between nominal and real price; the discovery that I did not understand Smith, speedily led me to doubt whether Smith understood himself,—and I thought I saw that the price of labour was the same sort of thing as the price of any other commodity; but the discussion was too hard for me, and I fled to something more agreeable because more easy."—*Memoirs of Francis Horner, vol.* 1, *page* 163.

"There has been nothing new very lately in the line of Political Economy, though Brougham's work and Malthus's are a great deal for one year. An indirect application was made to me to furnish a set of notes for a new edition of '*Smith's Wealth of Nations.*' This, of course, I declined, because I have other things to attend to, even if I had been prepared for such an undertaking, which certainly I am not yet, I should be reluctant to expose Smith's errors before his work has operated its full effect. We owe much at present to the superstitious worship of Smith's name, and we must not impair that feeling till the victory is more complete. There are few practical errors in the '*Wealth of Nations*,' at least of any great consequence; and until we can give a correct and precise theory of the nature and origin of wealth, his popular, and plausible, and loose hypothesis is as good for the vulgar as any other." —*Ibid, vol.* i., page 229.

The opinions just quoted are those of a man who was expressly educated as a *scientific* statesman, and who was introduced and received in Parliament with this high character.

You will not fail to mark the deep importance of his words when he declares that *a correct and precise theory of the nature and origin of wealth*, has not been discovered either by Adam Smith or by any other member of the school.

The writer who has appeared last on the stage of literature of those who are connected influentially with the modern school of

Political Economists, is Mr John Stuart Mill; the work of this writer having been very recently presented to the world. The estimation in which Mr Mill holds the work of Adam Smith—that work which our most influential and leading statesmen have of late declared to be all-sufficient for guiding them in their most important courses of national law-making, is announced by the following words:—

"The '*Wealth of Nations*' is in many parts obsolete, and, in all, imperfect. Political Economy, properly so called, has grown up almost from infancy since the time of Adam Smith; and the philosophy of society, from which practically that eminent thinker never separated his more peculiar theme, though still in every early stage of its progress, has advanced many steps beyond the point at which he left it."—*Principles of Political Economy*, by John Stuart Mill, vol. i. preface, p. 5.

Such are the proofs we have to lay before the working men of this nation respecting the assumed discoveries and the doings of this highly vaunted school. That which the whole people have been exhorted to admire and to adopt, is addmitted to be nothing better than "a popular plausible, and loose hypothesis," but although of this worthless character, it is, nevertheless, pronounced to be—"as good for the vulgar as any other."

Many more such proofs might be adduced, but we have adduced sufficient. You will now see how urgent the necessity is for renewed and more skilful investigation in this important field of science,—a field of inquiry in which the dearest interests of yourselves and your families, of every family of the nation, and indeed of the whole world, are comprised.

The great and urgent question then is—What shall we do? What practical course can we adopt? In reply to this question we answer as follows:—We enjoin you, in the first place, to examine well, and consider maturely, the few suggestions and the declarations contained in this address. Enough is presented in it to lead your minds to a solemn consideration of those principles, and that course of social action, which conduce, on the one hand, to the elevation, and, on the other hand, to the depression, of the interests of those who have to live by their labour. Be prepared to give us effectual support for securing, before a competent tribunal, a full examination and discussion of the

mighty subject. We, on our parts, will be prepared to adduce evidence, and to submit argument, in accordance with the declarations contained in this address. This we solemnly promise you. But then this evidence, and this argument must be submitted to those who alone can give to them practical influence and effect when they are so established. We mean those statesmen to whom the power of governing the nation is entrusted.

It is generally seen and admitted that the governing principle and power of our country are, at the present juncture of our national affairs, in a position of lamentable instability, which it could not be if the principle were true, and the power broadly and deeply founded.

The predominating influence and power of aristocratic government having prevailed for a lengthened period, are now passed away. The aristocratic party have raised the structure of its government upon the ancient constitutional principles, departed from these principles, introduced corruption, and is now deposed.

The predominating influence and power of the middle classes of the nation are acknowledged and accepted at the present time. This party having introduced, as principles of general social action, the meanest incentives and motives that can animate the human mind, namely, the free and full action of unenlightened self interest—the unqualified love of wealth and the gratification of this love—the accumulative principle of social action instead of the distributive—their political philosophy being of a character wholly mercantile,—is now impaired and degraded by the conflicting operation of those courses which it sets in motion and stimulates. This power also is in a condition to be rejected.

Let us, then, be prepared. You be prepared to give us all necessary support in a temperate, firm, and constitutional manner, —at all times remembering that in undertaking to argue, and to treat of our own rights and interests, we must necessarily argue and treat also of the rights and interests of others. We, on our parts, will be ready to show your rights, both in a manner and in substance not hitherto attempted. Resting our case on its right foundations, and submitting it in the good shape of calm and dispassionate reasoning, there will not be wanting to us zealous and honourable advocates

both within the walls of Parliament and without them, by whose aid a full and fair hearing, followed by a just judgement, will be ensured us.

If, then, your judgments approve the views and declarations we have now submitted to you, it will be your duty to give an ardent support to the cause in every sphere where your influence may be exerted and felt, and on every fitting opportunity. Moreover, you must be resolute in demanding that ye be heard. This hearing will, we feel assured, lead to convincement in the cases of those whom we desire and require to convince; and convincement, as far as it can be made to extend, will lead to the recognition and adoption of that just national policy, and of action in accordance with this policy, which constitutes the only remedy for those terrific social evils that so many labouring members of our country have to feel and deplore.

Signed on behalf of the Delegates,

JOHN SEAGRAVE, President.

AUGUSTUS E. DELAFORCE, Secretary,

10, North Square, Portman Place,

Globe Road, Mile End.

Committee Room, St. Andrew Coffee House,
82, High Holborn,
London, 11th April, 1850.

II.

A MONARCHY SURROUNDED BY REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS—PROPOSAL BY GENERAL LAFAYETTE IN 1832.

(*From the American author, Mr. J. Fennimore Cooper's Residence in France in* 1832.)

I felt convinced the present system, the *juste milieu* (that of Louis Philippe), could not continue long in France. It might do for a few years as a reaction; but when things were restored to their natural course, it would be found that there is an unnatural union between facts that are peculiar to despotism, and facts that are peculiarly the adjuncts of liberty; as in the provisions of the *Code*

Napoleon, and in the liberty of the press, without naming a multitude of other discrepancies. The *juste milieu* that he had so admirably described could not last long, but the government would soon find itself driven into strong measures, or into liberal measures, in order to sustain itself. Men could no more serve "God and Mammon" in politics than in religion. I then related to him an anecdote that had occurred to myself the evening of the first anniversary of the present reign.

[When the term *juste milieu* was first used by the king, and adopted by his followers, LaFayette said in the Chamber, that he very well understood what a *juste milieu* meant, in any particular case. It meant neither more nor less than the truth, in that particular case; but as to a political party's always taking a middle course, under the pretence of being in a *juste milieu*, he should liken it to a discreet man's laying down the proposition that four and four make eight, and a fool's crying out, "Sir, you are wrong, for four and four make ten," whereupon the advocate for the *juste milieu* system would be obliged to say, "Gentlemen, you are equally in extremes, *four and four make nine.*" It is the fashion to say LaFayette wanted *esprit*. This was much the cleverest thing the writer ever heard in the French Chambers, and, generally, he knew few men who said more witty things in a neat and unpre tending manner than General LaFayette. Indeed, this was the bias of his mind, which was little given to profound reflections, though distinguished for a *fort bon sens.*] This is a note at foot in Mr. Cooper's book.

On the night in question, I was in the Tuileries, with a view to see the fireworks. Taking a station a little apart from the crowd, I found myself under a tree alone with a Frenchman of some sixty years of age. After a short parley, my companion, as usual, mistook me for an Englishman. On being told his error, he immediately opened a conversation on the state of things in France. He asked me if I thought they would continue. I told him, no; that I thought two or three years would suffice to bring the present system to a close. "Monsieur," said my companion, "you are mistaken. It will require ten years to dispossess those who have seized upon the government since the last revolution. All the

young men are growing up with the new notions, and in ten years they will be strong enough to overturn the present order of things. Remember that I prophesy the year 1840 will see a change of government in France."

LaFayette laughed at this prediction, which, he said, did not quite equal his impatience. He then alluded to the ridicule which had been thrown upon his own idea of "*A Monarchy with Republican Institutions*," and asked me what I thought of the system. As my answer to this, as well as to his other questions, will serve to lay before you my own opinions, which you have a right to expect from me, as a traveller rendering an account of what he has seen, I shall give you its substance at length.

So far from finding anything as absurd as is commonly pretended in the plan of "a throne surrounded by republican institutions," it appears to me to be exactly the system best suited to the actual condition of France. By a monarchy, however, a real monarchical government, or one in which the power of the sovereign is to predominate, is not to be understood, in this instance, but such a semblance of a monarchy as exists to-day, in England, and formerly existed in Venice and Genoa under their Doges. In England *the aristocracy notoriously rules through the king;* and I see no reason why, in France, a constituency with a back sufficiently broad to entitle it to assume the name of a republic, might not rule in its turn in the same manner. In both cases the sovereign would merely represent an abstraction; the sovereign power would be wielded in his name, but at the will of the constituency; he would be a parliamentary echo, to pronounce the sentiment of the legislative bodies, whenever a change of men or a change of measures became necessary. It is very true that, under such a system, there would be no real separation, in principle, between the legislative and the executive branches of government; but such is, to-day, and such has long been the actual condition of England, and her statesmen are fond of saying, the "plan works well." Now, although *the plan does not work half as well in England as is pretended*, except for those who more especially reap its benefits, simply because the legislature is not established on a sufficiently popular basis, still it works better, on the whole, for the public, than if the system were reversed,

as was formerly the case, and the king ruled through the Parliament, instead of the Parliament ruling through the king. In France the facts are ripe for the extension of this principle, in its safest and most salutary manner. The French of the present generation are prepared to dispense with a hereditary and political aristocracy, in the first place, nothing being more odious to them than privileged orders, and no nation, not even America, having more healthful practices or wiser notions on this point than themselves. The experience of the last fifteen years has shown the difficulty of creating an independent peerage in France, notwithstanding the efforts of the government, sustained by the example and wishes of England, have been steadily directed to that object. Still they have the traditions and *prestige* of a monarchy. Under such circumstances, I see no difficulty in carrying out the idea of LaFayette. Indeed, some such policy is indispensable, unless liberty is to be wholly sacrificed. All experience has shown that a king, who is a king in fact as well as name, is too strong for law, and the idea of restraining such a power by *principles*, is purely chimerical. He may be curtailed in his authority, by the force of opinion, and by extreme constructions of these principles ; but if this be desirable, it would be better to avoid the struggle, and begin at once by laying the foundation of the system in such a way as will prevent the necessity of any change.

As respects France, a peerage, in my opinion, is neither desirable nor practicable. It is certainly possible for the king to maintain a chosen political corps, as long as he can maintain himself, which will act in his interests, and do his bidding ; but it is folly to ascribe the attributes that belong to a peerage to such a body of mercenaries. They resemble the famous mandamus counsellors, who had so great an agency in precipitating our own revolution, and are more likely to achieve a similar disservice to their master than anything else. Could they become really independent, to a point to render them a masculine feature in the state, they would soon, by their combinations, become too strong for the other branches of the government, as has been the case in England, and France would have " a throne surrounded by aristocratic institutions." THE POPULAR NOTION THAT AN ARISTOCRACY IS NECESSARY TO A

MONARCHY, I TAKE IT, IS A GROSS ERROR. A titular aristocracy, in some shape or other, is always the *consequence* of a monarchy, merely because it is the reflection of the sovereign's favour, policy, or caprice; but *political* aristocracies, like the peerage, have, nine times in ten, proved too strong for the monarch. France would form no exception to the rule; but, as men are apt to run into the delusion of believing it liberty to strip one of power, although his mantle is to fall on the few, I think it more that probable the popular error would be quite likely to aid the aristocrats in effecting their object, after habit had a little accustomed the nation to the presence of such a body. This is said, however, under the supposition that the elements of an independent peerage could be found in France, a fact that I doubt, as has just been mentioned.

IF ENGLAND CAN HAVE A THRONE, THEN, SURROUNDED BY ARISTOCRATICAL INSTITUTIONS, WHAT IS THERE TO PREVENT FRANCE FROM HAVING A THRONE "SURROUNDED BY REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS?" The word "Republic," though it does not exclude, does not necessarily include the idea of a democracy. It merely means a polity, in which the predominant idea is the "public things," or common weal, instead of the hereditary and inalienable rights of one. It would be quite practicable, therefore, to establish in France such an efficient constituency as would meet the latter conditions, and yet to maintain the throne, as the machinery necessary, in certain cases, to promulgate the will of this very constituency. This is all that the throne does in England, and why need it do more in France? By substituting, then, a more enlarged constituency, for the borough system of England, the idea of LaFayette would be completely fulfilled. The reform in England, itself, is quite likely to demonstrate that his scheme was not as monstrous as has been affirmed. The throne of France should be occupied as Corsica is occupied, *not for the affirmative good it does the nation, so much as to prevent harm from its being occasionally vacant.*

In the course of conversation, I gave to General LaFayette the following outline of the form of government I could wish to give to France, were I a Frenchman, and had I a voice in the matter. I

give it to you on the principle already avowed, or as a traveller furnishing his notions of the things he has seen, and because it may aid in giving you a better insight into my views of the state of this country.

[A MONARCHY SURROUNDED BY REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS.]

I would establish a monarchy, and Henry V. should be the monarch. I would select him on account of his youth, which will admit of his being educated in the notions necessary to his duty; and on account of his birth, which would strengthen his nominal government, and, by necessary connexion, the actual government: for I believe that, in their hearts, and notwithstanding their professions to the contrary, nearly half of France would greatly prefer the legitimate line of their ancient kings to the actual dynasty. This point settled, I would extend the suffrage as much as facts would justify; certainly so as to include a million or a million and a half of electors. All idea of the *representation* of property would be relinquished, as the most corrupt, narrow, and vicious form of polity that has ever been devised, invariably tending to array one portion of the community against another, and endangering the very property it is supposed to protect. A moderate property *qualification* might be adopted, in connexion with that of intelligence. The present scheme in France unites, in my view of the case, precisely the two worst features of admission to the suffrage that could be devised. The qualification of an elector is a given amount of direct contribution. This *qualification* is so high as to amount to *representation*, and France is already so taxed as to make a diminution of the burdens one of the first objects at which a good government would aim; it follows that, as the ends of liberty are attained, its foundations would be narrowed, and the *representation* of property would be more and more insured. A simple property qualification would, therefore, I think, be a better scheme than the present.

Each department should send an allotted number of deputies, the polls being distributed on the American plan. Respecting the term of service, there might arise various considerations; but it should not exceed five years, and I would prefer three. The present house of peers should be converted into a senate, its members to sit as

long as the deputies. I see no use in making the term of one body longer than the other; and I think it very easy to show that great injury has arisen from the practice among ourselves. Neither do I see the advantage of having a part go out periodically; but, on the contrary, a disadvantage, as it leaves a representation of old, and, perhaps, rejected opinions, to struggle with the opinions of the day. Such collisions have invariably impeded the action and disturbed the harmony of our own government. I would have every French elector vote for each senator; thus the local interests would be protected by the deputies, while the senate would strictly represent France. This united action would control all things, and the ministry would be an emanation of their will, of which the king should merely be the organ.

I have no doubt the action of our own system would be better, could we devise some plan by which a ministry should supersede the present executive. The project of Mr. Hillhouse—that of making the senators draw lots annually for the office of President, is, in my opinion, better than the elective system; but it would be, in a manner, liable to the old objection, of a want of harmony between the different branches of the government. France has all the machinery of royalty in her palaces, her parks, and the other appliances of the condition; and she has, moreover, the necessary habits and opinions, while we have neither. There is, therefore, just as much reason why France should not reject this simple expedient for naming a ministry, as there is for our not adopting it. Here, then, would be, at once, a "throne surrounded by republican institutions;" and, although it would not be a throne as powerful as that which France has at present, it would, I think, be more permanent than one surrounded by bayonets, and leave France herself more powerful in the end.

The capital mistake made in 1830, was that of establishing the *throne* before establishing the *republic;* in trusting to *men*, instead of trusting to *institutions*.

I do not tell you that LaFayette assented to all that I said. He had reason for the impracticability of setting aside the personal interests which would be active in defeating such a reform, that involved details and a knowledge of character to which I had nothing

to say; and, as respects the Duc de Bordeaux, he affirmed that the reign of the Bourbons was over in France. The country was tired of them. It may appear presumptuous in a foreigner to give an opinion against such high authority; but, "what can we reason but from what we know?" and truth compels me to say, I cannot subscribe to this opinion. My own observation, imperfect though it be, has led to a different conclusion. I believe there are thousands, even among those who throng the Tuileries, who would hasten to throw off the mask at the first serious misfortune that should befall the present dynasty, and who would range themselves on the side of what is called legitimacy. In respect to parties, I think the republicans the boldest, in possession of the most talents compared to numbers, and the least numerous; the friends of the king (active and passive) the least decided, and the least connected by principle, though strongly connected by a desire to prosecute their temporal interests, and more numerous than the republicans; the Carlists, or *Henriquinquists*, the most numerous, and the most generally, but secretly, susained by the rural population, particularly in the west and south.

LaFayette frankly admitted, what all now seem disposed to admit, that it was a fault not to have made sure of the institutions before the king was put upon the throne. He affirmed, however, it was much easier to assert the wisdom of taking this precaution, than to have adopted it in fact The world, I believe, is in error about most of the political events that succeeded the three days.

III.

Extract from Mr. Buchanan's Pamphlet,—"Britain the Country versus Britain the Empire," or "The sacrifice of Britain the Empire no real benefit to Britain the Country."

LABOUR IN AMERICA GREATLY AFFECTED BY SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH, AND BY THE SELF-SUSTAINING PENITENTIARY SYSTEM IN THE NORTH.—THE POSITION OF THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

"The statesmen of the South," says Mr. Ormsby in his work "have for years prided themselves on possessing the principal exports of the country. The production of immense quantities of cotton is certainly creditable to our Southern neighbours; but its shipment to Europe is a disgrace and shame to America. The cotton crop of

this country is the basis of British power and prosperity, and has been for years. In encouraging her export of her raw material to be manufactured by a foreign nation, the South commits an act of folly for which she is not pardonable, and will, sooner or later, reap a suitable reward. The exclusive possession of that raw material has for years rendered England her jealous and deadly enemy, and every moment this power is seeking her overthrow and destruction. The ruin of the domestic institutions of the South, has ever been considered by England as the sure means of overcoming Southern competition in the production of cotton. When the slaves of the South are freed, England, in some of her colonies, may raise cotton as cheap as she. As slavery in the West Indies ceases, Britain finds the production of sugar in her East India possessions profitable. She cannot compete with slavery; but with the West Indies and Southern States cultivated by free blacks, she can to profit produce her sugar and cotton in her Eastern possessions; and to bring about this state of things is her constant study and employment. Should she fail in her schemes against Southern slavery, she may not in obtaining the command of the raw material for her immense manufactures. She is striving for this constantly, and already produces in the Indies quite a respectable proportion (about a fourth) of her raw cotton imports*. That England will ever remain dependent on the United States for a raw material of such vast importance, no sane man should expect. The produce of India must already affect the Southern crop; and how long will it be before it shall have a controlling power over it? Will it be five, or ten, or twenty years from this? How long ago was it that the cotton crop of the South did not exceed the present Indian crop? And when the demand for American cotton is so much decreased as to gradually reduce its production, how is the South to help herself? She will then find it too late to encourage a home market by having her raw material manufactured here, and putting the American manufacture in competition with the English. England will, by that time, not only have the manufacture and the trade with the whole world, but she will likewise have

* Which has been considerably increased since the commencement of the American Rebellion.

the supply of the raw material in her own hands. The golden opportunity for putting the cotton interest beyond the reach of fortune is passing by. England has had no raw material until within a short period. Had our land been supplied with manufacturing establishments, and the raw material kept at home, and here manufactured, the supply of cottons for the whole world would have been in our hands, and no power on earth could take it from us. Under a liberal system, ere this time, our manufactures would have been as extensive as those of England. Neither China, the Indies, nor any nation or people on the globe, would prefer to be supplied by England in preference to America. But the South set out in 1828 with the idea that England was the only purchaser for the bulk of her crop that earth would ever produce, and thought her interest consisted in securing a constant sale of her cotton in that market. And that stupid idea has been since hugged with John-Bull-like pertinacity. The Southern planters have made a gross mistake. They have turned with utter forgetfulness and indifference from their poverty-sticking, pains-taking, industrious and ingenious brothers, whom a hard destiny has cast upon the sterile rocks of New England. Those rich and lordly planters have passed us by until idleness has filled our heads with mischief which wholesome employment would have averted. HAD THE COTTON CROP OF THE SOUTH BEEN ANNUALLY WORKED UP IN NORTHERN MILLS, THE SIN OF SLAVERY WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN DREAMED OF, AND THE UNION WOULD HAVE BEEN BOUND IN BONDS THAT ALL THE NATIONS OF EARTH COULD NOT SUNDER."

"I have, of course," says Mr. Buchanan in his late pamphlet, "no sympathy with this writer's views on Slavery. At the same time I have always seen and admitted that the means used by the Abolitionists have been the most injudicious that could possibly be conceived. And the step which I would take, or encourage the Planters to take, in manumitting the Slaves of the United States, will be seen by my speech below, which is the substance of some notes made by me when in the Southern States about ten years ago. I have been induced to give the

whole proceedings of the Hamilton Celebration, on first August 1859, by way of showing the interest taken in the coloured race in Canada, and her anxiety to see peacefully solved the great problem of American Slavery.

CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMANCIPATION, 1859.

(From the Hamilton Daily Spectator.)

No matter what any one's prejudices against coloured people may have been, he cannot but have been pleased to see some five or six hundred of them thoroughly enjoying themselves.

There is a festival here, every year, on the 1st of August. Coloured people from St. Catharines, Niagara, Brantford, Toronto, and numerous other places, come to attend it. But the most joyous of all their celebrations was the one held yesterday.

It differed little from others in its commencement. A procession was formed, and, after parading the city, (among other incidents, three cheers were given in front of our office, for the *Spectator;*) those who composed it proceeded down to Christ Church to hear a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Geddes. But after this was over, the more unusual part of the proceedings commenced. Isaac Buchanan, Esq., M. P., had sent an invitation to the coloured people of Hamilton and their friends to spend their annual holiday in his grounds of Clairmont Park.

At about half-past one, a stream of human beings commenced to ascend the mountain. The richer portion rode in cabs. Those who could not afford this luxury, trudged along gaily afoot. The weather was not so warm as to render exercise unpleasant, while yet the glorious August sun shone out in all its splendor. We shall not pause to tell of the long ascent, but must devote a few lines to a description of the grounds as they appeared when their unwonted visitors reached them.

In front of Mr. Buchanan's house is a Lawn, studded with trees. This was the place where the speaking was to be carried on.

Close beside it is the orchard, and on the grass here, under the grateful shade of the well grown apple trees, the dinner was prepared. Twenty snow-white cloths were spread under as many leafy fruit trees, and twenty plates and glasses lay upon each, in orderly disorder. Each tree was numbered, and to each party of twenty a steward from among themselves was appointed. When the hour of three had arrived, the invited guests took their seats under the foliage, and the stewards uncovered four long tables, close at hand, which fairly groaned under the weight of roast beef and fowls, and pies and pastry of all kinds. Boxes of oranges and huge barrels of lemonade were there too. In fact, all the preparations made could not have been better had the most esteemed of Mr. Buchanan's private friends been visiting him that day.

The *coup d'œil* was really magnificent. If variety be charming, then, indeed, did the party present a delightful spectacle! There were a few dozen white persons, lookers on. The Hon. Adam Ferrie, the Rev. David Inglis, Mr. Scoble, and others, were there. Mr. and Mrs. Buchanan, their family and household, were present. Then there were people of every shade of colour, from the light cream to the ebony black. Men and women were present in about equal proportion. Boys and girls, aye, even infants were there in numbers. And then the dresses! One party of gentlemen, yclept the "Sons of Uriah," were dressed in black robes, white pants, and three-cornered cocked hats surmounted by black and red feathers. Their leader had scarlet pants with a gold stripe, and a cap which resembled very closely those of the Royal Sovereigns of the Orange fraternity. Another of their officials had a huge axe, symbolical, we suppose, of the destiny of the slaveholder. Then the ladies! Their costumes were miracles! The colors they seemed to admire were bright as the sky above or the flowers around. Nor are we sure they were wrong. It may suit Europeans, whose skies are usually overcast, to wear dun, or russet, or umber, or gray. Perhaps, under our warmer sun, we should wear more blue, or scarlet, or green. Our birds do. So do the prairie flowers. However that may be, certain it is that our coloured lady friends displayed, yesterday, the most effulgent robes, the most splendid silks and satins, that can be seen in a day's shopping.

The stewards served each party, as fast as the carvers carved. The management of the whole dinner was left to the guests, and judiciously, for the army of Hotel waiters, who were of the party, cut up the turkeys and chickens as easily and quickly as if there were no such things as bones in ornithological anatomy. And they carried away half a dozen plates at a time as if there were no such principle as gravitation which tended to make them fall. The reason of this facility it was easy to divine—men do that best which they have most practice in doing.

There was not a jar in the whole affair.—The pic-nic passed off delightfully. And all had enough. All partook of the good things offered them in the most orderly way. We don't believe a plate was broken, or a leaf or an apple pulled from a tree, even by the boys. Hence many a lesson, pleasant and profitable, might be drawn.

But soon the scene changed. The band and the gong summoned the sated company from the orchard, where so pleasant an hour had been spent, to the lawn in front of the house. There the orators took their places upon the green terraces, on which the house stands, and around were grouped, promiscuously, all the rest.

Mr. Buchanan first spoke a few words, saying how happy an influence the emancipation by Great Britain of her slaves had exerted on the British Empire, and indeed on the general interests of mankind—how heartily he longed for the time when slavery should no longer exist anywhere in the world—and how happy he and Mrs. Buchanan were to see the assembled company—after which he introduced to the assemblage—

Mr. Atkinson (coloured), who gave, in eloquent language, the history of African Slavery. Britain found it already established in the islands she took from foreign nations; and no sooner had she begun to perceive its horrid nature then she began to agitate for putting an end to it. By the efforts of Wilberforce, and Buxton and others, liberty was conceded in 1834, and this was the 25th anniversary of the day when it was granted. A five years' lien of apprenticeship was indeed initiated, for a limited period, but owing to the exertions of Mr. Scoble, *now present with us to day*,

and Mr. Sturge, even that was curtailed, and the absolute freedom of the whole population of Britain and her Colonies dated from August 1st, 1838. (Hear.) The number of slaves made free was variously estimated at from 750,000 to 850,000, and twenty millions of money was the price the British nation paid for their emancipation. (Hear, hear.) Now, it had been said that coloured people were ungrateful and cowardly. He denied both insinuations. The Emperor Napoleon, on the field of Magenta, had been saved by McMahon's division, the bravest men in which were Africans. And if the Emperor, with his usual treachery, should attack Britain, her Majesty would find she had 80,000 soldiers in Canada whom she knew not of—he meant the black faces. He would now urge upon all that education was what they needed to raise themselves into a high social position, and finally thanked Mr. and Mrs. Buchanan for the kindness they had shown in inviting the coloured people to their grounds. This was the happiest day they had ever spent. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. Adam Ferrie, M.L.C., could not help rising to say that he had visited the West Indies and lived some time in Jamaica, and had always found the coloured people a warm hearted and a grateful race. (Hear.)

Mr. Brown (coloured) reminded the audience that Dan. O'Connell had been one of the advocates of Emancipation, and that John C. Calhoun, in the United States Senate, had said the British were emancipating those who would turn against them. This had not proved true. There were no more loyal subjects than the coloured population. He then urged upon the company the necessity of education. They might not be able themselves to rise to eminence in society, but they had it in their power to place their children at that height to which they could never rise themselves.

Mr. Buchanan then introduced to the audience, at their earnest request,

Mr. Scoble,* late of England, now residing here. Mr. Scoble said he believed he was the only Englishman in Canada of the old band who had fought the battle of abolition in England. The

* The present member for West Elgin.

others were dead. Mr. Atkinson had mentioned 750,000 as the number of those who had been emancipated in the West Indies. Large as that number was, it was only a small part of the millions of human beings who had been introduced into the British Colonies under the African Slave trade. He remembered that the project first broached in England with reference to the slaves was merely to improve their condition. Brougham, Clarkson, Lushington, and others were the leaders of the movement. But after labouring for years, the planters were found so true to their old system that they would allow of no amelioration. The consequence was that in 1831, when the reformed Parliament first sat, the people of England raised their voice for the total abolition of Slavery. The price agreed to be paid to the slaveholders—paid however under protest, as, if due at all, it was due to the slaves rather than the masters—was £20,000,000; and there was to be an apprenticeship of four years for household slaves, and of six for field hands. He (Mr. Scoble) and his lamented friend, Mr. Sturge of Birmingham, had then found it necessary to go to the West Indies, where they collected such evidence as to force them to call their old friends together again and do away with the apprenticeship system two years before the time first specified. (Hear.) Since that time he had laboured in the same cause, considerably, and he now wished to impress on the minds of all how much was yet to be done. There were still 3,000,000 slaves in the United States, 3,500,000 in Brazil, and 1,000,000 in Cuba and the rest of the Spanish possessions, so that 7,500,000 men had yet to be made free. He was happy to say that, except in the United States, where slavery was being extended, much progress was being made almost everywhere. Since the emancipation of her slaves by Britain, France had set free her 360,000; Denmark, a smaller country, her 600,000; Sweden all those in her Colonies, and he had learned recently, while in Europe, that Holland and Portugal were preparing to set free those they held.* (Hear, hear.) Nor was this all. Liberty had been introduced into Africa itself. He had had the

* The reader will bear in mind that Mr. Scoble spoke in 1859, a year previous to the emancipation of the serfs in Russia.

honor to draw up a letter on behalf of the Emancipation Society to the Bey of Tunis, requesting him to abolish slavery in his dominions, to which he has responded, nobly, by so doing. In the letter written by the Bey in reply were these noble words, "I have emancipated every slave in my dominions for the glory of God, *and to distinguish man from the brute creation.*" (Hear, hear.) Mr. Scoble then touched briefly on his twenty-five years of labour in behalf of the slave, and said he had a sufficient claim on the coloured race to give weight to his injunction that they should attend to the education of their children. After some eloquent remarks on the all-importance of this subject, he asked them to join him in giving three cheers for Mr. Buchanan whose kindness had procured for them a day of unalloyed pleasure.

The cheers were heartily given, and followed by three deafening ones for Mrs. Buchanan, and three for Mr. Scoble.

Rev. David Inglis also made some eloquent remarks on the part Dr. Andrew Thomson had taken in leading the Emancipation movement in Scotland. He said he was too young to have been a worker in the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, but he remembered that he was living in a far off Scotch village at the time, where, on Emancipation day, flags had been hung out and speeches made, as eloquent, and enthusiastic as those which had been listened to this day. (Hear.)

Mr. Solomon Hale (coloured) said he had passed the better part of his 42 years in slavery, and thanked his God that here, on British soil, he stood a free man. (Hear.)

Mr. Broadwater (coloured) told the history of a good many characters, who had made a noise in the world, all of whom he asserted to have been blacks.

Mr. Kinneered (coloured) then made an eloquent harangue, in a most impressive style; after which

Isaac Buchanan, Esq., M.P.P.,—the host—said: At the commencement of your proceedings I avoided expressing myself on the position of slavery from knowing that my views are, or might appear, not entirely akin to those of some or perhaps all the eloquent gentlemen who were to address you. Now, however, at the close of the day, after free expression has been given to the usual

popular sentiments on slavery, I feel it a duty on my part to say a few words. No man can go further than me in the warmth of his sentiments on the *subject* (for there ought to be no *question* about it in any mind) of slavery, or can admire more the well known lines of my countryman :—

> "Thy spirit, Independence! let me share.
> Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye.
> Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
> Nor heed the storm that scowls along the sky."

I even go to the length of denying that patriotism, or the saving of the Union, is a sufficiently strong reason for the Americans not exerting themselves to solve the problem of how to rid their country of slavery ; for I agree with the noble saying of another distinguished Scotchman, Fletcher, of Saltoun :

"*He would lose his life to serve his country, but he would not do a base thing to save her.*"

But as Britons, proud of our freedom, and proud of our having set free those of the African race which were found on British soil, we must not forget that from us America received the inheritance of slavery. And the Abolitionists of the North should be warned of the fact that nothing but harm to the slave has ever yet grown from their ill-judged, however well-meant, efforts. Most injudiciously if not most cruelly the abolitionists' sole tactics have been to remind the planters of the South that their slaves, being three or four to one as compared with the white population, are possessed of their own principle of right, viz., MIGHT. Like Locke of old they have held this language :—

"*Slavery is a state of war continued, and the bondman has a right, when he can, to break his chains on the head of his oppressor. In the changes and the chances of the world this opportunity is seldom long delayed.*"

We of course cannot but object to the *principle* of slavery, and so would the great majority of the planters of the South, although they, as well as many others, do not see it a matter of such pressing importance at the present moment, or until some *practical* amelioration of white labour in Europe is attained, by which white

slavery will be made a very much better thing in Europe than African slavery is in America, *supposing the American slave only to have a Christian master, and to be allowed access to the tools of knowledge—reading and writing.* As to these prominent evils, under which the American slave groans (the not being sure of having Christian masters, &c.) every philanthropist in both countries would wish to find that they could be exterminated; and my humble opinion, of the only effectual way of doing this, is the same as I had formed, on our West India experience, before I visited the Southern States of North America—viz., that in the peculiar circumstances of these countries, the institution of slavery can only be safely got quit of by A PROSPECTIVE MANUMISSION OF THE SLAVES. As Englishmen we are entitled to say and to do much against slavery which would ill become the abolitionists of the Northern States, although, as I have hinted, even WE should not forget that the Southern States have to thank US for their "Institution" of Slavery. It is in no improper spirit, that I would now point out the great blunder of the abolitionists of the Northern States to be, that having, through their local legislatures, shaken hands, and made a compact with the slave-states, and after solemnly agreeing to slavery being a *question* to be left altogether to the legislatures of the slavery states, they break this compact, and, most unconstitutionally as well as most cruelly, throw firebrands into the South, thus arraying, against the abolition of slavery as proposed by them, all the whites in the South, both unionists and disunionists. Instead of such a course, the only honest one open to the abolitionist in the North, is to get the legislatures of the Northern States to give notice to the Southern States that they consider they have made a nefarious bargain with the South, in permitting the slavery stipulation in the general constitution of the United States, and that unless the slave-holding States will hold a convention and immediately abolish slavery "*as a principle*," the Northern States will wash their hands of such a connection. The abolitionists might then, if they chose, go South and use their influence on the public opinion there, which must carry the abolition of slavery through the different legislatures of the South, or through a convention of these. If they did this, however, *they*

know they dare not do it by such incendiary means as they use in Boston, otherwise they would be "tarred and feathered" in *every* locality in the South.

What the abolitionists (it appears to me) should do is, to give the planters due credit for wishing to see slavery abolished, temperately joining them in the discussion of what the South, *left to itself*, should do in the matter; and what the planters must do if the responsibility were left with the Southern states, (by the North taking an open manly course like that suggested,) is to declare that at the end of forty years, or in 1900, every black man shall be free,—that in the meantime the slaves born after this date shall be "*educated for freedom*"—each being free at the age of forty, or earlier if born after 1860, and being then in a position to take the burden of the aged and infirm, and of the young at the era or jubilee of freedom. Any better measure than this cannot be got, in any human probability without the most terrible flow of human blood, with then a possible failure; and indeed many practical philanthropists hold that a more sudden emancipation would not serve the best interests of the negro population in America, demoralized as they have been by slavery, especially since it has withdrawn from them the privilege of education. BUT OF AN IMMEDIATE SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION THERE IS A CRYING NECESSITY; for not only is the slave population continually on the increase, but the horrors of the slave trade will be sure to be revived, if some plan of emancipation is not very soon adopted. Meetings indeed have already taken place in the Southern states to discuss the re-organization of the slave trade.

To show their honesty in their demands for emancipation, let the Northern and Western States come forward to bear their proportion of the loss. All social changes and improvements involve a loss to individuals, however great the gain to the community; and there seems no good reason in the present case why the whole population of the United States should not equally bear the burden. The benefit would be to the whole Union, and more to the North and West than to the South. So that in order to induce the Slaveholders to agree to this compromise I would propose that the whole people of the United States should join and pay them such

a sum as would probably set them clear of pecuniary difficulty *as a class*, and put them in the best position to enter hopefully on the new arrangement. The public should offer the Slaveholders a hundred dollars for each slave—man, woman, and child,—which would in the aggregate, (supposing three millions of slaves) amount to the sum of three hundred millions of dollars. To secure the payment of this I would set apart the whole domain of the United States, issuing Debentures for the amount payable at less or more deferred periods, or creating a permanent six per cent. stock, such as the British consols, each State guaranteeing the interest in proportion to its population. But indeed my own particular and long held principles of money (*which I hold should be* an instrument for the exchanging of commodities, extending only to the Trade of the particular country and not of the whole world,) would lead me, WITHOUT CREATING ANY OTHER PUBLIC DEBT AT ALL, TO RELIEVE THE PEOPLE FROM PAYING ANY INTEREST ON THIS AMOUNT, BY RESUMING FOR THE GOVERNMENT THE PREROGATIVE OF COINING PAPER MONEY AS WELL AS METAL MONEY.* The Government of the United States might issue paper money, *a legal tender*, to the extent of circulation required for each citizen, or ten dollars a head of the population, which would just be three hundred millions of dollars.

These notes as a circulating medium or medium of Exchange would soon spread over the whole Union, and do away with the at present terrible evil experienced in the United States of a hetero-

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* It is in the same way that I have shewn that the Province of Canada might (without the burden falling on any one) find money to relieve the embarrassed municipalities. In Canada, however, paper money would only be required for the small amount of legal tender required, say two dollars a head of the population—the Canadian Banks issuing their own notes as usual, and preserving the legal tender paper money for the same use for which they now held specie —whereas the issue of three hundred millions of dollars as indemnifying the Planters, would be enough for the whole currency of the United States, and no Bank notes would be in circulation at all. THIS UNIFORM SAFE CIRCULATION, FOR THE WHOLE UNITED STATES, WOULD BE AN UNSPEAKABLE REFORM OF ITSELF.—Isaac Buchanan.

geneous currency throughout the Union. And the statute could arrange that a gold basis or security be supplied to this national circulation gradually as the Public Lands are turned into money.

It is my strong conviction that IN THIS CONCILIATORY WAY ALONE (HUMANLY SPEAKING) CAN WE EXPECT TO SEE THE CURSE OF SLAVERY EVER REMOVED FROM AMERICA; and having so very decided views on this subject I have felt it my duty to take this opportunity to explain them.

In this, as in all things, we have merely to do what we see to be our duty, leaving the result in higher hands; but it is at the same time a most cheering reflection to feel assured that GOD COULD IN ONE MOMENT BRING ABOUT ALL THAT IS AIMED AT BY ANY SCHEMES OF OURS, OF PHILANTHROPY OR PATRIOTISM. In conclusion I have again to congratulate you on the recurrence of this Anniversary of Freedom; and on the highly respectable and orderly appearance and conduct of this great assemblage of our coloured fellow citizens.

The company then dispersed, after a most delightful day, every part of the proceedings having been satisfactory—nay, more—gratifying in the highest degree to his guests.

The day was wound up by a soirée at Price & Carrols'.

But when I look to my general heading, or margin at the top of my page,—says Mr. Buchanan speaking on this subject in one of his late pamphlets,—I see that I am off my subject—entirely off the track! I feel in the position we used so often to see two old friends of mine, and of many of my readers in the Legislature, the late Dr. Dunlop and his brother the Captain, who were both, at different times, representatives of the County of Huron in the Parliament of Canada. Instead of telling anecdotes to illustrate their stories, they were in the perpetual habit (a very delightful one in hands so intellectual and literary as theirs) of telling stories to illustrate their anecdotes! And I cannot now complain if accused of having continued on this slavery track—if not of having introduced it neck and shoulders, for the obvious purpose of illustrating the Monetary Reform which it has been the business of my life to enforce—for I never can feel

ashamed of being found, instant in season and out of season, at work in a Reform which I regard of more immediate or pressing importance than even the great and sacred cause of slavery itself, as one without which the white slavery of the Northern States and Canada (countries without exportable commodities sufficient to justify large importations of foreign labour in the shape of foreign made commodities) is physically infinitely worse—especially for the Refugees of the South—than the black slavery of the Southern States—countries less liable to be affected by their and our present ignorant currency Law, from being countries alive with exportable commodities, which, *for the time being*, produce money under whatever Monetary System.

Indeed the whole object of this publication (beyond the more immediate object of calling the attention of the Government, the Parliament, and the Province, to the necessity of present relief to the municipalities,) is to lead the public to consider the misery endured, *even in the best of times*, by society in Canada, and the United States, as well as in England, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE HARD MONEY SYSTEM,* and to get people's eyes opened to the fact that THE QUESTION OF MONEY AND THE QUESTION OF LABOUR ARE IN REALITY BUT ONE QUESTION, OR PROBLEM, THE SOLUTION OF THE ONE BEING THE SOLUTION OF THE OTHER. I aim at showing the dependence of our national and provincial *employment*, and permanent prosperity, on our getting a *Revolutionary Reform* of the *principle* of money which is involved in our unpatriotic legislation. My position with regard to MONEY (which I say is on an atrocious and most cruel principle), may be shortly explained by an instance: Supposing that there was no money except coin, and that the same coins and the same sterling currency were common to the Empire—the balance of

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* The error of the Political Economists is as vital as simple—it being simply that, instead of compelling the people to tender a trade payment, or a payment in something Canada has, and *finds a market for by this process*, it compels them (or the people compel themselves—strange infatuation!) to tender gold, an article Canada has not and cannot get, or *keep if she got it*.—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

Trade against any locality, would simply express itself by the disappearance of the money from that portion of the Empire. This would amount to the *legal Bankruptcy* of that portion, not a Bankruptcy of means, or of commodities, or of property, or of mental or other resources, which are the things of any *real value*, but a Bankruptcy, or absence (which our law, in its stupidity, has made possible), *of the legal tender representative* of our substantial realities, *which are ever present*—as the representatives ought to be, to deserve the name of *substantial realities*. This is exactly the case of Canada, though the distress does not always arise from the actual shipping away of the precious metals, but from the operation of the *expedients* to prevent this, aggravated by the fact that our position had been made much more dependent and artificial by the hitherto existence in occasional superfluity of emblematic *representatives* of coin, which, in the less cruel case supposed, was the only *representative*. By our present theory of money, in a word, paper money is made a great evil, instead of being the greatest good.

Now my view is that it is a mere conspiracy against labour and property that the Money Power or Money Mongers should have been allowed so to twist British Legislation, as that our money should be by Law the mere creature of the foreign Trade, or should be liable to *sudden expansions and contractions* by any cause outside the internal transactions of the country, or indeed by any cause whatever, except *the want of security* on which to base the transactions, *of which the circulation is the mere evidence*. I think the currency, like the air we breathe, should be a thing ever present in (never absent from) the Province, and always in use, except to the extent there is a want of transactions, or of immediate use or demand for money in circulation, which is a thing not likely to occur here—no more likely to occur indeed with regard to our industrial or *commercial existence*, than would be our independence of the air in sustaining our *physical life*.

THE INTERFERENCE WITH OUR MECHANICS OF PENITENTIARY LABOUR.

With so little time and room remaining, I shall not attempt to enter upon the remaining subject of Penitentiary labour, believing that so great a curse to our mechanics cannot be perpetuated in the Province, beyond the period when it can be seen on what manufacture the felon labour can be turned (such, for instance, as iron,) in which it will only compete with the Foreigner. The truest, as the most practical loyalty in a Canadian, is to do all he can to prevent Canadians having anything to envy in the Americans, and, if possible, to secure for the labour of Canada advantages superior to those enjoyed by the Farmers and Mechanics of the United States. One superiority of Canada, which cannot be denied, is its freedom from slavery ; and before very long I trust to see her having also the other proud boast, that the labour of her Mechanics is no longer liable to be reduced to the *Penitentiary* standard, any more than to the standard of slavery. But I can here only refer the reader to the last Jotting in Postscript, especially pages 88 and 89, shewing that *in fact* (however paradoxical at first sight it may appear) the *the cheaper things are, the more inaccessible to the poor they become*, cheap prices being an indication of cheap or low wages—the main cause of which is decreasing employment, *or lessened demand for the labour of the poor.*

THE QUESTION OF LABOUR HAS BEEN SACRIFICED BY CHURCH QUESTIONS BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

To recur to the views of the American writer from whom I have quoted, I must point out, that, being of the Whig or Republican party, he has not admitted the large share they had in rivetting the Democratical governing party so long in the United States, to the country's incalculable injury, industrially. This was done by the Whig or Republican party being bigots in religion. The foreign vote has for an immense length of time been cast for the Democratic party, not from any sympathy with their *social* principles, but because they were opposed by men who were bigots, so far as to deny the Roman Catholics equal *school* advantages, however sound

and patriotic their views on the *vital question* of national industry—the absence of which at home had been seen to be the curse of Ireland, and the cause of her people's expatriation.

And the question of labour has been sacrificed by church questions in the British Empire also. Indeed, the bane of the British Empire is this lamentable fact, that, though in *British theory* the people's question is the first question of our politics, *in practice* it is not so. Of the Members of the English House of Commons, two-thirds are from Counties or constituencies where the Church question is the *first* question at the hustings, and where the question of the Industrial Rights and Privileges of the people has no influence at all on the elections. THE PEOPLE'S QUESTION CAN, THEREFORE, NEVER AS A MATTER OF FACT BE DISCUSSSED, EXCEPT IN APPEARANCE, IN ENGLAND; for nothing is seriously discussed in Parliament, except matters which affect the Hustings. The ruling party in England is now as it was prior to 1846, the Church party: and the individuals of that party having thought only of their own self-interests, *except to the extent necessary to keep off outbreak among the people*, had then entirely lost the confidence of the masses in England, Ireland, and Scotland. This fact formed, in 1846, a fine vantage ground for the *foreign* party in England, or Manchester school, to propose and introduce ideas the very contrary to those held by this deservedly hated, because selfish, class, who were plainly told that the next question would be the question of the Church, if they did not take good care to popularize themselves *individually*. The attempt was made, and free trade was introduced, not because it was the interest of the British empire, or even of England, but because it was at first opposed by THE GOVERNING CLASS, WHO WERE SUPPOSED TO THINK ONLY OF THEMSELVES, AND ALWAYS TO BE AGAINST THE PEOPLE. THE LABOUR QUESTION, IN THIS WAY, WAS SACRIFICED TO THE CHURCH QUESTION, AND IN ENGLAND MUST SO REMAIN WHILE THE CHURCH QUESTION, AND NOT THE QUESTION OF THE PEOPLE'S EMPLOYMENT, IS THE FIRST QUESTION IN BRITISH POLITICS, or, IN OTHER WORDS, UNTIL CHURCHISM AND PATRIOTISM

BECOME, AS IN THE OLDEN TIME, CONVERTIBLE TERMS.

If Free Trade (and not only free imports) had been introduced into England, we may, for argument's sake, suppose that it might have suited the circumstances of England; still, EVEN BONA FIDE FREE TRADE COULD NEVER HAVE SUITED FOR THE EMPIRE, DIVERSIFIED AS ARE ITS CIRCUMSTANCES AND INTERESTS; AND BUT FOR THE MOST OBVIOUS PROVIDENCES, AMONG WHICH IS THE OBTAINING OF OUR RECIPROCITY TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE WOULD HAVE BEEN COMMENCED ERE NOW, FREE TRADE BEING, IN FACT, THE CONTRARY PRINCIPLE TO THAT OF EMPIRE. And if England persists in taking every dirty child off the street, and treating him like her own child, her own children, the home and colonial producers, will not long feel towards her very differently from the dirty child, nor will they be slow to express their indignation in popular thunder—the silk weavers and glovers of England leading the van—when the murderous effect of the French Treaty, in directly withdrawing our own people's employment, is *experienced.* But not to multiply remarks regarding the operation of Free Trade in England herself, I would just say that its comparative success has been such as was not, and never could have been, calculated upon. It could not, indeed, by *possibility* have occurred; OR, TO SPEAK PLAINLY, STARVATION FROM WANT OF EMPLOYMENT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN WARDED OFF, HAD THE STATE OF FACTS OR ORDINARY CAUSES REMAINED THE SAME AS WHEN SIR ROBERT PEEL'S UNPRINCIPLED LEAP IN THE DARK, IN LEGISLATION, WAS COMMITTED. And any *apparent* success has been caused solely (AND REVOLUTION HAS BEEN PREVENTED SOLELY) by the providential discovery of gold in California and Australia. WHILE EVEN ALL THIS ALTOGETHER UNEXPECTED, AND, POSSIBLY, ONLY TEMPORARY SUCCESS, HAS NOT BEEN ENOUGH TO RAISE ENGLAND ABOVE BEING THE MOST ARTIFICIAL NATION ON EARTH—FOR IS

NOT THIS SO MUCH THE CASE, THAT THE DELAY IN THE ARRIVING OF A COUPLE OF VESSELS WITH GOLD FROM AUSTRALIA, GIVES RISE TO MONETARY UNEASINESS IN THE LONDON MONEY MARKET?*

IN CONCLUSION,

I may now be permitted to add the expression of my gratification at seeing not only that our motives and intelligence are becoming less and less impugned, but that there are prominent instances of public men, both in England and the United States, who have come to admit the great facts, that FREE TRADE IS THE CONTRARY PRINCIPLE TO THAT OF EMPIRE, and that our Irreciprocal Free Trade is a principle (or more properly an atheism) practically inconsistent with *patriotism*. I have alluded before to this change of public sentiment, or *overthrow of public prejudice;* but I may again instance the recent monetary and Tariff measures in India, of Mr. James Wilson, formerly Free Trade Editor of the London *Economist*, now Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer, and quote the following from his late speech before starting for India, delivered at a public dinner given in his honour at his native place, Hawick, in Scotland: "THE REAL INTERESTS OF SOCIETY, WELL UNDERSTOOD, ARE COMMON TO ALL ALIKE—AGRICULTURE CAN-

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* For a corroboration of these my long held views, I would refer the reader to a new American work of great merit, which has just been put into my hands —*The Ways and Means of Payment, by Stephen Colwell.* Published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. At page 135, he says: "*There is no more reason why he who must remit for goods purchased in foreign countries should have gold or silver at a fixed price, than that he should have flour or cotton, if he find it for his advantage to make his remittances in those commodities. Under such regulations, no country could drain off the precious metals from another by any devise, without paying the price caused by their demand.*" The Canadian farmer can well understand that there is no other way to get the unproductive rich to care for the labourer. Under our present system, he does not care whether or not there is an export demand for Canadian wheat: in fact he is interested in seeing it low, because *he gets more wheat for his money.* But if my Reform were carried out, when keeping right the Foreign Exchanges necessary to lower the price of gold and increase the quantity of it, he could get for his money, he would then see his interest in pushing exports and curtailing imports of foreign labour.—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

NOT PROSPER WITHOUT MANUFACTURES, AND THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR THE PROSPERITY OF MANUFACTURES IS THE PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE." Mr. Wilson's moral courage, in not allowing his personal consistency to prevent him taking the course he now sees right in the circumstances, cannot be too much admired; and the disingenuous course of those who accuse him of having imposed a new *tax* on the Indian people, in putting ten per cent. import duty on cotton manufactures, is being seen through. *It was the incurring of the debt of India that imposed the tax*, and the putting on customs duties is a mere preference of one's means of levying it to another. As regards the same thing in Canada, truth compels me to say, that in this deceptive mode of allusion to indirect *Taxation*, by which *customs duties are attempted to be here also made odious*, the Ministry of the Province have been as much to blame as the Opposition. Like Mr. Gladstone (see especially his late humbug speech against the patriotic interference of the House of Lords about the paper Duty) and the Free Trade enemies of India. Messrs. Galt and Brown persist in pandering to the popular ignorance, by representing customs duties as *a tax on the people*, instead of as *a mode of collecting an already existing public burden* (the interest of the *provincial debt*) which they know well could not be collected in America in any other way, not even at the point of the bayonet! But the immense amount of misery already in this Province, arising from direct taxation in the Municipalities, will insure Canada against a repetition of this *transparent humbug*, even if the protection through Customs duties, in 1858 and 1859, was not seen to be WHAT ALONE HAS PRESERVED THE PROVINCE THROUGH ITS LATE TROUBLES, AND GIVEN US THE HOPE OF MORE UNINTERRUPTED EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR POPULATION IN THE FUTURE.

Canada has the honour of having been two years in advance of India in this patriotic and truly loyal movement.* Elsewhere

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*The Political Economists are acting a most disloyal part, who would allow Canadians to have anything to envy in the United States, or leave them any longer open (truthfully) to such taunts as the following:—"Though the ratio of the increase of the population has been greater in Canada than in the United

(Appendix IX) I give a detail of the great and successful effort, in 1858, of the Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry, —whose transactions have been a rapid and brilliant realization of the expression of Thomas Carlyle, "This that they call '*organizing of labour*' is, if well understood, the problem of the whole future for all who will pretend to govern men;" and the Hamilton *Daily Spectator*, of 30th July of same year, chronicled its *victory for protection* as follows :—

THE VICTORY FOR PROTECTION IN CANADA.

"The successful result of the movement set on foot in the metropolis, at the instance of the able and indefatigable member for this city, having for its object the promotion of Canadian industry, shews what can be accomplished through a determined perseverance, and the untiring efforts of those engaged in the work. It will be remembered with what a shout of derision the movement was met by a portion of the Opposition press, who attempted to laugh it to scorn, and denounced it as a futile effort to restore an exploded system of protection, highly detrimental to the best interests of the country. In no way discouraged by the reception they received, the friends of the movement urged boldly, yet quietly, forward. Meetings were convened in varous parts of the country, and a meeting of delegates finally took place in Toronto, at which the necessary course of action was decided on. Mr. Buchanan was the moving spirit of the laudable enterprise, and patiently but steadily pushed on the column, confident of ultimate victory. He had much to

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States, yet their increase of wealth has barely kept pace with the population, and they are as poor as they were half a century since. They have enjoyed the blessings of *Free Trade* with England all the time; we have only a part of the time. Whenever we have attempted to supply ourselves, by our own industry, with the comforts and necessaries of life, we have improved our condition as a people; and during the intervals of Free Trade and large importations of foreign goods, we have relapsed again into a condition bordering on bankruptcy; while the Canadians have been constantly exhausted, and kept so poor by Free Trade, as to be unable to get sufficient credit to have even the ups and downs of prosperity and bankruptcy in succession." From *Seaman's Progress of Nations*. Published by Charles Scribner, New York.—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

contend against, yet never faltered for a moment, and he now finds his efforts crowned with success. Had not the movement in favour of encouragement to native industry been started, we would not to-day have had the satisfaction of congratulating Mr. Buchanan and those supporting him, upon the success of the efforts made to give a stimulus to home manufactures. Some three or four journals, among them the *Globe* and *Leader*, laboured most industriously to thwart the aim of the Association, but they soon found that it was useless, for the feeling of the country was with the Association, and the Government wisely yielded to the pressure from without, and conceded the chief demands of the Protectionists. The Tariff was altered to suit the views of those advocating the important change, and the country must eventually benefit largely by the wisdom displayed in giving the necessary protection to home industry. By a decisive vote of 68 to 28 the tariff passed the popular branch of the Legislature, and the good effect of the policy adopted by the Government is already beginning to shew itself. We hear of confidence being imparted to commercial transactions; new manufactories are talked of, and those at present in operation have decided to sell at reduced rates. The increase in the protection to printing paper has induced the Messrs. Buntin *to reduce* their prices four per cent., and we have not the least doubt that other manufacturers in different branches will follow the example. Confidence has been restored, and it now only remains for the Government to carry through two important measures, the usury and abolition of imprisonment for debt bills, to render the victory complete. There can be no question as to the good effected by the policy pursued in commercial matters.—The Free Traders, so called, have been worsted, and they have probably learned by this time that their nostrums are by no means palatable to the people of this country.—What we want is more capital, and A CHECK UPON THE DRAINAGE OF MONEY FROM THE PROVINCE, and this we are in a fair way of obtaining, for the Tariff will reduce our importations, and retain within the country one half of the amount expended in purchasing goods which we can manufacture ourselves. This is no trivial boon to a country like Canada; besides our markets will speedily discover that, *in a full market duties are no taxes.*

"For the victory so signally achieved in behalf of protection to home manufactures, we are unquestionably indebted to the member for this city, who instigated the movement, and through his unwearying exertions carried it out to a successful completion. His detractors have been silenced by his success, and instead of ridiculing him, they will yet be compelled to admit that he has accomplished *what no other man in the Province had the courage to attempt*. All honour, then, to Mr. Buchanan, for what he has done in the way of stimulating native industry, and at the same time giving an impetus to the trade of the country."

THE "TIMES" ADMITS PATRIOTISM* TO BE RESTORED AS A "NATIONAL VITALITY."

Since writing the foregoing, I am at once startled and delighted at finding the following important admissions in the London *Times*, just received:—

"Although the fact of our having practically repudiated Free Trade in India after a period of fifteen years, during which no one could venture in the British Legislature to say a word in favour of bounties or protective duties without being overwhelmed with reproaches and ridicule, is one of the most remarkable ever recorded, THERE IS LITTLE PROSPECT OF THE STEP BEING REMEDIED. When the Americans have pleaded that their protective duties were desirable for revenue, they have been lectured week after week, and informed with scientific precision that for every dollar thus obtained by the Government the people were taxed four or five dollars, which went into the hands of a favoured class, but they now see that we have adopted their contemned practice, and nearly to an equal extent, under much less excusable circumstances. The Indian producer has not merely the staple at his own door, but has an advantage over the American in his competition with Lancashire in the possession of cheap labour, the saving of a more expensive freight, and the existence of a population

* In America patriotism and protection are convertible terms.—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

of 180,000,000, among whom the growth of demand may be supposed to be illimitable. It is to be observed moreover, that Transatlantic statesmen may plead the difficulty of breaking down a system long in force, and thus ruining existing interests, while in India we have established it in the face of the field being clear for sound principles. At some future day the importance of the question both as regards national interests and national consistency will be fully recognized, but for the moment a curious combination of circumstances prevents that result. The party hitherto most prominent on free trade are silent, and the reason assigned, and which must be accepted until a better is given, consists in the fact that the measure has proceeded from their own body. The Conservatives, on the other hand, are delighted at witnessing a revival of their exploded views, of which at a fitting time they will doubtless make some use; and, finally, a large section of the mercantile community, annoyed at what they conceive to have been the undue care bestowed on Manchester interests in the French Treaty, openly avow that they are glad to see the Manchester men hit by a bolt feathered from their own wings. THUS THE FACT REMAINS THAT GREAT BRITAIN, AS REGARDS THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OVER WHOM HER SWAY EXTENDS, HAS RETURNED TO HER OLD WAYS, AND BECOME A PROTECTIONIST EMPIRE, WHILE SCARCELY A WORD IS HEARD UPON THE SUBJECT EXCEPT THROUGH THE SURPRISE EXPRESSED IN FOREIGN JOURNALS." —*Times City Article.*

I have just met with an American corroboration of my Reciprocity and Zollverein views, in the following Report to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington; and valuing the clear statement given in it of the working of the Reciprocity Treaty, I feel that I cannot do better than append it here. The fact that the writer does not notice the farther rise of Tariff which occurred in 1859, is of no essential or practical importance, seeing that the Canadian Tariff is still considerably less than the American, while the Americans, with very different patriotism than Mr. Gladstone's, are now proposing to increase theirs:—

THE CANADIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY.—A PLEA FOR ITS EXTENSION.

REPORT OF JAMES W. TAYLOR TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

"SAINT PAUL, May 2.

"The commercial relations of the United States can be readily investigated by the people from the records and documents published by the government. Secrecy attends diplomacy and publication is exceptional, but on all questions of revenue and finance open discussion has prevailed. Hence our public debates are on no subject more exhaustive than upon the tariff question, and the reports of the treasury department are carefully studied whenever regulations of commercial interests are agitated.

"Public attention has recently been called to the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the British possessions in North America. Hostility to its continuance is manifested in influential quarters. The first impulse of the citizen interested in the discussion is to refer to the archives of the government, as published by Congress, and by study and comparison of authentic statistics to determine the results of the treaty in question. At least until other materials for decision are interposed, our investigations may properly be allowed such a range.

[Here follow remarks and quotations on the abstract principle of Reciprocity which I omit, as the whole value to us of this report is its advocacy of American Reciprocity, or Reciprocity between the United States and Canada, without reference to any other.]

"By the repeal of the corn laws, Great Britain withdrew very important discriminations in favor of colonial grain; but the timber duties continued prior to 1860 to favour the North American colonies. Until the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's late budget, colonial timber paid a duty of only ten shillings per load, but timber of foreign growth paid a duty of fifty-five shillings per load. The English mercantile marine complained of this protection to Canada as injurious to their interests especially since the repeal of the navigation laws, and it is now discontinued.

"These events—the prevalent policy of the home government since 1849–'50—have recognized the principle of colonial self-

government. While England has imposed upon the colonies the duty of self-support, she concedes to them, unqualified, the sovereign disposition of local interests, including the subject of revenue.

"Then followed the reciprocity treaty of 1854, substituting an enlarged trade with the United States for exclusive access to the markets of Great Britain.

"The leading provision of the reciprocity treaty of June 5, 1854, was a permanent adjustment of the fishery dispute—declaring the rights of the respective parties, often and then in serious conflict, to the fishing banks adjacent to the north-eastern Atlantic coast.

"At the conclusion of the peace of 1783, the treaty between the United States and Great Britain stipulated the right of Americans 'to take fish on the Grand Bank and all other banks of Newfoundland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries had been used before, and the liberty to fish on such parts of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen used (but not to dry or cure fish thereon), and on the coasts, bays and creeks of all other British dominions in America.'

"The war of 1812 abrogated the above. The convention of 1818 secured to the United States the right to fish all along the coasts and harbours of British North America, but not within three marine leagues of the shore, and to cure fish in such bays and harbours as were not inhabited, and also to enter any bay or harbour for shelter, to repair damages, or to obtain provisions or water.

"Such a provision made collision almost unavoidable. American vessels were frequently seized within the three mile limit. And cruisers, with each recurring season, were dispatched to accompany and protect the fishermen. Lord Elgin lately observed in a speech at Liverpool, that when the negotiation of the reciprocity treaty was in progress at Washington, 'a British admiral and an American commodore were sailing on the coast with instructions founded upon opposite conclusions, and a single indiscreet act on the part of one or the other of those naval officers would have brought on a conflict involving all the horrors of war.'

"The first article of the treaty was occupied with an adjustment

of this fishery question. It was agreed that 'in addition to the liberty secured by the convention of October 20, 1818, of taking, curing, and drying fish on certain coasts of the British North American colonies therein defined, the inhabitants of the United States shall have in common with the subjects of her Britannic majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind except shell fish, on the sea coast and shores and in bays, harbours, and creeks of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and of the several islands adjacent thereto, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the coasts and shores of those colonies and the islands thereof, and also upon the Magdalen islands for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish.'

"The preamble stated as a prominent motive to the treaty, a desire 'to avoid further misunderstanding in regard to the right of fishing on the coasts of British North America.' The second article secured a similar privilege to British subjects on the eastern seacoasts, shores and islands, north of the thirty-sixth parallel of north latitude.

"President Pierce, in his last annual message, (December 2, 1856), alludes prominently to the treaty as A MEASURE OF PACIFICATION, while expressing his satisfaction with its commercial operation. His language is annexed:

"'The treaty between the United States and Great Britain, of the 5th of June 1854, which went into effective operation in 1855, put an end to causes of irritation between the two countries, by securing to the United States the right of fishing on the coast of the British North American provinces, with advantages equal to those enjoyed by British subjects. Beside the signal benefits of this treaty to a large class of our citizens in a pursuit connected to no inconsiderable degree with our national prosperity and strength, it has had a favourable effect upon other interests in the provision it made for reciprocal freedom of trade between the United States and the British provinces in America.

"'The exports of domestic articles to these provinces during the last year amounted to more than twenty-two million dollars, exceeding those of the preceding year by nearly seven million

dollars; and the imports therefrom, during the same period, amounted to more than twenty-one millions—an increase of six millions upon those of the previous year.

"'The improved condition of this branch of our commerce is mainly attributable to the above-mentioned treaty.'

"Are parties who demand the abrogation of the treaty willing to remit the country to the uncertainties and hazards of the convention of 1818? Or do they hope to discriminate between the first and third articles, retaining what is of exclusive advantage to the United States, while discarding those provisions which have proved beneficial to our provincial neighbors?

"Article four of the treaty secures to the citizens and inhabitants of the United States the freedom of navigation on the river St. Lawrence and the canals of Canada, and to British subjects the same right upon Lake Michigan.

"The hostility manifested in certain quarters is probably founded upon the third article, which admits the products enumerated in a schedule annexed, being the growth and produce of the British colonies and the United States, respectively, free of duty.

'THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF THIS STIPULATION ARE UNCHANGED SINCE PRESIDENT PIERCE CONGRATULATED THE COUNTRY IN 1856. Successive secretaries of the treasury have been content to tabulate the progress of exports and imports under the reciprocity treaty, the balance of trade being always favourable to the United States. In the report just published, this comparative statement is made to include the year terminating June 30, 1859, and exhibits the increase of exports for that year from the United States, over the year 1852, to be $17,645,158; increase of $13,617,252; excess of exports over imports, $8,426,623. (See "*Report on the Finances*," 1858–'59, page 357.)

"It is alleged that since the date of the treaty, Canada has increased the duties upon imports, especially by the tariff of 1858. Granted; but this is no reasonable ground for complaint. CANADA IS CAREFUL TO INCDUDE IN THE FREE LIST EVERY ARTICLE NAMED IN THE SCHEDULE OF THE TREATY; AND, AS TO THE MANUFACTURED ARTICLES, WHAT

RIGHT HAVE WE TO DEMAND THAT THE PROVINCES SHOULD ENCOURAGE IMPORTATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES WHEN OUR LEGISLATION OF 1846 IMPOSED DUTIES AS HIGH AS THIRTY PER CENT., AND THE ACT OF 1857 ONLY REDUCED THEIR AVERAGE TO TWENTY-FOUR PER CENT. UPON CANADIAN MANUFACTURES. Canada needs revenue; the public lands, as with us, have ceased to yield any considerable revenue, and it became a public necessity to increase the tariff. In doing so how can we assert that Canada 'has acted in bad faith to the United States and violated the spirit of the reciprocity treaty,' to repeat the current complaints of the New York journals?

"BUT THE MOST DIRECT TREATMENT OF THE OBJECTIONS TO THE RECIPROCITY TREATY IS TO COMPARE THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN TARIFFS, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO MANUFACTURES:

	Rates of Duty.		
	Am. Tariff.		Can. Tariff.
Articles.	1846.	1857.	1858.
Manufactures of wood	30	24	15
Manufactures of mahogany	40	40	15
Wax, bees'	20	15	15
Refined Sugar	30	24	Specific; $2,50 per 100 lbs.
Chocolate	20	15	15
Spirits from grain, whiskey	100	30	Specific; 18c. per gal.
Spirits from grain, other	100	30	Specific; 50 to 100c. per gal.
Molasses	40	24	Specific; 4c. per gal.
Vinegar	30	24	Specific; 6c. per gal.
Beer, ale, porter, cider	30	24	Specific; 8, 25, 12½c. (*Vide*)
Linseed oil	20	15	15
Spirits turpentine	20	15	15
Household furniture	30	24	20
Carriages and cars	30	24	20
Hats	30	24	20
Saddlery	30	24	24
Candles	20	15	20
Soap	30	24	Specific; $1,25 per 100lbs.
Soap, perfumed and fancy	30	24	20
Snuff	40	30	Specific; 10c. per lb.
Tobacco, manufactured	40	30	Specific; 5. 7½, 10c. per lb. (according to value.)

Leather	20	15		20
Leather, boots and shoes	30	24		24
Cables and cordage	25	19		Free.
Gunpowder	20	15		15
Salt	20	15		Free.
Lead	20	15		5
Iron—pig, bar, nails, &c.	30	24		5
other manufactured	30	24		5
agricultural implements	30	24	"Spades, &c.	20
Copper—in pigs and bars	5	4		5
manufactures of	30	24		20
Brass—in pigs and bars	5	Free		Free.
manufactures of	30	24		20
Brass and Copper wire and cloth	30	24		5
Medical preparations	30	24		20
Medical drugs	20	15		15
Cottons (average duties)	25	19		15
Hemp, manufactures of	20	15		15
Wearing apparel	30	24		25
Earthenware	30	24		15
Combs	30	24		15
Buttons	25	19		16
Brushes and brooms	30	24		20
			(Brooms, corn, S.; 50c. per doz.)	
Umbrellas and parasols	30	24		15
Printing materials	20	15		15
Musical instruments	20	15		20
Books and maps	10	8		Free.
Paints	20	15		15
Glassware	30	24		20
Tinware	30	24		5
Manufactures of pewter and lead	30	24		15
Manufactures of marble	30	24		20
Manufactures of India rubber	30	24		20
Manufactures of gold and silver leaf	15	12		20
Artificial flowers	30	24		15
Lard oil	30	24		15
Manufactures of wool	30	24		15
hair	25	19		15
fur	30	24		20
goat's hair	25	19		20
silk	25	19		20
worsted	25	19		16
hemp	20	15		15
flax	20	15		15

The average of *ad valorem* duties in force under the American tariff of 1857 is about 21 per cent., under the Canadian tariff of 1858, about 16 per cent.

"Our manufacturers demand that Canada shall restore the scale of duties existing when the reciprocity treaty was ratified, on penalty of its abrogation. WHEN IT IS CONSIDERED THAT THE DUTIES IMPOSED BY THE AMERICAN TARIFF OF 1857 ARE FULLY 25 PER CENT. HIGHER THAN THE CORRESPONDING RATES OF THE CANADIAN TARIFF, THE DEMAND BORDERS ON ARROGANCE.

"What has been the effect of the Canadian tariff of 1858 upon our exports of manufactures? It went into operation August 7, 1858, consequently the exports from the United States of dutiable articles for the year ending June 30, 1858, as compared with the exports for the year ending June 30, 1859, will exhibit the comparative operation of the former and the existing tariffs:

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES FROM THE UNITED STATES TO CANADA.

Articles.	1858.	1859.
Adamantine and other candles. . . .	$10,006	$5,415
Beer, ale and porter, in casks. . . .	6,809	2,707
Books and maps	50,364	150,034
Bricks, lime and cement	31,547	25,477
Brooms and brushes	5,518	4,149
Buttons	3,168	——
Cables and cordage	18,494	28,433
Carriages, railroad cars, parts of, &c. . .	24,681	20,449
Combs	1,127	12,824
Copper and brass, manufactures of . .	66,803	60,511
Drugs and Medicines	74,965	58,529
Earthen and stoneware	9,889	9,350
Fire engines and apparatus . . .	5,900	1,200
Gunpowder	6,020	137
Hats—of fur and silk	47,687	115,571
" of palm leaf	1,741	579
Household furniture	183,566	136,765
Manufactures of India rubber—shoes . .	707	169
" " other .	20,863	13,048
Iron—bar	21,331	10,852
castings	62,734	41,918
nails	13,209	11,136
pig	23,260	18,240
manufactures	614,439	697,713
Jewellery, real and imitation . . .	6,617	15,914

Lard oil	9,160	1,277
Lead	1,407	872
Leather	258,563	216,436
" manufactured—boots and shoes	242,450	211,147
Linseed oil	9,568	7,854
Manufactured tobacco	670,466	1,205,684
" cotton—printed, &c.	30,009	34,197
" " white, other than duck	30,994	47,132
" " duck	1,170	4,284
" " other	148,240	398,177
Glass, manufactures of	59,470	85,232
Hemp, manufactures of—bags	4,986	2,050
" " cloth	——	335
" " thread	14	——
" " other	1,868	1,941
Marble and stone, manufactures of	86,622	53,883
Pewter and lead	737	76
Tin	7,166	15,451
Wood	184,691	45,146
Molasses	58,568	51,510
Musical instruments	72,607	104,534
Paints and varnish	31,193	27,193
Paper and stationery	55,341	78,825
Printing presses and type	15,694	1,771
Saddlery	1,805	911
Salt	155,872	201,835
Snuff	2,490	63,909
Soap	7,511	5,727
Spirits, from grain	94,741	31,481
molasses	——	257
other materials	2,125	2,082
of turpentine	3908	6,432
Sugar, brown	94,630	179,158
refined	17,447	48,995
Trunks and valises	10,620	3,992
Umbrellas, parasols, &c.	1,379	1,478
Vinegar	1,287	6,845
Wearing apparel	14,059	9,373
Total	$3,699,303	$4,598,792

" Thus it will be seen that the exports of manufactured articles from the United States to Canada were greater by $899,399, under the operation of the revised tariff, than for the year ending June 30, 1858, which had the full benefit of the reduced rates prescribed by the tariff in force prior to August 7, 1858. Of

course, the efforts now making in the provinces to establish domestic manufactures preclude the entire monopoly of the market by American manufactures, but this is unavoidable, and warrants no strictures on our part.

"It is a sufficient reply to this sudden clamour of hostility that the present range of Canadian duties is demanded by the exigencies of the government; and that the act of 1858 was a revenue measure is obvious from the fact that a considerable taxation is imposed upon tea and coffee, articles which the American government does not venture to charge with an impost. Our manufacturers should consider that the duties on these staples of consumption render it practicable for the Canadians to tax American manufactures only fifteen to twenty per cent. *ad valorem*, instead of the duties imposed by us upon Canadian manufactures, which, as is apparent from the preceding table, range from twenty to twenty-five per cent. *ad valorem*.

"Still it is due to candour to add that a public sentiment is organizing in Canada, similar to that which has been so influential upon American legislation, and which insists upon such an adjustment of customs as will furnish incidental protection to manufactures. The New York *Scottish American* (a very intelligent journal, which gives much attention to provincial interests) remarks as follows, under date of April 7, 1860:

'The people of Canada are now setting themselves in earnest to extend and diversify their productive resources. The public intelligence is fairly awakened to the necessity of the country becoming self-supporting, as the first step toward solid and enduring success. The movement in favour of native manufactures is assuming a practical form. Several woollen mills, already in operation, have as great a demand as they can supply for the very excellent articles of clothing which they produce. Attention is being directed to the growth and manufacture of flax, a commodity for the production of which the province is well adapted; and in several localities arrangements are being made for the establishment of cotton factories. The latter are about to be started by joint stock companies at Toronto, Dundas and Sherbrooke, and similar movements are being talked of in other places. Sherbrooke is well

situated for such an enterprise, with abundant and constant water power, with cheap labour to be procured from the neighbouring French population, and a surrounding country of great fertility, formed chiefly by an enterprising class of people from England and Scotland. Lower Canada, indeed, presents special advantages for manufacturing industry. With its abundant and cheap labour, supplied from among a people who are capable of steady and pains-taking habits when they are properly directed, it needs but the energy and resources of British capitalists to turn to good account the disposition now evinced in Canada, both by the government and the people to support native manufactures. Now, more than ever, it is absolutely essential that attention should be given to those branches of artificial production; for the abolition of the different duties on timber, just introduced by the British chancellor of the exchequer, will have the effect of diminishing very materially the amount of what has hitherto been the principal export of the country, or if it does not reduce the quantity, it will, at all events, lower the price. This is the opinion of those best acquainted with the business, and therefore it will be well to consider the advice given by the London *Times*, and turn attention to some other class of production, though certainly not to agriculture, which already engrosses a sufficient proportion of the labour of the province. The cotton manufacture appears to be in most favour, on account of the facilities now afforded by the Grand Trunk Railway in bringing the raw material direct from St. Louis.'

"The annual report for 1859, of the board of trade of the city of Toronto enumerates, as recent and successful establishments, the manufactures of leather, soap and candles, whiskey and ale, cigars, ground coffee, spices and mustard, nails, earthenware, boots and shoes, etc. These Canadian manufactures are mostly absorbed by home consumption, yet some of them, notwithstanding our duties of 20 per cent. and upward, begin to appear in American markets. I annex a few manufactured articles, and our imports of them from Canada, during the years 1858 and 1859.

IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURES FROM CANADA TO THE UNITED STATES.

Articles.	1858.	1859.
Beer, in casks	$4,780	$6,160
Beer, in bottles	696	898

Boots and shoes, other than leather	787	981
Clothing, ready-made	1,186	1,166
Cotton, piece-goods	252	2
Cotton, thread twist	81	——
Cotton, velvet	27	480
Cotton, not specified	1,084	1,628
Feathers and flowers	66	289
Flax, manufactured linens, bleached and unbleached	21	38
Flax, manufactured not specified	245	354
Furs, manufactures of	338	501
Jewellery, gold and silver, manufactures	435	480
Hats and bonnets of straw	4,527	7,700
India rubber, manufactures of	304	5,070
Iron, bar	623	221
cables, chain	3	690
cutlery	139	1,441
muskets and rifles	375	672
pig	12,324	5,783
railroad	115,162	209,672
sheet	2,233	1,347
other manufactures	16,293	19,883
Leather, manufactured boots and shoes	701	696
gloves	——	474
skins tanned	544	2,066
tanned, sole	196	2,309
not specified	2,874	3,397
Salt	20,878	15,231
Silk, manufactured, piece goods	147	416
not specified	536	804
Spirits, brandy	13,973	18,579
from grain	4,006	2,785
from other materials	299	803
Sugar, brown	976	3,458
Wares, china, earthen, &c.	850	13,753
Wood, manufactures of	21,820	36,578
Wool and worsted, manufactured.		
Blankets	34	76
Carpeting	464	125
Flannels	50	134
Piece goods	1,897	1,311
Not specified	2,008	5,555
	$233,734	$374,006

"This aggregate of Canadian manufactures, which were brought into the United States during 1858–59, although exceeding by

$140,272 the similar import of 1857–58, is insignificant in comparison with the movement of American manufactures into Canada during the same periods, and which exceed three million dollars for the year ending June 30, 1859. Surely our manufacturers, difficult as they are to satisfy, have no good reason for dissatisfaction with the reciprocity treaty.

"But prominent Canadian statesmen present another alternative for our consideration than to restore restrictions upon the trade and commerce of kindred communities. It consists of the removal of existing restrictions. It is proposed by a leading politician of Upper Canada (Mr. Isaac Buchanan M.P. for Hamilton, in a late address to his constituents), '*to extend the Reciprocity Treaty to Manufactures;—to carry reciprocity farther, and establish between the Provinces and the United States an American Zollverein, each country adopting the policy of unlimited free trade with each other, and the same protection to domestic manufactures.*'

"INSTEAD OF ABROGATING THE RECIPROCITY TREATY, WILL NOT THE GOVERNMENT CONCUR IN THIS SUGGESTION, AND PROPOSE ITS ENLARGEMENT?

"It is insisted that the frontier states are hostile to the treaty, and in favor of giving notice of a wish to terminate the same. What is the evidence of such a disposition? Do the New England states desire to involve their fishing interests in the embarrassments from which the treaty relieved them? Is the country at large disposed to incur again the risk of hostilities between American and English cruisers, which was imminent in 1853–'54? What evidence is there that the lake states would be satisfied by a surrender of free navigation upon the St. Lawrence river and the canals of Canada?

"In response to these and similar questions the following extract of a recent article from the Detroit *Tribune* is pertinent:

"'We do not know what effect the treaty has had upon the lake states, but it has certainly produced no such disastrous results upon Michigan, Undoubtedly, Canada derives more advantage from it than we do, unless we offset the opening of the direct trade between the lakes and Europe against the very general advantages it has conferred upon them: but it has driven no manufactories or ma-

nufacturers from Michigan into Canada, nor has it, so far as we have ever heard, injuriously affected our manufactures. The trade which has grown up under the treaty is mutually beneficial. On the 30th of September we (Michigan) had exported to Canada since the treaty went into operation, of raw material, manufactured wood, &c., and foreign productions, mostly sugar, molasses, coffee and tea, to the value of $23,457,760, and imported only $15,805,509 worth, leaving a balance in our favour of $7,651,271. In addition to this, the trade has given large employment to our shipping, about one-half of the above aggregate of $39,000,000 having been carried or brought by our own vessels.'

" The Chicago Board of Trade bears emphatic testimony to the satisfactory operation of the treaty, and expresses surprise and alarm at the movement in favour of its abrogation.

" We have exhibited our exportations of American manufactures to Canada. It will further illustrate the interests which are now connected with this subject, to append those articles of export to British America which are the natural products of the United States, for the year ending June 30, 1859. Under the reciprocity treaty these enter free of duty.

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO BRITISH AMERICA.

Articles. 1858-'59.	To Canada.	To other B.N.A. pos.
Apples,	$8·685	$20·112
Ashes,	75·685	....
Beef,	26·506	71·409
Boards, plank and scantling,	13·562	105·066
Butter,	15·256	198·786
Cheese,	50·126	16·610
Clover seed,	5·981	1·197
Coal,	225·898	25·040
Cotton,	7·100	220
Fish, dried or smoked,	31·394	16·369
Fish, pickled	6·601	4·493
Ham and bacon,	68·394	165·437
Hemp,	1·137	350
Hewn timber,	700	9·299
Other lumber	20,158	23·799
Hides,	474,366	1·550

Hogs,	544·154	
Horned Cattle,	1·200·696	43,375
Horses,	36·900	12·305
Hops,	11·364	2·942
Indian Corn,	439·125	93·320
Indian meal,	60·740	179·919
Lard,	69·642	20·692
Mules,	....	3·390
Pork,	542·972	667·837
Potatoes,	27·344	9·012
Rye meal,	2·615	29·130
Rice,	21·969	19·127
Rosin and turpentine,	73·026	17·613
Rye oats, &c., (small grain,)	163·052	56·909
Sheep,	20·288	2·060
Skin and furs,	60·555	4·850
Tallow,	113·013	58·571
Tar and pitch,	8·743	17·870
Tobacco leaf,	174·812	28·584
Wheat,	1·178·560	100·711
Wheat flour,	1·666·546	2·962·171
Wool.	224·881	

" The report upon commerce and navigation returns $394,131 to Canada, and $162,045 to other provinces, as the value of raw articles many of which would doubtless be included in the free list of the treaty ; but the object of the foregoing statement is less to exhibit aggregates than to show how every portion of the country is interested in the trade, which has grown up within four years under the encouragement of the policy of reciprocity.

THE LATE ATTACK UPON THAT POLICY CAN BE TRACED EXCLUSIVELY TO ONE QUARTER, THE SHIPPING INTERST OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA, AND THE LINES OF TRANSPORTATION BETWEEN THOSE CITIES AND THE WEST. Pennsylvania, as a state, cannot share the sentiment, for coal and iron, with the manufactures of the latter, are prominent exports to Canada ; while the other manufacturing interest, both of Pennsylvania and New-York, gain largely from the consumption of their products in the provinces. But the importing and railroad interests of the two states are apprehensive of the competition of the Grand Trunk railway

and the navigation of the St. Lawrence; and the north-western and even the Mississippi states must be forced, by the abrogation of reciprocal trade and navigation, to pursue exclusively certain channels of communication. It is not possible that the United States can be induced to yield to such an appeal.

"The foregoing considerations have been suggested by the documentary evidence before me. THERE MAY BE OTHER FACTS THAT WOULD WARRANT OTHER CONCLUSIONS, BUT THE RECORDS OF THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY THE REPORTS OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, ARE WITHOUT EXCEPTION, A COMPLETE VINDICATION OF THE TREATIES OF JUNE 5, 1854.

"Still if there is necessity for revising, let it be in the direction of the principle which the United States has always advanced—freedom, not restriction of commercial intercourse.

"JAMES W. TAYLOR.

"HON. HOWELL COBB, *Secretary of the Treasury.*"

And the following excellent short explanation comes very *apropos* at this moment:—

CANADIAN RECIPROCITY—REPORT OF HON. I. T. HATCH.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

"Mr. ISRAEL T. HATCH accompanies his special report to Congress on the working of the Reciprocity Treaty with far too much *special pleading* in behalf of his clients, of local interests of Western New York, to have it carry the influence it otherwise would. When the abrogation of a friendly treaty between neighbouring States, who are, and should be, on the most friendly terms commercially and politically, is broached, it should not be based upon the imaginary grievance of a section only of the 3,000 mile frontier, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; but taken from a minute investigation, and comprehensive and unbiassed view of the entire frontier and careful examination of its varied interests. It is quite easy for Mr. HATCH to recapitulate the enormous increased trade and traffic of the six years since the treaty came

into effect, and *imagine* all the revenue that would have accrued had the old duties been imposed, and also the large balance in favour of Canada in exchange of products, &c., &c. But it would have required much less labour and far fewer figures to have calculated the amount of transactions had the old system been adhered to, for the simple reason that the interchange would not have taken place. But Mr. HATCH must in the first place consider, that while the exports of Canada to the United States were mostly the products of the soil that could have found a market, *via* the St. Lawrence, in Europe, the imports from the United States to Canada have been mainly manufactures, on which the producer had his large profits, or merchandise, on which the merchant receives the same. His greatest grievance he finds, however, in the increased duties by Canada. He says, and, after recommending retaliatory steps, winds up his laboured report, as follows:

"'The proper, radical and sufficient remedy, beyond question, is the speedy abrogation of the treaty itself.'

"Undoubtedly, Mr. Hatch. It is an extremely simple process. So it is for a State to repudiate its debts, but it is not always—indeed never—a *wise* transaction. Canada has raised her duties as her only means of revenue, to meet her current obligations since 1854, but *it has acted alike upon British as upon American goods invariably*. New-Brunswick and Nova Scotia also have slightly increased for like reasons; Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland not so, having sufficient revenue with no public works. But ask Maine, Massachusetts, or their fishing interests of Gloucester, Marblehead or Plymouth if they would have their quiet and profitable calling interfered with; also, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, or Minnesota, and you will get a unanimous response in the negative. It is all very well to magnify the advantage, of the Erie canal, the Bonded system, &c., &c., but at the same time there is an offset on the other side in the free navigation of the St. Lawrence for the vast and increasing Western States, and the participation in the fisheries of the Gulf, &c., &c. It must, of course, be expected that Canada will protect, as far as possible, her own railroad system, that has sprung into existence almost entirely since 1854. But the United States must not complain of legitimate com-

petition in the carrying and passenger traffic ; for, indeed, should they as a nation see fit to adopt the narrow minded policy again, I see no reason why Canada is not in quite as independent a position as the United States in every particular, excepting when the United States Market is better than that of Europe for Breadstuffs ; and nothing would tend sooner to develop their own resources in manufacturing all kinds of agricultural implements, &c., &c., instead of patronizing their ingenious neighbours. Besides, with the aid of British capital, they would at once push forward their connection with the Red River country and the Pacific by railroad, as this measure partakes of both local and national importance, and would be *hastened* by any such action as recommended by Mr. Hatch. Such a course, however would be anything but a popular measure with the masses on either side of the line, and need not be feared.

"W. H. M."

I am anxious also to give here the following article from the last *London Economist*, (28th July, 1860,) to show the lowered tone of the Free Traders in England, *the advocates of the consumer, vs. the producer*, as if all *consumers* who require the care of parliament are not *producers*. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him," is very well illustrated by the way people now regard what they see in the *Economist*. Sentences, which at one time would have been thought oracular, are now felt by the operatives or producers to be unmitigated blockheadism, such as the following from the article now quoted :

"The object of Industry is the benefit of the consumer."

"We all, under the civilized system of the division of labour, work for each other."

With half an eye my readers will see that the fatal error of this article as of all articles and speeches on Free Trade or Political Economy, is that the writers and speakers, either through ignorance or design, overlook the *virtually important question of payment*—they do not admit that it makes any matter whether a thing is paid in cash or British labour !—while, to the most obtuse practical man, it is self-evident that the latter has the superiority over the former, that *it finds a market for the employment of our own people to the*

same extent. While all must see that if we buy paper from an English paper-maker, he takes in return British commodities, while if we buy paper from a French paper-maker, he takes gold in return, the shipment of which sets no British industry in motion,* but on the contrary is a death blow less or more to every working man, as removing from England the basis of the circulating medium—*his means of employment and payment.* In a word, though theoretically Britain would place the foreigner on no better footing than her own *producer*, practically she would place him on a much better footing. I repeat that their motto (for, worse than Robespierre, they have no principle on which you can attack them, but only a want of principle or political atheism,) that of Robespierre: —" Périssent les Colonies, plutôt qu'un principe."

FREE TRADE IN PAPER—FROM THE LONDON "*ECONOMIST.*"

" There is no doubt that Free Trade is one of the most unpopular things in practice in the world. Abroad it is unknown, and on that account it is unpopular. But in this country we are in the habit of repeating its maxims; we have been so for many years; and yet even here fresh occasions perpetually arise which show with how little distinctness the subject is apprehended, and how little hold it has upon the popular sympathies. In truth, popular sympathy is apt to be opposed to it. Its fundamental maxim is opposed to that of the multitude. Most men sympathize with the producer. He is a visible person; he does 'good to the nation; he 'employs labour'; he presses his claims for support upon the public; he often has and always seems to have much at stake in the maintenance of protection. On the other hand, the Free Trader attends exclusively to the interest of the consumer, and no one knows who the consumer is. He is, so to say, an invisible person; he 'employs no labour'; he consumes for his own benefit and not for that of others; he lays hold on no imaginative sympathy. The

* Even if the foreigner took payment in British labour, there would be a loss to Britain of one half the employment, if Britain could grow or manufacture the article supplied by the foreigner.—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

good to the consumer, too, seems for the most part not commensurate with the injury to the producer. You seem only to be cheapening some ordinary article by half a farthing which no one in practice would ever feel; and in order to do that, you destroy a whole department of native industry; you shut up whole factories, you throw many persons on the mercies of the world,—you make a scene of misery where there used to be a scene of comfort. Such will ever be the popular conception of Free Trade, and it will ever require a constant effort to secure for that doctrine its own due and paramount place.

"On both sides of the Channel we see illustrations of this remark. In *France*, the Protectionist party, aided, we regret to say, by the Liberal party, who oppose Free Trade because Louis Napoleon is a Free-Trader, seem disposed to refuse to make the slightest relaxation of the present prohibition upon the export of rags. In *England*, the paper-makers are straining every nerve to obtain a prolongation of the protection which they have. A Bill has been brought into Parliament to reduce the Customs duty on foreign paper to what is believed to be the exact equivalent to the existing Excise duty of home-made paper, and to this Bill the manufacturers here have two objections.

"First, they say that 16s. per cwt., the sum which is fixed upon for the reduced Customs' duty, is not in truth the fair equivalent of the 14s. 9d. Excise duty. And on this point the case of the paper-makers should be carefully investigated. It is for them to show, not in vague statements, but in precise figures what their real position is. *If* they can succeed in shewing that the duty which it is proposed to set on the foreign product is less oppressive than that which is now to be retained on the home product, their argument will be irresistibly cogent. They will have shown that Mr. Gladstone proposes to subject them to an injustice. But we must be permitted to say that the arguments they have as yet advanced are very vague on this point, and are deficient in practical detail. It is certain that Mr. Gladstone would modify his measure to meet a practical objection of this sort, but no such objection substantiated with precision.

"In reality, the paper-makers rely on their second objection.

They say, if foreign countries will not let us have their rags, why should we take their paper?—if they restrict us from the raw material, why should we buy their manufactures? But we say, why should we *not*? Why is the purchaser of paper to pay dear for it, in order that the paper he buys may be made here and not elsewhere? The object of industry is the benefit of the consumer. We all, under the civilized system of the division of labour, work for the benefit of each other. We employ our time in providing for the wants of others, whom we do not see and do not know. The test of the goodness of our work, is that we provide better for their wants than any one else does. The case of the paper-makers is, as Mr. Gladstone would say, the case of the Corn-Law over again. What an injustice, it used to be said, is it to our farmer with dear labour and poor soil, to be exposed to the competition of the foreign farmer with cheap labour and a rich soil. What an injustice, it is now said, is it to our paper-maker, who has to buy his material dear, to be exposed to the competition of a paper-maker who can buy his material cheap. *Both* arguments are important if we are bound to balance the advantages of the foreigner, which we cannot help, by imposing on him equal disadvantages; *neither* is of the least value if we say we will put all producers on a level as far as our fiscal system is concerned. We will do no injustice; but we decline to make artificial counterweights for the natural advantages or the restrictive laws of other nations. We can only place all producers on a level as far as our own laws go; we will, in all cases do that; and will in no case do more.

"But, in truth, the case of the paper-makers is not so strong as the case of the Corn Laws. The agricultural Protectionists had a telling argument, though we now know it to have been erroneous, derived from the inherent fertility of foreign soils. In some countries fertile land abounds in excellent situations. Our opponents have an *indestructible* advantage. The foreign paper-makers have only a *destructible* advantage. No doubt a nation which will not allow the export of rags has for a time the advantage of cheap rags; but it is only for a time. As soon as that nation manufactures paper on a large scale, the price of rags will rise at once. Take, for example, the case of France. France, we fear, may be induced

not to relax in any degree her prohibition on the export of rags. What is the consequence? For a time she injures the rag merchant and benefits the paper-maker. But as soon as the prospect of foreign trade induces the manufacturer to increase his business, the rag dealer will raise the price. Rags are an article essentially limited in quantity. The moment the demand is increased the price will rise rapidly. The price of rags in France, no doubt, seems to give the French manufacturer a considerable advantage over ours; but it is an illusory advantage. If he should attempt to export paper to this country, it will immediately diminish, and will soon entirely cease."

IV.

HOME MANUFACTURES THE TRUE POLICY FOR CANADA.

Letter from Jacob Dewitt, Esq., M.P., President of the Banque du Peuple, to William Lyon Mackenzie, Esq., M.P.

MONTREAL, July 26, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for your favourable opinion of my desire to encourage the manufactures of Canada; that subject has engaged a portion of my attention and experience for more than sixty years past; the question of providing for the necessary expenses of the government, by a judicious and wise apportionment of taxes, by a Tariff, as immediately connected therewith.

In order to arrive at a just conclusion, it is necessary to call to mind what some one may consider truisms.

1st. And at the foundation, I will enquire who pays the duties levied by the Tariff? Is it the producer or the consumer? That depends mainly on the relative state of supply and demand. A short supply causes a scarcity, consequently a rise in the price, by which the duties are added to the cost, and paid by the consumer. An abundant supply or glut in the market, of any article, causes the price to fall when the duties are paid by the producer to get into the market.

In another case, whenever circumstances give to one or more persons a monopoly, then usually the duties are paid by the consumer.

As a general rule, *competition tends to diminish prices*. To secure this competition sometimes requires duties to be levied on the more powerful Foreign manufacturers, without which they would crush your domestic manufacturers, thereby maintain a monopoly, and charge their own price to consumers. All parties are benefitted by placing the producer and consumer near together; every man can, by reciprocating with his neighbour, pay him easier than he can raise money and send it abroad to a stranger.

It is the facility of obtaining the means of paying for an article that makes it cheap to the consumer.

In order to aid the consumer in paying for his goods, it becomes necessary that the revenue to support an economical government, should be raised by a tariff so *apportioned* as to give encouragement to the manufacturers of such articles as we can produce or manufacture with advantage in our country. By so doing we induce the investment of capital in machinery, which will enable our manufacturers to compete here among themselves and with foreigners too, by which means the foreign producer must pay the duties into our treasury which we levy, in order to get into our market, which duties he cannot put on the cost of his goods; consequently the price is not increased to the consumer by the duties.

I know of instances where foreigners, manufacturing articles similar to those made in Canada, have not only paid our duties on their goods but freight and charges also, and afterwards sold them at the lowest prices they would have taken at home, which proves the wisdom of so apportioning the tariff, for, besides foreigners replenishing our treasury and at the same time affording their goods to our merchants, and through them to the consumers, *at a lower rate* than they would have done if we had perfect free trade in those articles, or no duty at all, it is plain that without some encouragement our infant institutions would have been prevented or crushed, thus leaving our consumers entirely dependent on foreigners to charge us what they pleased, and add costs of freight, &c.

You remember that we were very anxious to have Reciprocity

with the United States. Why? Because we wanted their market for the produce of our Forests, Farms, and Seas; and why did we want their market? Because it was better than our own. Why was it so? Because they encourage their mechanics, *and we do not.*

But free traders affirm that the consumer paid the duties. If the Americans paid the duties on our lumber, &c., what would we care for Reciprocity? Let them pay their duties, and we will let their produce come to us free. The facts were, that when our people exported our produce to the United States [before the Reciprocity Treaty] we, the *producers*, put our hands into our pockets, took out our money, *put it in the United States Treasury, and never saw it again.*

The great variety of important inventions and discoveries of new machinery, moved by Horse, Steam, and Water power, have so multiplied the power of production, and reduced the expense of manufacturing, that whenever there is considerable competition, duties are almost invariably paid by the producers, to procure a market.

I think the case is different as to who pays the duties, the producer or consumer, in reference to many articles of the first necessity which we do not produce to any great amount, such as Salt, Tea, Coffee, Raw Sugar, Molasses, and other similar goods. Duties on these articles are in almost every case added to the first cost and charges, and are paid by the Canadian consumer. I think a wise policy would require them to be admitted free from duties, or nearly so.

I believe that all classes should (in proportion to their means) contribute to the expense of the State.

A reason why Salt, Tea, Raw Sugar, Coffee, and Molasses should be admitted free, is that they are articles of the first necessity of life, and the labouring man consumes as much as the man of fortune. It is oppression and cruelty, that the labourer who works hard for his 50 or 100 cents per day, should pay as much duty as the man who is worth millions. I maintain that no duties should be exacted on those articles, but if the Government insist on adding duties on these things, then, by all means let the duties be on the *ad valorem* principle (on the value) and not on the specific. It is not fair that

my servant man should pay as much as I do for these articles, or that he who buys a cheap article should pay the same tax as he who buys a costly one.

A great object is to afford EMPLOYMENT TO OUR OWN PEOPLE, and to those who emigrate from the British Isles and wish to live under the British crown. *Why should people be obliged to leave Canada for the United States to earn a living there, and we send our money to pay them there for their goods?*

'Tis said there is plenty of land. Let the people go and clear up the forest. Do you think a man who has spent half of his life in learning a trade will go to the wilderness to perish there? No, you cannot drive him there, but you may drive him out of the country to enrich another land by his skill, capital and labour.

Shall we depopulate Canada by driving our young women from their parents' care and counsel, and the instruction of their clergy, to manufacture abroad the goods and merchandize we want for our consumption at home?

In passing through the New England States we shall find their water power all employed. Their running streams are not allowed to go to waste over their rocky beds; the water is *caught, tamed, and made industrious, diffusing wealth and prosperity all around.* Even their small rivulets are dammed up to catch the water formed by the melting snow and the showers. The streams that flow while the people sleep or worship on the sabbath are made to perform some profitable work. I have seen machinery moved by one water-wheel, the NET profit of which was estimated to be equal to the net profit on fifty well-cultivated farms, adding to the population and the wealth of all around.

With such prudent examples before us, it seems *a disgrace to the people of Canada* that they do not employ more of their unlimited water power, when it might be made to produce so much wealth and prosperity. Why do we sleep so long?

It is mainly owing to the manufactures of New England that their poor, hard land, is worth and will sell for more cash than our rich lands here, and all over the western world.

It has been said that the tariff is to favour the manufacturer at the expense of the public—now I maintain that a wise apportioned

tariff is necessary to induce capitalists to invest their funds in taming our water power and in building up manufactures which are for the common good, because they can invest their money in other ways where their funds would be quite as productive and with less risk.

When beer could be imported free from duty, the price per barrel was $6 ; it was proposed to levy a duty of one dollar on the barrel when imported ; a great cry was raised that we were taxing the farmer one dollar on his barrel of beer ; now, mark the results : the tax induced brewers to establish Breweries in Canada ; *placing the producer by the side of the consumer*, and instead of raising the price from six to seven dollars, IT REDUCED THE PRICE *from six to five dollars*, besides conferring all the collateral advantages of affording a home market for all that the farmers and their families could raise on their farms and gardens, thereby affording them employment which enabled them to buy and pay the merchants for many foreign goods, which otherwise they could never have done.

But, it is sometimes said, then why levy any tax ? The reason is obvious. It is to prevent the foreign brewer from sacrificing his beer in order to crush our infant breweries. He does not give you an article which cost him four dollars for three dollars for your benefit, but with a view to indemnify himself by charging you his monopoly prices after your neighbours' breweries are destroyed. Again, it is asked, if the Tariff does not increase the price, of what benefit is it to the manufacturer ? It enables him to make his arrangements ; by it he can keep constant employment, consequently can give the best workmen, and will do more and better work than when only occasionally engaged ; therefore, the main benefit of the Tariff is, that the manufacturer can keep a steady price, by which he saves freight, commissions and other expenses, and can supply the consumer upon more favourable terms.

What I have said in respect to Breweries will apply to all articles which we can manufacture with advantage in Canada.

Lady A., when using her needle, was called upon by Lady B., who told her she could buy the article she was making for a mere trifle. Lady A. replied, she could make it a great deal cheaper. Lady B. asked with astonishment, how is that possible ? Lady A.

answered that she could make it herself, *but could not earn the pence* to buy it.

Suppose an old lady [perhaps blind] to be amusing herself by knitting stockings and mittens for the family, how much cash could the husband or father pay out of his chest, to be sent out of the country, to obtain those articles cheaper, than to have them made by the employment of the lady ?

How unwise it is for a farmer to pay cash or run into debt for anything which he could make in a rainy day !

The policy must be very bad which deprives our people of employment. Shall we encourage our own children and our own people, or strangers? Shall we catch and tame our own water-power, make it industrious, spread wealth, prosperity and independence all around us, or shall we refuse to develop the resources of this noble Province ?

A large proportion of our people are Agriculturists ; how shall we best promote their interests ? Shall we add competitors with them in the market for the sale of their produce, or shall we induce customers to buy and consume their produce ?

Shall we provide them a *domestic* in addition to their *foreign* market for everything which they can raise, by encouraging the manufacture of such articles as can be made with advantage in the country, and which will increase the value of every acre of land ?

If all are farmers, who will be purchasers and customers ?

Let us reflect on the great advantage to the farmer to have a home market. Is it a benefit to have the butcher from the neighbouring town come to his door every week and enquire for fat animals, and give the farmer his price in cash for them ? Much better than for the farmer to leave his farm and drive his animals to market, where the cattle arrive in bad plight, when the owner is obliged to take just what he can get (what he would not take if the cattle were at home) rather than be at the expense of taking them back to his farm.

Which system will bring the greatest profit, and most increase the value of his farm ?

By encouraging the tanner, your neighbour, he can give you from four to six dollars for your ox hide ; if you have not the tan-

ner, you may be obliged, like the South American, to sell your ox hide for the same number of shillings.

I would like to ask the proprietor of every newspaper, printed in Canada, how many more subscribers each would probably get if our goods were manufactured in our country than in a foreign land, and how much better the proprietor would be paid than he is at present! Would our manufacturers or foreign manufacturers afford the best support to the press?

Suppose those valuable mines at Marmora were worked so as to require a large city there, how greatly that would increase an editor's paying subscribers, in comparison with the subscription, if the same iron were made in another country.

Now, suppose that 100,000 tons of iron and iron goods were made at the Marmora Iron Works, would it not add to the common wealth of the country, and diffuse it among the people, instead of sending the capital out of Canada, to pay for it elsewhere?

Suppose we estimate that by manufacturing such goods as we could with advantage in Canada, the paying subscribers to each journal would be increased ten per cent. Would not that be an advantage to their proprietors, and relieve many an aching brow? At the bankers I would enquire if they did not prefer to circulate their bills among our mechanics, rather than send the gold out of the country to pay for the very goods, which, by employing our water power, could be quite as well made at home?

Most people admit that we have made our pine logs into deals, boards, scantling, &c. I ask, why stay there? Why not let your saw mills, lathes, &c., go on, work up the timber into doors, sashes, furniture, &c.? Are they afraid it will be too valuable, make us too rich? Why sell our paper rags for a dollar, which, when made into printing paper, would be worth four dollars? A pound is better than a dollar, but the greatest difficulty is, where shall we get the three dollars in cash to send away to pay others for doing what we can just as well do ourselves. But the greatest loss is depriving the country of the cash so much wanted at home.

Why should we not work up our farm wool into cloth, instead of sending the money abroad, thereby draining the country of cash to pay foreign labourers? By encouraging our own manufacturers

by a *wisely apportioned tariff, we shall increase our trade and the public revenue ;* by making the cheaper goods you enable the operatives to buy and pay for the more expensive ; if you employ a female in making cheap cotton cloth, you enable her to buy and pay for a silk dress ; without the employment she would be idle, or more dependent on her father or brother's labour for a cotton dress worth sixpence per yard, where, with employment, she supports herself, buys and pays for rich goods. In manufacturing the cheap goods, although we derive no foreign trade or revenue on those particular articles, yet the wealth created and diffused among the people by that means retains capital in our country whereby the trade and revenue are increased. See the immense trade between the United States and Great Britain. By manufacturing the cheaper articles they are able to import the more expensive. This shows the effect of high tariff.

What would England be without her manufactures ? Her policy is a safe one ;—she has free trade in raw materials, breadstuffs, &c., but a tariff to protect her manufactures, and for revenue. These are the elements of her mighty trade, which has enabled her to do what no other nation could do :—to carry on the Russian war, subsidise the Turks and Sardinians, then maintain the Persian and Chinese wars, next suppress the revolt in India, furnish means to make many of the railways in the United States and elsewhere, and have abundance of cash at home, and at the lowest rate of interest.

We have a great cry for money ; and some persons want to borrow at high rates of interest. I think we had better make some money than depend on borrowing.

I would ask the merchant if he does not think his trade would be improved if money was more plenty ? Would it not enable him better to collect his debts ? The limit of trade is the ability of his customers to pay. Are there not some farmers who would like to have more money in the hands of those who would purchase their produce ? Are there not some who have paid for only one-half of their farms, who would like to have money a little easier ? Perhaps there may be merchants, farmers and others who would like to be a little more independent of the money lenders, and perhaps less anxious for the visits of the Bailiffs and Sheriffs.

Suppose we were to make our cordage lines, &c., our cheap paper, our cheap cloth and other goods, which we could do with advantage, that policy would keep capital in our country, and make money more plentiful among all classes.

By making the more common goods, so as to equalize our imports and exports, and so reduce exchange to par, *even our public functionaries, who depend on fixed salaries, so far as they purchased fine foreign goods, would benefit about* 10 *per cent.; their ten dollars would go as far as eleven now, one thousand dollars as far as eleven hundred now.*

Any government which does not encourage Canadian manufactures, and so develop the resources of the country, injures the interests both of the agricultural and commercial classes.

Mr. Editor, if we look all around the world we shall find that the nation which manufactures the most is the most wealthy, prosperous and independent; and, on the other hand, that nation is the poorest, the lowest, and most dependent, which manufactures the least.

Shall we improve our resources, and especially our unlimited water power, which from its volume, and the great descent of the water is to us equivalent to perpetual motion? To this question, I invite attention, and have the honour to be,

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

JACOB DEWITT.

V.

CANADA, 1849 TO 1859: BY THE HON. A. T. GALT, FINANCE MINISTER OF CANADA.*

THE history and progress of the Colonies of Great Britain must naturally be a subject of deep interest to the people of England, especially since the experiment has been fairly tried of entrusting those dependencies of the empire with local self-government.

On the one hand, it was contended that constitutional government could not be safely entrusted to colonists; while, on the other, it was as strongly urged that the institutions under which Great Britain had herself attained a position of such power and eminence

* Published by Hardwicke, London, 1859.

were capable of being worked by her subjects everywhere; and that the vast resources of her colonial possessions would be far more usefully developed by giving their people the entire control of their own affairs.

In no part of the colonial empire has the experiment received a fuller or fairer trial than in Canada; and it cannot but be interesting to review the progress of that country, and to mark how far its inhabitants have worthily exercised the power conceded to them. Because, if it could be shown that evil had flowed from the concession of self-government in Canada, it might well shake the confidence of those who desire to give the people of England themselves a larger share in the government of the empire, as the same objects are equally sought in both countries, and the greater the measure of reform granted in England, the greater identity will be produced with the state of things in Canada, where the government of the country necessarily rests almost wholly upon the popular element.

I propose to give a brief *resumé* of the principal subjects which have, within the last ten years, been before the Legislature of Canada, leaving the statesmen of England to judge how far the blessings of free institutions have been appreciated or abused by their colonial brethren. But before proceeding to do so it may be well to give some slight sketch of the position of public affairs up to 1849.

It is not necessary to do more than advert to the fact that serious disturbances of the public peace had occurred both in Lower and Upper Canada in 1837-8, and that in 1840 the union of these two provinces took place. For some years succeeding the union an unsettled state of things continued, marked, however, by gradual concession to the demand for self-government, until 1846, when Lord John Russell, then Secretary for the Colonies, first fully admitted the principle of what is termed responsible government, and required that the affairs of the country should be administered by advisers of the Crown, possessing the confidence of the people, and in harmony with their well-understood wishes. The system thus fairly inaugurated, in 1849, may be said to have received its final and conclusive acceptance, both by the mother-country and the colony, as from that date no attempt has ever been made to interfere with its free and legitimate operation. The political differences and difficulties of Canada have been dealt with by her own people and Legislature; and Great Britain has never been required to take part in any local question whatever, except to give effect, by Imperial legislation, to the express desire of the Provincial Legislature.

In 1846 England may be said to have fairly abandoned the colonial system of trade, as in that year the corn laws were repealed, and the productions of Canada generally placed on the same footing as those of foreign countries. It was not, however, till 1848 that the differential duties imposed by the Imperial Legislature upon importations into Canada were repealed, and the province permitted to import whence and how she pleased, which was still further promoted by the repeal of the navigation laws in 1849, since which date Canada has enjoyed the privilege of entirely controlling her own trade, and her own customs dues.

I have, therefore taken the year 1849 as that when, politically, Canada was entirely entrusted with self-government, and also because, at that date, the principles of Free Trade were fully applied to her.

The protective colonial system of Great Britain having been previously the settled policy of the empire, the province had itself incurred very heavy liabilities upon public works, dependent for success upon its continuance, and many other commercial interests had also grown up under it. The sudden and unexpected change produced very serious disasters; and in 1849 Canada found herself with an exhausted exchequer, a crippled commerce, and depreciated credit. Apart from these financial difficulties, directly traceable to the altered policy of Great Britain, it must be remarked that the country had scarcely recovered from the shock of the disturbances of 1837-8; that the Union had brought face to face the opposing influences of English and French Canada, which time had not yet mitigated; and that the most serious political questions, both affecting the social and material prosperity of the country, had to be dealt with.

Under such depressing circumstances, the only hope lay in the fact that people had at last the management of their own affairs; and with a country abounding in natural resources, a vigorous and self-reliant effort would yet overcome all obstacles, and restore, upon a more healthy basis, that prosperity which had hitherto been sought through favours granted by Great Britain to her colonies, at the expense of her own people. Canada accepted the policy of England as necessary for the welfare of the empire: she ceased all applications for aid to be granted to the detriment of others; and she has applied herself to the task of developing her institutions and her resources with a vigour, determination, and success, that have rarely, if ever, been witnessed in any other country.

In proceeding to review the great progressive steps that Canada has made between 1849 and 1859, I shall, in the first place, advert to those which concern its social and moral government; after-

wards, those which affect its material progress; and, finally, demonstrate the result as viewed through the operation of its trade.

In accordance with the provisions of the imperial statute, establishing the constitution of the country, the Legislature consisted, under the Governor-General, of a Legislative Council, or Upper House, nominated for life by the Crown; and a Lower House, elected by the people. The rapid settlement of the country, especially of the more newly-opened districts, soon rendered the original allotment of eighty-four members for the Lower House insufficient, and this evil was reformed in 1853 by an increase of the representatives to 130 members. The franchise has also been reformed and extended, the qualification now being 30 dollars per annum, or £6 sterling, for freehold or tenantry in towns, and 20 dollars, or £4 sterling, in rural districts; the principal feature in the change being the admission of the tenant vote in the counties and rural districts.

The original election law allowed an almost unlimited time for elections, often producing great violence, and provided no checks upon voting except oaths—while the trial of elections were both tedious and uncertain. This has been wholly reformed by limiting the duration of an election to two days, by providing for a perfect system of registration of votes, and by the enactment of an improved system for the trial of contested elections.

The Legislative Council, or Upper House, has also been reformed by the introduction of the elective principle,—the existing nominated members retaining their seats for life. The province has been divided into forty-eight electoral divisions, each returning one member. Twelve are elected every two years, and they go out of office after eight years' service. The House is not subject to dissolution; and it is expected that the result will be to establish a body in a great degree secured from the ordinary excitement of politics, and able to take a calm and dispassionate review of the acts of the Lower House, which is elected for four years, and may be dissolved by the Governor-General.

The practice of holding the sittings of the Legislature alternately for four years in each section of the province, commenced in 1849; and after a long and protracted struggle, this extremely difficult question, essentially of a sectional character, has been settled by the adherence of Parliament to the decision of the Queen, in the eslection as the permanent seat of government of the city of Ottawa, where the public buildings are now in course of erection.

Perhaps the most important step required for the perfect working of constitutional government, is to provide for the complete seve-

rance of local legislation from that affecting the people at large. The general Legislature can never properly deal with such subjects, and their introduction tends to distract attention from those measures which are of general interest. Municipal institutions have, therefore, received much attention in Canada, and constant efforts have been made to perfect them, and to give each parish and county the control of its own internal affairs. In Upper Canada a system of municipal local government existed prior to the union; but it was in a crude and inefficient form. In Lower Canada the attempt was made to introduce the system by the Special Council, which replaced the ordinary Legislature during the interregnum following the rebellion; but, with the exception of several of the English counties, the effort proved a complete failure. In 1849 a complete system of municipal organization was established in Upper Canada; and in 1850 a measure of similar tendency, but differing somewhat in detail, was passed for Lower Canada. In both sections much evil had arisen from the absence of all power to levy local rates for local objects; and burdens were thus thrown upon the general revenue, which were more properly chargeable on the localities interested.

The system thus inaugurated, was from time to time amended as circumstances showed the necessity, until finally, in 1858, the whole of the laws relating to muncipalities in Upper Canada, were revised and consolidated into one statute. A similar measure has likewise been prepared for Lower Canada, and was distributed through the province during the last session of the provincial parliament, preparatory to its being considered and finally passed in the session now approaching.

The general features of the municipal law of Upper Canada, and which, with some modifications suited to the different state of society in Lower Canada, may be stated as the system in force throughout the province, are:—

The inhabitants of every country, city, town, and township are constituted corporations, their organization proceeding wholly upon the elective principle; and provision is made for the erection of new municipalities, as the circumstances of the country require, by their separation from those already existing. A complete system is created for regulating the elections, and for defining the duties of the municipalities, and of their officers. Their powers may be generally stated to embrace everything of a local nature, including—the opening and maintenance of highways; the erection of school-houses, and the support of common and grammar schools; the provision of accommodation for the administration of justice, gaols, &c., and the collection of rates for their support, as well as for the pay-

ment of petty jurymen; granting shop and tavern licenses; regulating and prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors; providing for the support of the poor; preventing the obstruction of streams; effecting drainage, both in the cities and country; inspection of weights and measures, enforcing the due observance of the Sabbath, and protection of public morals; establishing and regulating ferries, harbours, markets, &c,; abating nuisances; making regulations for, and taking precautions against, fires; establishing gas and water works; making police regulations: levying rates upon all real and personal property, including incomes for all purposes; and, for certain objects, borrowing money; together with a great number of minor matters essential for the good government of a community.

The present municipal system of Canada, of which the foregoing is a brief and imperfect sketch, is believed to provide for all possible local legislation, and has been framed upon an observation of the working of these institutions, not only in England, but in the United States, the result being to secure for each local district the most perfect control of its own affairs. Under it the general legislature is freed from the necessity of considering any local question; and the people themselves have, in all important matters, the opportunity, by a popular vote, of considering and rejecting the action of their own municipal representatives.

Passing from the previous questions, which relate to reforms in the mode of governing the country, both generally and through municipalities, I will now advert to that which has been done in regard to education, which certainly has the most important bearing on the future welfare of the country.

The educational question may be divided into two distinct parts. First,—The provision of common schools for the general instruction of the people in the rudiments of learning. And, secondly,—The establishment of superior schools, colleges, and universities.

As regards common schools, much attention had been given in Upper Canada to this subject at all times; but it was not until 1846 that it was reduced to a system. The very able Superintendent of Schools in Upper Canada, Dr. Ryerson, is entitled to the greatest credit for the labour and talent which he has devoted to the subject. He was deputed by the Government to visit Europe, for the purpose of examining the best school systems in operation. And after a lengthened examination, the result of his inquiries was finally embodied in several Acts of Parliament, which provide for the establishment of school districts in every part of Canada; every child is entitled to education; and for the support of the system, a rate is struck by each municipality, in addition to a contribution of

£90,000 from the provincial exchequer. Each school district is under the management of local trustees chosen by the people—who are again subject to inspection by officers appointed by the County Councils, periodical returns being made to the Superintendent of Education. The Superintendent himself is assisted by a Council of Instruction, chosen from the leading men of the province, without regard to religion or politics. The order of tuition and the school-books are settled by the Council and Superintendent. Libraries of useful books, maps, &c., carefully selected, are also supplied at cost price to the different municipalities. For the purpose of providing fit instructors for the common schools, Normal schools have been established in both sections of the province—both for male and female teachers—and much care is devoted to their effectual training.

Permanent provision is also sought to be made for the support of common schools, through large appropriations of valuable lands.

The system of teaching in Upper Canada is non-sectarian, but provision is made for the establishment of Roman Catholic separate schools; but they do not participate in the local rates levied for education. In Lower Canada, owing to the population being principally Roman Catholic, though the system is also non-sectarian, yet the education is mainly in the hands of the clergy, and provision is therefore made for Protestant separate schools, which equally share in all the benefits of the local rates and legislative provision.

The result of this system may be summed up by stating that by the last report of the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, there were in 1858, 3,866 schools, 293,683 scholars.

In Lower Canada, the result is still more remarkable, from the fact that, until after 1849, it had been found very difficult to convince the French Canadian population generally, of the vast importance of education. The people were uninformed, and showed a great repugnance to the imposition of the necessary direct taxation to maintain the system. By very great efforts, this feeling has been entirely overcome; and, under the able superintendence of the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, the last report for 1858 shows the following results: 2,800 schools, 130,940 scholars, contrasting with an almost total neglect of schools but a few years previous.

For the purpose of affording superior education, but little real progress had been made until after the organization of the common school system, when there was established in connection with it a higher class of instruction through the means of grammar schools, which are now very generally to be found throughout Upper Canada, and also, to a more limited extent, in Lower Canada. These schools are also supported by grants of public lands, and by partial contri-

bution from the common school grant, in addition to the local rates. In both sections of the province, numerous educational establishments, of the nature of colleges, are established ; most of them in affiliation to some of the universities.

The universities in Upper or Western Canada consist—of the University of Toronto, non-sectarian, which is very largely endowed by the province, and which is now in a most prosperous and satisfactory condition. The University of Trinity College, which is under the auspices of the Church of England ; and the University of Queen's College, Kingston, which is in connection with the Church of Scotland. In Lower Canada, the Roman Catholics have established the University of Laval, which is wholly supported by voluntary contributions, and which, though comparatively recent, promises to be of the greatest value to the country. The University of M'Gill College, originally established through a munificent bequest by the late Hon. J. M'Gill, and almost wholly supported by voluntary contributions, is non-sectarian, and is now in a very flourishing state. The Church of England have also the University of Bishop's College, supported almost solely by that Church, and which, though comparatively new, will, it is believed, speedily attain a position of great usefulness.

It would occupy too much space to enlarge upon the course of instruction at these institutions, but it may be stated that they all contain the usual professors of classics, *belles lettres*, law, and medicine.

With the single exception of the M'Gill College, which has long existed, but until very recently in a languishing state, the whole of these institutions may be said to have risen within the last ten years, and they are mainly, if not wholly, supported by voluntary contributions and endowments. It is true that the University of Toronto existed in another form—as a college under the Church of England, for many years, but its usefulness was entirely marred by the constant struggle to free it from its sectarian character, which was only effected in 1845 ; from which date it may be said to have risen into its present highly important position.

The total number of educational institutions in operation in Upper Canada in 1858, was 4,259, attended by 306,386 pupils, and expending 1,512,386 dollars in their support. In Lower Canada, during the same year, the total number of institutions was 2,985, attended by 156,872 pupils, and expending 981,425 dollars in their support.

There have been two questions which, more than any others, have agitated the public mind in Canada, and produced the greatest bitterness and animosity. Each was peculiar to its own section of

the province. In Upper Canada, the Clergy Reserves; and in Lower Canada, the Feudal or Seigniorial Tenure. The former has indeed been regarded by many as the prominent cause of the outbreak in 1837, while the latter has been an incubus of the most fatal character upon the industry and intelligence of Lower Canada.

The Clergy Reserves were an appropriation of one-seventh of the land of Upper Canada, made by the Imperial Legislature for the support of a Protestant Clergy. They were claimed, and possessed originally, by the Church of England; but, simultaneously, the other churches asserted their rights, and a never-ending agitation was kept up on the subject. It raised the question of a connection between Church and State, as well as of an Established Church, both being obnoxious to a large class of the inhabitants of the province; and it proved the fruitful cause of evil of every kind. Many unsuccessful attempts had been made, both by the Imperial Legislature and by the colony, to compromise the question; but in every case the agitation was renewed with increased bitterness; and it was not until 1854 that a final settlement could be arrived at. The Legislature, acting under the authority of an Imperial Act, decreed the complete separation of the State from all connection with any Church, and provided that a commutation equivalent to the value of existing stipends should be paid to the incumbents, and, after provision for widows and orphans of clergy, divided the remaining land and funds amongst the municipalities of Upper Canada, according to their respective population. This measure has been fully carried out, and the province has at length found a solution for an evil that had convulsed it since its earliest settlement.

In Lower Canada the disastrous effect of the Feudal Tenure upon the progress of the people can scarcely be understood now by the people of England; to the student of history, however, it is familiar, through its effects in Europe, where its extinction in every country has been the result of long-protracted struggles. Civil insurrection, bloodshed, and crime have marked the progress of Europe in casting off this burden; and though stripped of many of its worst features in Canada, yet the system remained, repressive of the industry of the people, degrading them in character, and effectually precluding Lower Canada from sharing in the flow of population and wealth which was so steadily setting in to every other part of North America. The French Canadians had grown up under this system for years; but the progress around them had awakened their intelligence, and produced that strong movement in the masses which betokened a steady persistent effort, at all hazards, to free themselves from every trace of serfdom. No more difficult problem could be offered for solution to a Legislature than the settlement of

a question which had its roots in the very fundamental laws of property, and which could not be approached without endangering the destruction of the whole social edifice; and the difficulty was not decreased by the fact that the body which had to deal with it consisted, to the extent of one-half, of representatives from Upper Canada, who might not unnaturally suppose they had no immediate interest in it. This problem has, however, been solved; and by the acts of 1854, and of last session, the feudal tenure has been completely extinguished in Canada, and lands are now held by freehold tenure equally in both sections of the province. The rights of property have been respected; no confiscation has taken place, but, with the consent of all interested, the obnoxious tenure has been abolished, on payment of a certain amount by each tenant, and by a contribution of about £650,000 from the province generally. A social revolution has thus been quietly, and without excitement, effected, at a most trivial cost to the country, which will be repaid a hundredfold by the increased progress of the Lower province; and yet this very measure is that which, more than any other, has been charged against the Government of Canada as a lavish and wasteful outlay of public money. One single week of disturbance of the public peace would have cost the province vastly more than the indemnity given to those whose rights of property were required to be surrendered for the public good. If there be one point in the whole working of constitutional Government which should encourage its friends, it is the fact that the people of Canada have been themselves able to approach and deal with such a question as this without excitement, disturbance, or individual wrong.

The settlement of the country has at all times been a subject of deep interest in Canada, and has been promoted in every possible way. Emigrants are received on arrival at the quarantine harbour, where hospitals and medical care are provided free of charge; they receive from Government officers reliable information on every point necessary for their welfare. In case of destitution, they are forwarded to their friends; and every effort is made to protect them from the frauds and impositions of designing persons, to which they are so much exposed at New York.

Leading roads are opened by the Government in the remoter parts of the province, and free grants of land are made upon them, —the price of ordinary land in these townships is fixed at 70 cents, or about 3s. sterling, per acre, for cash, 4s. sterling (1 dollar) if on credit. To enable large proprietors or small communities to establish united settlements, townships of 50,000 acres are offered for sale at 2s. sterling per acre, for cash, subject to conditions of settlement. By these arrangements, it is within the power of

almost every one to become the proprietor of a farm, with a free title for ever, and subject to no other charges than the settlers themselves, under the municipal system, choose to impose ; while the education law provides for the gradual establishment and maintenance of schools.

The action of the Government in the settlement of a new district is confined to the opening of the leading county road, as it may be termed. No further expenditure is made from the public chest, as the municipal system makes ample provision for all the further local wants of the people. Under this plan an expenditure of public money to the extent of about £15,000 per annum takes place, and it has produced the construction of hundreds of miles of road in the interior of the country, rendering accessible millions of acres of fine land, which through its sale gradually reimburses the public exchequer.

For the construction and maintenance of macadamized, plank, and gravel roads, the Legislature has provided, through a general law, for the organization of road companies. This law has been very generally acted upon in Upper or Western Canada, and instead of almost impassable tracks through the forest, the country is now traversed by excellent roads through all its more settled parts.

The very valuable Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, as well as of the Great Lakes, have also formed the subject of legislative care ; and in 1858 an Act was passed providing for their protection and proper management. This Act has as yet been too short a time in operation to permit reference to results achieved ; but there can be no doubt that it will be fraught with the greatest public advantage, especially in the River St. Lawrence, where the fisheries are perfectly inexhaustible, under proper supervision ; and where, from the severity of the climate, the inhabitants are mainly dependent upon them. A hardy class of seamen will hereby be provided, and a new source of wealth and trade be developed.

In attending to the great interests of the people, the Legislature have not neglected those subjects which now so largely interest philanthropic minds. The care of lunatics has engrossed much attention, and admirable asylums are provided for them, where they receive the most skilful and approved treatment. In Upper Canada, a local rate provides for a large part of the expenditure ; but legislative aid is required to the extent of about £12,500, with an equal sum for similar institutions in Lower Canada.

As regards criminals, a Provincial Penitentiary receives those to whom a long period of servitude is attached ; they are there taught various trades, and compelled to contribute to the cost of

their own maintenance. Their labour is let out by contract to tradesmen, and by employment, and the acquisition of the knowledge of some handicraft, the endeavour is made to provide them, on their return to society, with the means of gaining an honest livelihood, without the temptation of want to cause their recurrence to evil courses. For the reformation of the young, reformatory prisons have been opened within the last year, under an Act passed in 1858; and by careful and judicious training it is hoped that many juvenile offenders may be reclaimed. As regards the prisons generally, by the Act of 1858, a Government inspection of the most searching kind has been established, and it is hoped will be effectual in remedying much of the evil and misery of the indiscriminate confinement of criminals.

Nor has science been wholly overlooked,—Canada having had, since 1844, under the able superintendence of Sir William Logan, F.R.S., a systematic geological survey in progress, which has already been of the greatest value to the province, whilst it has made no mean contributions to the stock of knowledge in this very interesting science. The annual reports of the geological survey of Canada may be appealed to as evidence of the value and extent of the service performed; while the display of specimens at the London and Paris exhibitions amply demonstrated its practical character.

The Toronto Observatory is also well known for its valuable contributions to astronomical and meteorological science; and that at Quebec is also rising into deserved notice. My space will not, however, permit me to do more than notice the fact that such institutions exist, and are valued and promoted in Canada, affording evidence that the progress of the country is not confined wholly to material objects.

Among other reforms which have characterized the legislation of Canada during the past ten years, the criminal law has been carefully revised and amended; while in Upper Canada, where English law prevails, the proceedings of the courts have been greatly simplified, and stripped of technical difficulties; in this respect, fully keeping pace with the legal reforms of England. In Lower Canada, the whole plan of judicature has been changed and decentralized, so as to bring the redress of legal wrongs within easy reach of every one; while the expenses attendant on the administration of justice have, within the last two years, been modified and greatly reduced.

The whole statutory law of Canada has been consolidated into three volumes, a work of great labour and corresponding value.

For the achievement of this important work, the province is deeply indebted to the late Sir James Macaulay, ex-Chief Justice of Common

Pleas in Upper Canada, who only lived to see his work, and that of his able coadjutors, completed by the issue of the new consolidated statutes within the last two months. To have reduced within such compass the entire statutory law of the country since its conquest, is no mean achievement; and the removal of contradictions and ambiguities in existing laws is not the least valuable part of the work.

In Lower Canada, a commission is now sitting, charged by Parliament with the codification of the French law, after the manner of the *Code Napoleon*. The work is one of much labour, and can scarcely be completed within less than three years. Canada will then possess, in a consolidated and condensed form, her complete body of law, notwithstanding she has had to deal with two entirely distinct and different systems.

In the foregoing observations I have only been able very briefly to allude to the more prominent subjects of legislation since 1849; there are many others, of a highly important character, which, did my space permit, I would gladly cite in support of my argument on behalf of the general policy of Canada; but surely the system cannot be either intrinsically bad, or administered by vicious instruments, which has produced within ten years—

A thorough reform of the Legislature;
An extension of the franchise, and registration of votes;
A complete system of municipal self-government;
A perfect system of elementary and superior education;
The separation of Church and State; and
The settlement of the Clergy Reserve question;
The abolition of the Feudal Tenure;
Provision for emigration and the settlement of the country;
The care of lunatics;
The management of criminals;
The establishment of reformatory prisons and supervision of gaols;
The promotion of science;
The reform of the criminal code;
The simplification of the civil laws;
The consolidation of the statute law; and
The codification of the French law.

I will now proceed to speak of the efforts made by Canada during the same period, in the direction of material progress, and which, I think, equally attest the beneficial working of our system.

Canada occupies a position in North America, extending from the ocean at the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, the westernmost of the great lakes. The river St. Lawrence forming

the discharge of these lakes, finds its most southerly point in Lake Erie, lat. 42° ; and from thence proceeds in a general northeasterly direction to its entrance into the Gulf, lat. 50°. It thus drains a vast extent of the interior of the continent, and forms the natural channel to the ocean, not merely for Canada, but also for the States of Western New York, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana,—and, it may be added, for the States lying to the west and north-west of the lakes Michigan and Superior. This great district is that wherein the principal part of the cereal crop of America is produced,—bulky in its nature, comparatively low in its value, and requiring, therefore, the cheapest mode of transport to market. The river St. Lawrence, being interrupted above Montreal by formidable rapids, could not, in the early history of the country, be used for transport, except by the tedious and expensive employment of small flat boats. The lakes could only be navigated by vessels perfectly seaworthy, and the laws of the empire themselves interposed insuperable obstacles to the St. Lawrence becoming the route through which foreign trade could reach the seaboard. The importance of the trade of the country round the great lakes was early seen ; and the construction of the Erie Canal by the State of New York speedily demonstrated, through its success, the magnitude of the prize to be contended for.

Canada, divided into two provinces, still more divided by having two distinct national races, and fettered by the commercial policy and navigation laws of Great Britain, was but ill prepared to develop the superior advantages of the natural channel by the St. Lawrence. But still the effort was commenced ; and the construction of the Welland Canal, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, on a small inexpensive scale, by Upper Canada, the Rideau Canal, made by the British Government for military purposes, and the Lachine Canal, built by Lower Canada, proved that, even prior to 1830, public attention was directed to the importance of securing a share of the trade of the great lakes.

The wonderful rapidity with which the States bordering on the lake-waters filled up—the rush of emigration from all parts towards them—the growth of cities and the extension of commerce, increased the efforts to facilitate communication between this district and the ocean. But the unfortunate insurrection in Canada of 1837–38, paralysed all her efforts, and years elapsed before they could be renewed. The first step was taken under Lord Sydenham, in 1841, after the union of Upper with Lower Canada, when the Imperial Government granted their guarantee for a loan of £1,500–000 to promote the enlargement of the Welland Canal, and the

construction of canals to obviate the rapids of the St. Lawrence, between Lake Ontario and Montreal. These works were vigorously pressed forward; and the province was still further excited to redoubled effort and increased outlay, by the Imperial Act of 1843, which permitted American wheat, ground in Canada, to be shipped to England as colonial, thus giving an indirect advantage to trade from the United States through Canada.

The canal system of Canada was, in a great measure, completed in 1846, though improved and extended since; and she then possessed a navigation for vessels of 800 tons from the ocean to Lake Ontario, and of 400 tons to lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. But the repeal of the corn laws—an admittedly necessary measure—then supervened, and the province found itself subject to a debt of 20,000,000 dollars,—possessing the most magnificent canals in the world, but without any trade to support them except her own—debarred by the navigation laws from making them useful to foreign vessels—and opposed to the wealthy and powerful influences of New York and the connections they had meantime formed in the west. In 1849 the legal difficulties in the way of trade were finally removed; but ere this, a new element had been developed through the construction of railways, which tended to maintain trade in the channels it had already formed, and which could only be met by similar efforts on the part of Canada.

Experience had, however, fully demonstrated that it was not sufficient to prove that produce could be moved from the West to Montreal at one-half the charge to New York; it required to be landed in Liverpool at less cost, or the whole previous effort must be nugatory. New York was the great commercial emporium of America; it possessed an enormous commerce; it was the chosen port for emigration; and from all these causes, ocean freights to Liverpool were reduced to a minimum. The St. Lawrence, on the other hand, was reported as a most dangerous navigation; insurance was very high, from the inferior character of the ships, and from the river and gulf not being properly provided with lighthouses; and the shoals of Lake St. Peter, between Montreal and Quebec, limited the trade to vessels drawing not over 11½ feet, during the summer low water.

Before proceeding to state how far railway communication has been provided for the country, I will briefly state what has been done to remove the difficulties in navigating the river St. Lawrence. Numerous and excellent lighthouses have been built; the system of pilotage has been revised and improved; tug-boats of great power have been furnished to the trade, at very moderate rates; and the depth of water between Quebec and Montreal has been increased

by dredging, to permit the passage of vessels drawing 18 feet 6 inches.

The result of these measures has undoubtedly been most beneficial, and is shown by the rates of insurance now being only in excess of those from New York during the early and late periods of navigation, while the increased capacity of the vessels in the trade has considerably reduced freights.

In addition to the natural obstacles to be overcome, and the competition with the United States which had to be encountered, Canada also found her efforts most seriously weakened through the policy of the Imperial Government, in subsidising the Cunard line of steamers to Boston and New York; which by reducing freights to, and facilitating intercourse with these American cities, offered indirectly a bounty, to the extent of the subsidy, in their favour, and against the route *viâ* the St. Lawrence. The original establishment of this steamship line was unquestionably of great benefit, but the persistent renewal of the contract, when the necessity for it had ceased, and when its injury to Canada had been demonstrated, is a grave cause of complaint, and has forced upon Canada the adoption of measures for the maintenance of direct intercourse with Great Britain, carrying on her own trade through her own waters, and by her own ships.

To remedy the evil effects of the policy of England, Canada has been obliged to subsidise a weekly line of steamships of her own, at an expense of £45,000 per annum, and it is a subject of the highest gratification to know, that the advantages of the St. Lawrence route to Liverpool are at length being thoroughly understood and appreciated. It is now proved that the ocean voyage from the St. Lawrence, upon the average of twenty-six passages in 1859, westward from Liverpool to Quebec, has been only eleven days and five hours; and from Quebec to Liverpool, ten days and three hours; these results showing a better average than has ever before been made across the Atlantic, and conclusively establishing the superiority of the Canadian route.

Until the introduction of railways, it was confidently believed that the completion of the canal system of Canada would secure to her a large share of the western trade; but not only did railways tend to retain the trade in existing channels, but their immediate effect was to divert from the St. Lawrence a large proportion of the trade of Western Canada itself. It became evident that the facilities thus afforded for rapid and uninterrupted intercourse with the Atlantic cities would more than counterbalance the greater cheapness of the St. Lawrence during the season of navigation, and that unless Canada could combine with her unrivalled inland navi-

gation a railroad system connected therewith, and mutually sustaining each other, the whole of her large outlay must for ever remain unproductive.

In undertaking the construction of a railway system passing through Canada, which should connect the great lakes with the ocean, the province did not propose to effect this entirely through its own resources ; the Legislature only sought to offer such inducements to capitalists as might cause their attention to be directed to Canada, believing that such works as railways, the success of which is almost wholly dependent upon attention to details, were better under private management than under that of the Government.

In 1849 an Act was passed pledging a 6-per-cent. guarantee by the province on one-half the cost of all railways of 75 miles in extent. And under this Act the Great Western, the Northern, and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic (now part of the Grand Trunk) were commenced. Subsequently in 1852, fearing the effect of an indiscriminate guarantee, this law was repealed, and the guarantee of one-half the cost confined to one main trunk line of railway throughout the province. In 1852 the Grand Trunk Line from Montreal to Toronto, and from Quebec to Rivière-du-Loup, was incorporated as part of the Main Trunk Line, with a stipulated advance by way of loan of £3,000 per mile, the line from Quebec to Richmond having already been commenced as part of the Main Trunk Line under the original Act. In 1853 Acts were passed providing for the amalgamation of all the companies forming the Main Trunk Line, with powers to construct the Victoria Bridge, connecting the lines west of Montreal with those leading to Quebec and Portland, and also authorizing the lease, in perpetuity, of the American line, connecting the Canadian railway system with the ocean at Portland, U. S., which, from its admirable harbour, and from being the nearest port to the St. Lawrence, was selected as the point through which the winter trade of Canada could be most advantageously carried on. This city is, therefore, now the Atlantic terminus of the Canadian railway system in winter, and has been adopted as the port to which the Canadian line of steamships ply, while the navigation of the St. Lawrence is interrupted. Efforts have been repeatedly made, as well by Canada as by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to induce the Imperial Government to promote the extension of the Grand Trunk Railway to some colonial winter port, but without success ; and it is as yet wholly beyond the power of the provinces, unaided, to construct a line which is more valuable on national than on commercial grounds.

The result of the legislation to which allusion has been made, has been the formation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company,

whose gigantic works are at length on the point of completion; and of this company it may be truly said, that comprising 1,112 miles of rail, of which no less than 1,092 miles are strictly a trunk line, constructed in the most permanent manner, and connecting the American railway system west of the great lakes with the ocean, at Portland in winter, and at Montreal, Quebec, and Rivière-du-Loup in summer, it presents, probably, the most complete and comprehensive railway system in the world; and, taken in connection with the unequalled inland navigation of the St. Lawrence, it cannot fail to attract a large share of the vast and increasing traffic of the west, while it affords to the whole province of Canada the greatest possible facilities for intercommunication.

The difficulties attendant on the prosecution of this immense enterprise, arising from the Russian war, and consequent rise in the value of money, induced the Legislature, to prevent the stoppage of works so essential to the prosperity of the province, to come to the relief of the company; and in 1856 and 1857 Acts were passed giving the private capital of the company priority over the provincial first lien of £3,111,500. By this measure the company were enabled to raise additional funds, and the wisdom of the step is now seen in the full completion of the undertaking.

In addition to the Grand Trunk Railway, the last ten years have witnessed the completion of the following additional lines of railway in Canada:

The Great Western	357	miles.
The Northern	95	,,
The Buffalo and Lake Huron	159	,,
And other minor lines of a more local character, amounting in all to	370	,,
The Grand Trunk	1112	,,

Thus a total of 2,093 miles have been constructed and put in operation in Canada within the time stated; while the present charge to the province connected with those railways which have received public aid is £4,161,150, or £249,669 per annum, which will, it is hoped, be speedily relieved by the success of the system, which is now only fairly connected by the completion of the Victoria Bridge. Reasonable time must be allowed for diverting traffic from other channels; but the result cannot be doubtful, as Canada now possesses not merely the most perfect inland navigation in the world, but also, in connection with it, a system of railways certainly unequalled on the American continent, or even, it is believed, in Europe.

Through the Canadian steamship line, the Grand Trunk is now recognized, even by the United States Government, as the shortest

and best route for their south-western and western mails, than which no better evidence could be offered of the wisdom of the policy so persistently followed by every successive legislature in Canada for many years. The American cities on the great lakes are now opening a direct trade through the Canadian waters with Europe, more than twenty vessels having this year passed through our canals for English ports; and the time is not distant when the full advantages of the St. Lawrence, as the great route from the interior of the continent to the ocean, will be fully recognized.

In the prosecution of the policy, which is now at length approaching its final, and, it is believed, successful issue, the great bulk of the public debt of Canada has been contracted. Enough has been retained out of ordinary revenue to cover what may be termed purely local works, expenditure upon which has long since ceased, and the present indebtedness will be found fully represented by the great public works of which a sketch has now been given.

The direct debt of Canada, including advances to railways, is £9,677,672, and after deducting the sinking fund for the redemption of the Imperial guaranteed loan, amounts to £8,884,672, and the payments on account of the public works of the province, without reckoning interest, have been as follows:

Canals, lighthouses, and other works connected with the development of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, represent.....	£3,962,900
Railway advances.....	4,161,150
Roads and bridges, and improvement of rivers	738,350
	£8,862,400

The public of England can now judge how far the expenditure of Canada has been reckless and unwise; or whether it has not been incurred for objects in which the prosperity of the country was wholly bound up, and which fully justified the sacrifices that have been made to attain them.

Before quitting the subject of the present debt of Canada, it is proper I should advert to the outstanding municipal loan fund bonds, amounting, on 1st December, 1859, to £1,920,160.

These bonds are issued upon the security of a fund constituted by the municipalities, who have become borrowers to this amount. The object was to secure on their united credit loans on better terms than they could obtain as individual borrowers. The province is in no way guaranteed for the fund, but acts as trustee, and has never pledged the general revenue for the payment of

either principal or interest. Owing, however, to the commercial crisis in 1857, and the bad harvest of that and the following years, the province has made large advances to enable the fund to meet the interest due to the bondholders, with whom faith has thus been kept by the several municipalities. But the plan having been thus found to work badly, and to entail unexpected charges upon the general revenue, the Act was repealed last session, so far as related to further loans, and the Government authorized to redeem the outstanding debentures, and to hold them against the indebted municipalities.

Measures are now being taken for the redemption of this debt, which will be the more easily effected, as the Government already hold large amounts of these bonds in trust for the special educational, Indian, and other trust funds.

It now only remains for me to state the commercial policy, and the position of the trade and finances of the province of Canada; and I am the more desirous of doing so, as great misapprehension prevails in England on these points, and the steps called for by the imperative dictates of honour and good faith are represented as based upon a return to an unsound commercial policy, and fraught with injustice to our fellow-subjects in Great Britain.

Canadian statesmen of all parties have invariably adhered to the faithful and punctual discharge of the obligations of their country; they have never swerved from the principle, that whatever may be the faults or follies of their Government or Legislature, the public creditor should not suffer; and supported by the unanimous voice of the country, Parliament has never hesitated to provide, by taxation, for the necessities of the state.

The commercial crisis of 1857 following the reduction of railway expenditure on the completion of the greater part of the works, and accompanied by a deficient harvest, caused a serious falling off in the revenue of that year; and this was succeeded, in 1858, by a still greater failure of the crop, and consequently, even more depressed condition of trade. Attendant upon this state of things, and as if to tax the energies of the people to the utmost, it became necessary, in 1857, to assume the payment of interest on the railway advances, with the exception of the Great Western of Canada, amounting to about £200,000 per annum, and also to advance the interest upon the municipal debt, amounting to about £100,000 per annum.

Dependence could partly be placed upon a revival of trade to restore the revenue to its former point; but this would afford no means of meeting the future railway and municipal payments; and Parliament had to choose between a continued system of bor-

rowing to meet deficiencies, or an increase of taxation to such amount as might, with economy of administration in every branch of the public service, on a revival of trade, restore the equilibrium of income and expenditure. It is true that another course was open; and that was, to exact the terms upon which the railway advances were made; and to leave the holders of the municipal bonds to collect their interest, under the strict letter of the law. By these steps Canada would certainly have relieved herself from the pressure of increased taxation, and might have escaped the reproaches of those who blame the increase of her customs' duties. But it would have been at the expense of the English capitalists who had placed their faith in the fair treatment of her Government and Legislature; and it would have been but poor consolation for them to know, that, through their loss, Canada was able to admit British goods at 15 instead of 20 per cent.

The writer has been reproached in this country as the author and promoter of a protective policy in Canada. To this he makes no other reply than that the commercial measures which have produced the results he is about to state, have always had his support while a member of the provincial parliament; and coming into office as finance minister of the country in August, 1858, with an exhausted exchequer, in face of a serious failure in the harvest, and with a positive deficiency of no less than £500,000 in the revenue for 1858, he rests the defence of his policy upon the fact, that the present Government of Canada* has maintained the credit of the country unimpeached, and has, within less than eighteen months, so far succeeded in reducing the expenditure and increasing the revenue of the province, that he has now the satisfaction of stating, that it appears certain that the expenditure of the year now closed will be found to have been nearly, if not quite, within the income.

It is, however, contended that the commercial policy of Canada, so far from being opposed to that of the mother-country, has been in accord with it, so far as differing circumstances would permit; and in evidence of this position a statement is herewith appended, showing the total imports, duty, and free goods imported into Canada since the union.

The policy of the mother-country was protective and discriminative until 1846, and that of Canada was made, as far as practicable, in harmony. Differential duties in favour of the direct trade with Great Britain existed till 1848, when they were repealed. And in 1854 the principles of Free Trade

* The Cartier-Macdonald Administration.

were still more fully adopted by Canada in the legislation connected with the reciprocity treaty with the United States. The repeal of the navigation laws took place in 1849. The policy of Canada has thus, at the three periods of 1841 to 1848, 1849 to 1854, and 1855 to this date, followed that of Great Britain. Our markets have been thrown open on equal terms to all the world; our inland waters are navigated by foreign vessels on the same terms as by Canadian; the necessaries of life entering into the ordinary consumption of the people have all been made free; our vast timber and shipbuilding interests have been thus developed, and our fisheries encouraged; and, as a general principle, all raw materials have also been admitted free.

The analysis of the statement in the appendix gives some remarkable and instructive results. For the eight years from 1841 to 1848, during which the protective policy existed, the total imports of Canada were £22,638,348; the total duty collected, £2,308,499; and the total free goods, £509,495. The averages being £2,829,793, £288,545, and £63,687; the duty being thus about 10¼ per cent., and the free goods only 2¼ per cent. of the whole imports.

For the next period of six years to the passing of the reciprocity acts, and general adoption of more liberal views—1849 to 1854—the total imports, duty, and free goods, were respectively £29,429,934 10*s*., £3,937,292 11*s*., £2,012,368 9*s*.; averaging £4,904,988 10*s*., £656,215, and £335,395 per annum; the duty being thus about 13¼ per cent., and the free goods nearly 7 per cent. of the total imports.

For the last period of four years, from 1855 to 1858, the following results are shown:—Imports, £30,447,879; duty, £3,152,281; free goods, £8,868,250. The annual averages having been £7,611,970, £788,070, and £2,217,070; the duty being 10¼ per cent. and the free goods 29 per cent. of the imports.

The following comparative result appears:—

1841 to 1848, average total imports,					£2,829,793		
1849 to 1854	"		"		4,904,988		
1855 to 1858	"		"		7,611,970		
1841 to 1848, duty,	10¼	per cent.	..	Free goods,	2¼	per cent.	
1849 to 1854	"	13¼	"	..	"	7	"
1855 to 1858	"	10¼	"	..	"	29	"

These comparative statements abundantly prove that the policy of Canada, in its customs duties, has neither been repressive of trade, nor onerous upon the people. It is, however, necessary to draw attention to the fact that, from causes which will be hereafter stated, the results for 1858 would somewhat differ from the above

average, my predecessor in office having found it necessary to make a considerable addition to the customs duties by an act which took effect on the 7th of August, 1858, which gave the following results for that particular year, and which must be borne in mind, when it is necessary to explain the nature of the Customs' Act of March, 1859.

1858—Imports to 7th August, £3,263,591.
Duty, £361,350 ..... Free goods, £954,845.
Duty, 11 per cent. ..... Free goods, 29 per cent.

From 7th August to 31st December, under Tariff of 1858.—
Imports, £2,711,448
Duty, £333,454 ..... Free goods, £765,760.
Duty, 12½ per cent. ..... Free goods, 28½ per cent.

The fiscal policy of Canada has invariably been governed by considerations of the amount of revenue required. It is no doubt true that a large and influential party exists, who advocate a protective policy; but this policy has not been adopted by either the Government or Legislature, although the necessity of increased taxation for the purposes of revenue has, to a certain extent, compelled action in partial unison with their views, and has caused more attention to be given to the proper adjustment of the duties, so as neither unduly to stimulate nor depress the few branches of manufacture which exist in Canada. The policy of the present Government in readjusting the tariff has been, in the first place to obtain sufficient revenue for the public wants; and, secondly, to do so in such a manner as would most fairly distribute the additional burthens upon the different classes of the community; and it will undoubtedly be a subject of gratification to the Government if they find that the duties absolutely required to meet their engagements should incidentally benefit and encourage the production, in the country, of many of those articles which we now import. The Government have no expectation that the moderate duties imposed by Canada can produce any considerable development of manufacturing industry: the utmost that is likely to arise is the establishment of works requiring comparatively unskilled labour, or of those competing with American makers for the production of goods which can be equally well made in Canada, and which a duty of 20 per cent. will no doubt stimulate. That these results should flow from the necessity of increased taxation, is no subject of regret to the Canadian Government, nor can it be alleged as any departure, on their part, from the recognized sound principles of trade, as it will shortly be shown that the Government were compelled to obtain increased revenue; and it is believed that no other course could be relied on for this result than that adopted.

The increase of taxation is never a popular step, and it may well be believed that no Government would adopt it without the strongest conviction that good faith demanded it. It is unpleasant enough to be exposed to attack in Canada for an unavoidable increase of duties; but it is certainly ungenerous to be reproached by England, when the obligations which have caused the bulk of the indebtedness of Canada have been either incurred in compliance with the former policy of Great Britain, or more recently assumed to protect from loss those parties in England who had invested their means in our railways and municipal bonds.

The indirect public debt of Canada, including railway advances, in 1858 was £6,271,762 bearing 6 per cent. interest, which prior to 1857 had not been a charge upon the revenue. In that year, as has been already stated, owing to the commercial crisis, it became necessary to make large payments upon it, and in 1858 almost the whole amount had to be met from the general revenue. In addition to the commercial depression, the harvest of 1857 was below an average, and that of 1858 was nearly a total failure. It became manifest that the indirect debt must for many years be a charge upon the country, and Parliament was required to make provision for it. The interest on the public debt, direct and indirect, thus required, in 1858, £636,667; and without flagrant breach of faith it could neither be postponed nor repudiated. The pressure had come suddenly and heavily upon the people of Canada; but neither the Government nor the Legislature hesitated in making such provision as in their judgment would meet the exigencies. The Customs' Act of 1858 was therefore passed, and subsequently, with the same objects in view, and others which will be hereafter explained, the Customs' Act of 1859 was also passed.

After subjecting the engagements of the province to the strictest possible scrutiny, the Government were of opinion that it was possible to reduce the annual outlay on many items of expenditure, and their best efforts were therefore directed towards economy; the ordinary expenditure in 1858 having been £1,837,606, and the estimate for corresponding service in 1859 being £1,540,490. But after making every possible reduction, it was manifest that unless an increase of revenue could be obtained, a serious deficiency must occur in 1859. The opinion of the Government was, that having ascertained the probable amount required for the service of the year, it was their duty to recommend such measures to Parliament as would supply the deficiency, and that although during the crisis it might have been justifiable to borrow money for this purpose, it was no longer so. A revival of trade was confidently looked to, but owing to the bad harvest of 1858, it could not be

rapid, and it was deemed proper to recommend certain additions to the Customs' duties, to provide for a possible diminution in our ordinary importation.

The Customs' Act of 1859 is evidently believed in England to have imposed very large additional taxation on imported goods, whereas in reality such was neither the intention nor the fact. The new tariff was designed certainly with the intention of obtaining an increased revenue of about £100,000 on the estimated importations of 1859, but the real increase was looked for from a revival of trade; the main object was to readjust the duties so as to make them press more equally upon the community by extending the *ad valorem* principle to all importation, and thereby also encouraging and developing the direct trade between Canada and all foreign countries by sea, and so far benefiting the shipping interests of Great Britain—an object which is partly attained through the duties being taken upon the value in the market where last bought. The levy of specific duties, for several years, had completely diverted the trade of Canada in teas, sugars, &c., to the American markets, and had destroyed a very valuable trade which formerly existed from the St. Lawrence to the lower provinces and West Indies. It was believed that the completion of our canal and railroad systems, together with the improvements in the navigation of the Lower St. Lawrence, justified the belief that the supply of Canadian wants might be once more made by sea, and the benefits of this commerce obtained for our own merchants and forwarders. Under this conviction, it was determined by the Government to apply the principle of *ad valorem* duties (which already extended to all manufactured goods), to the remaining articles in our tariff. The principal articles on which it was proposed to obtain additional revenue, were cotton goods, to be raised from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., and iron, steel, &c., from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. This was the whole extent of increased taxation, and it was expected to yield £100,000 additional. The changes in teas, sugars, &c., were all merely nominal, and, as already explained, were proposed as being upon a more correct principle. The imports for the first three quarters of 1859, say to 30th September, have been:

Imports, £5,403,393; duty, £730,640; free goods, £1,594,468; the duty being 13½ on the imports, and free goods being 29 per cent. of the whole.

By this statement, it is shown that the increased rate of duty as compared with the tariff of 1858, as given previously, has only been from 12½ to 13½ per cent., which can scarcely be deemed excessive; while so far from the apprehensions entertained of a

diminution of imports and consequent loss of revenue being verified, in both cases the estimates of the Government are borne out as nearly as could be expected, considering the state of the country and its gradual recovery from depression. Until the close of the year, the comparison cannot fairly be made, inasmuch as we are only now beginning to benefit from our late good harvest; but as an indication of the result, it may be stated that in the case of cotton goods, which were raised from 15 to 20 per cent., the importations for the first nine months of 1857-8 and 9, were as follows:—

1857	£89,993
1858	58,823
1859	88,844

I can also point with satisfaction to the fact, that the proportion which free goods bear to the whole importation is exactly that of 1858, and of the average for the four previous years—viz., 29 per cent. of the imports; indicating that the new tariff has not produced any disturbance of trade, nor checked importations: for it is remarkable that where so large an increase has taken place in the imports, as from £4,520,993 in the first nine months of 1858 to £5,403,393, 5*s.* in the corresponding period of 1859, the proportion of free goods to the whole remains the same.

I will now proceed to indicate the causes which have induced the Government and Legislature of Canada to seek, in an increase of their Customs' duties, the means of meeting the large and unexpected demands upon them. But before finally leaving the subject of the burdens upon the people of Canada, it is proper to remark that the rate of duty levied under the present tariff of 1859, covering the cost of all our canal and railway expenditure, is only 13½ per cent.; while in the period from 1841 to 1848, when the province had neither canals nor railways, it was 10¼ per cent.; and from 1849 to 1854, when it had only canals, but not railways, it was 13¼ per cent. If it were necessary to offer an argument on the subject, it might be very easily shown that any increase of duty which has been placed on English goods is quite indemnified by the decreased cost at which our canals, railways and steamships enable them now to be delivered throughout the province; and that if the question were one of competition with Canadian manufacturers, the English exporter is quite as well off as before, while as compared with the American, his position is greatly improved.

In proceeding to offer some observations upon the principle upon which taxation is imposed in Canada, I may remark that the views of those who cavil at the policy of Canada seem to be based upon the assumption that Free Trade is both the principle and practice of

Great Britain, and should be adopted by Canada, irrespective of its financial necessities.

It certainly appears singular that Canada should be reproached with a departure from sound principles of finance, when, in order to pay her just debts, she imposes higher duties on the articles she herself consumes, when in England itself the same means are resorted to, and no less than £28,000,000 sterling obtained from customs duties, and £17,000,000 from excise. If in Great Britain, where such an enormous amount of realized wealth exists, it has only as yet been found possible to raise one-sixth of the revenue by direct taxation, it need require no excuse if Canada has to raise her revenue almost wholly by indirect means.

Free Trade, in the abstract, must be taken to mean the free exchange of the products of industry of all countries, or of the inhabitants of the same country, and it is perfectly immaterial whether that industry be applied to the production of a pound of sugar or tobacco, or of a tenpenny nail or a bushel of malt; it is equally an interference with the principle to levy Customs' duties or excise on any. But it is, and probably will continue to be, impossible to abandon Customs' duties or excise as a means of revenue; they afford the means of levying large sums by the taxation of articles of consumption, distributing the burden in almost inappreciable quantities, and in one respect have this advantage, that, if fairly imposed, each individual in the community contributes in a tolerably fair proportion to his means. In Great Britain it may be possible to adjust the taxation, so as to make realized property contribute more than it now does to the wants of the State; but in a country like Canada no such resource exists, and it would be perfectly hopeless to attempt to raise the required revenue by direct taxation, —we neither possess the required machinery to do it, nor are the people satisfied that it is the more correct principle. Customs' duties must therefore for a long time to come continue to be the principal source from which our revenue is derived.

Admitting, therefore, the necessity of raising a certain amount for the wants of the State, and that such amount can only be obtained through customs duties, the Government of Canada, like that of Great Britain, have to consider how that necessary interference with the true principle of political economy can be effected with least disturbance to trade. And judging of the fiscal policy of the present Government by this rule, it is contended that, with some trifling exceptions, which must arise in all human legislation, the customs duties are imposed in the manner least calculated to disturb the free exchange of Canadian labour with that of other countries. A large class of articles termed raw materials, are ad-

mitted free, amounting to 29 per cent. of the total imports. Another large class, consisting of iron, steel, metals, and articles entering into the construction of railways, houses, ships, and agricultural implements, &c., are admitted at 10 per cent. duty; leather and partially manufactured goods pay 15 per cent.; manufactured goods, made from raw materials or articles paying 10 per cent. duty, are admitted at 20 per cent.; manufactured goods made from articles paying 15 per cent. duty are charged 25 per cent., but this is exceptional, and very limited; while luxuries, comprising wines, tobacco, segars, and spices, &c., are charged at rates varying from 30 to 40 per cent., but the bulk are of 30 per cent. Spirits are charged 100 per cent. Tea, sugar, and molasses pay 15 per cent. and 30 per cent.

The distribution of duties on the whole imports therefore stands thus:—

	Duties.	Imports.
Free goods	0	29 per cent.
Goods paying 10 per cent	4½	6½ "
" " 15 "	7	6½ "
" " 20 "	61	41 "
" " 25 "	1½	1 "
" " over 25 per cent., including spirits	9¾	4 "
Tea, sugar, and molasses	16¼	12 "
	100	100

The foregoing statement will show that if the attempt were made to reduce the duty on manufactured goods paying 20 per cent., it would necessitate an advance on the other items, unless such reduction produced a corresponding increase in consumption to make good the deficiency. Assuming, then, that the duty were reduced from 20 to 10 per cent., it will not be contended that this reduction, though affecting the revenue one-half on these articles, would induce double the consumption; on the contrary, it is believed that it would not affect the consumption at all, as is borne out by the statistics of previous years, and of the present year. It would then become necessary to meet the deficiency by increased duties elsewhere; and in selecting the articles it is in the first place impossible to touch the bulk of the free goods, most of which are free under the reciprocity treaty, and the remainder entitled to continue free according to sound principles of trade. Passing to the next class of 10-per-cent. goods, it will not surely be contended that the scale of duty should be raised on *quasi* raw materials to a rate *in excess* of that imposed on manufactures. There is then nothing left but the articles paying over 25 per cent., and it must be observed that they form only 4 per cent. of the imports, and

pay 9¾ per cent. of the duties; if, therefore, it were necessary to make good the deficiency arising from a reduction of duty on manufactures, the proportion of duty to the whole they would have to pay would be increased from 9¾ per cent. to 40 per cent., and the average rate of duty on these articles, instead of 32 per cent. or thereabout, would be increased to nearly 130 per cent. It is scarcely necessary to point out that such an increase would be utterly incompatible with revenue, and that the result would be a financial failure. On tea, sugar, &c., it has been found impossible to maintain higher duties than those now imposed—as they are free in the United States, and unfavourable comparisons are even now instituted by our agricultural population.

Apart from such modifications in detail, as experience may suggest, the Government of Canada believe that in order to raise the revenue imperatively required to preserve the good faith of the province, and to maintain its institutions, the scale of customs duties is not excessive, and that it has been adjusted in general accordance with sound principles of political economy. Reductions in the scale of duties can only take place as the increasing population and wealth of Canada swell the importations, and it will be a subject of the highest gratification to the present Government, as well as to the Legislature, when such reduction is possible.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to give to English readers an idea, however imperfect, of the progress of constitutional government in Canada, and its fruits, during the comparatively short period of ten years. I am aware that my remarks only furnish, as it were, an index to the volume; but if they produce more inquiry and a stricter investigation into the position and circumstances of the province, they may be the means of removing some misapprehension, and thus prove of service to the many thousands in Great Britain, who anxiously look to the Colonies as their future home.

I have sought to avoid all reference to political parties in Canada. We have our differences, and struggles for power, as in every other free country; but these discussions, I think, properly belong to ourselves, as from our own people the Government of the day must receive their verdict. Canada stands at the bar of public opinion in England, to be judged, not by the acts of any party, but as a whole; and no public man, possessing any claim to patriotism, would seek, by parading our sectional difficulties and disputes, to gain position in Canada, through the disparagement of his country and her acts in England. I will venture to add only one remark, and that is called for by an impression which I find to exist as to the political course taken by our French Canadian brethren in

Canada. During the entire period from 1849 to the present day, the French Canadian majority from Lower Canada has been represented fully in the Cabinet; and with their active concurrence in the initiation and progress of every measure, and supported by their votes in Parliament, all the great reforms I have recited have been carried.

In conclusion, I venture to express my conviction, that whatever may be the future destinies of Canada, her people will always value as their most precious right the free and liberal institutions they enjoy, and will cherish the warmest sentiments of regard towards the mother-country, from whom they have received them. The future may change our political relations; but I feel sure the day will never arrive when Canada will withhold her support, however feeble it may be, from Great Britain, in any contest for the maintenance of her own position, as the foremost champion of civil and religious liberty.

London, January 1st, 1860.

APPENDIX.

Statement of the value of goods imported into Canada, with the amount of duty collected thereon, from the year 1841 to 30th September, 1859, inclusive; also the value of free goods imported during the same time:—

Year.	Imports.			Duty.			Free Goods.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1841	2,694,160	14	6	225,834	7	10	146,268	17	8
1842	2,588,632	13	2	278,930	7	4	85,944	2	4
1843	2,421,306	16	4	241,572	9	0	13,526	18	0
1844	4,331,050	17	4	441,331	15	2	83,666	10	4
1845	4,191,325	16	6	449,960	1	7	59,061	17	4
1846	4,515,821	1	11	422,215	16	8	61,300	10	8
1847	3,609,692	14	11	414,633	5	6	Estimated 77,139	5	4
1848	3,191,328	5	10	334,029	8	9	92,978	0	0
	27,543,319	0	6	2,808,507	11	10	619,886	1	8
1849	3,002,891	18	3	444,547	5	1	269,200	7	9
1850	4,245,517	3	6	615,694	13	8	294,133	7	2
1851	5,358,697	12	7	737,439	0	2	425,671	5	9
1852	5,071,623	3	11	739,263	12	9	311,962	17	4
1853	7,995,359	1	1	1,028,676	15	7	443,977	18	1
1854	10,132,331	6	9	1,224,751	4	8	703,435	17	1
	35,806,420	6	1	4,790,372	11	11	2,448,381	13	2
1855	9,021,542	7	3	881,445	12	6	2,596,383	13	8
1856	10,896,096	16	2	1,127,220	10	5	2,997,941	14	9
1857	9,857,649	11	9	981,262	15	11	3,101,976	1	7
1858	7,269,631	15	0	845,347	7	7	2,093,403	10	0
	37,044,920	10	2	3,835,276	6	5	10,789,705	0	0
1859 to 30th Sept.	6,574,128	5	0	888,946	15	4	1,915,603	0	0

Inspector-General's Office,
Customs Department.

Quebec, 22nd October, 1859.

N.B.—In the foregoing pages, the above figures have been reduced to their equivalent in sterling money.

Statement of the value of goods imported into Canada, and the duties collected thereon for nine months to 30th September, 1859; showing the relative percentage which the values and the duties at the different rates of duty bear to the whole importations, and the whole amount of duties:—

Rate of Duty.	Values.		Duty.	
	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.
	Dollars.		Dollars. cents	
5 and 10 per cent.	1,680,311	6 40/100	160,626 80	4 52/100
15 per cent.	1,722,735	6 55/100	258,293 27	7 26/100
20 ditto	10,784,512	41	2,157,205 76	60 67/100
25 ditto	216,917	83/100	54,049 25	1 52/100
Tea, sugar, and molasses	3,142,974	11 95/100	579,921 04	16 31/100
Other articles (Specific and over 25 per cent.)	1,087,372	4 13/100	345,707 60	9 72/100
Free goods	7,662,412	29 14/100		
Total	26,296,513	100	3,555,803 72	100

Inspector-General's Office,
Customs Department.

Quebec, 22nd October, 1859.

N.B.—The above figures have been reduced to sterling money.

COPY OF A REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE HONOURABLE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, APPROVED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL ON THE 12TH NOVEMBER, 1859.

On the Report of the Honourable the Minister of Finance, dated 25th October, ultimo, submitting certain remarks and statements upon the Despatch of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated 13th August, and upon the Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Sheffield, dated 1st August, transmitted therewith.

The Committee concur in the views expressed by the Minister of Finance, and recommend that a copy of his Report be forwarded by Your Excellency, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[Certified,] WM. H. LEE,
C. E. C.

REPORT.

The Minister of Finance has the honour respectfully to submit certain remarks and statements upon the Despatch of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated 13th August, and upon the Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Sheffield, dated 1st August, transmitted therewith.

It is to be deeply regretted that His Grace should have given to so great a degree the weight of his sanction to the statements in the Memorial, without having previously afforded to the Government of Canada, the opportunity of explaining the fiscal policy of the Province, and the grounds upon which it rests. The representations upon which His Grace appears to have formed his opinions are those of a Provincial town in England, professedly actuated by selfish motives; and it may fairly be claimed for Canada, that the deliberate acts of its Legislature, representing nearly three millions of people, should not have been condemned by the Imperial Government on such authority, until the fullest opportunity of explanation had been afforded. It is believed that nothing in the legislation of Canada warrants the expressions of disapproval which are contained in the Despatch of His Grace, but that on the contrary due regard has been had to the welfare and prosperity of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects.

From expressions used by His Grace in reference to the sanction of the Provincial Customs' Act, it would appear that he had even entertained the suggestion of its disallowance—and though happily Her Majesty has not been so advised, yet the question

having been thus raised, and the consequences of such a step, if ever adopted, being of the most serious character, it becomes the duty of the Provincial Government distinctly to state what they consider to be the position and rights of the Canadian Legislature.

Respect to the Imperial Government must always dictate the desire to satisfy them that the policy of this country is neither hastily nor unwisely formed, and that due regard is had to the interests of the mother country as well as of the Province. But the Government of Canada, acting for its legislature and people, cannot, through those feelings of deference which they owe to the Imperial authorities, in any manner waive or diminish the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves both as to the mode and extent to which taxation shall be imposed. The Provincial Ministry are at all times ready to afford explanations in regard to the acts of the Legislature to which they are party—but, subject to their duty and allegiance to Her Majesty, their responsibility in all general questions of policy must be to the Provincial Parliament, by whose confidence they administer the affairs of the country. And in the imposition of taxation, it is so plainly necessary that the administration and the people should be in accord, that the former cannot admit responsibility or require approval beyond that of the local Legislature. Self-government would be utterly annihilated, if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is, therefore the duty of the present Government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best—even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry. Her Majesty cannot be advised to disallow such acts, unless Her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of the affairs of the Colony, irrespective of the views of its inhabitants.

The Imperial Government are not responsible for the debts and engagements of Canada; they do not maintain its judicial, educational, or civil service; they contribute nothing to the internal government of the country: and the Provincial Legislature, acting through a Ministry directly responsible to it, has to make provision for all these wants; they must necessarily claim and exercise the widest latitude as to the nature and extent of the burdens to be placed upon the industry of the people. The Provincial Government believes that His Grace must share their own conviction on this important subject, but as serious evils would have resulted had His Grace taken a different course, it is wiser to prevent future complication by distinctly stating the position that must be maintained by every Canadian administration.

These remarks are offered on the general principle of Colonial taxation. It is, however, confidently believed that had His Grace been fully aware of the facts connected with the recent Canada Customs' Act, his despatch would not have been written in its present terms of disapproval.

The Canadian Government are not disposed to assume the obligation of defending their policy against such assailants as the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce; but as His Grace appears to have accepted these statements as correct, it may be well to show how little the memorialists really understood of the subject they have ventured to pronounce upon so emphatically.

The object of this memorial is "to represent the injury anticipated to the trade of this town (Sheffield) from the recent advance of the Import duties of Canada." To this it is a sufficient reply to state, that *no advance* whatever was made on Sheffield goods, by the Customs Act in question; the duty was 20 per cent. on these articles *enumerated* in the former tariff, and the only difference is that they are now classed as *unenumerated*, paying the same duty. But on the other hand by the present tariff, the raw material, iron, steel, &c., used in the manufacture of such goods has been raised from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent., consequently under the Act of which the memorialists complain, their position in competing with the Canadian manufacturer is actually *better* than under the previous tariff. The establishment of this fact completely destroys the force of the whole argument in the memorial as regards the trade they especially represent.

The Chamber of Commerce, in their anxiety to serve the interests of their own trade, have taken up two positions from which to assail the Canadian tariff, which are, it is conceived, somewhat contradictory. They state that it is intended to foster native manufactures, and also, that it will benefit United States manufacturers. It might be sufficient to say that the tariff cannot possibly effect *both* these objects, as they are plainly antagonistic; but it may be well to put the Chamber of Commerce right on some points connected with the competition they encounter from the American manufacturers. There are certain descriptions of hardware and cutlery which are manufactured in a superior manner by the American and Canadian manufacturers, and these will not under any circumstances be imported from Sheffield. In these goods there is really no competition, their relative merits are perfectly well known, and the question of duty or price does not decide where they shall be bought. In regard to other goods in which Sheffield has to compete with the United States, it can be easily shown that no advantage can by possibility be enjoyed by the

foreigner in the Canadian market, because Sheffield is able now to export very largely of these very goods to the American Market, paying a duty of 24 per cent. and competing with the American maker. Certainly then in the Canada Market, Sheffield paying only 20 per cent. duty can have nothing to fear from American competition, which is subject also to the same duty, and even if admitted absolutely *free* would yet be somewhat less able to compete than in the United States. The fact is that certain goods are bought in the Sheffield market, and certain in the American. We have in Canada, tradesmen who make goods similar to the American but not to the Sheffield, and if our duty operates as an encouragement to Manufacturers, it is rather against the American than the English Manufacturer, as any one acquainted with this country well knows.

The Chamber of Commerce is evidently quite ignorant of the principle upon which the valuation of goods for duty is made by Canada, which is on the value in the *market where bought*. The Sheffield goods are therefore admitted for duty at their price in Sheffield, while the American goods are taken at their value in the United States. This mode of valuation is clearly in favour of the British Manufacturer, and is adopted with the deliberate intention of encouraging the direct trade, as will be shewn hereafter.

The calculations offered by the Chamber of Commerce as to the cost of delivering Sheffield and American goods in Canada, are wholly erroneous; they state the cost as 35 per cent. to 40 per cent. against 22½ per cent. to 25 per cent., but their whole case rests upon the assumption that the original cost of both is the same —which is manifestly absurd—both as shewn indirectly by Sheffield being a large *exporter* to the States, and directly, from the fact that in the case of the American maker, his raw material has to pay a duty of 24 per cent. while he requires higher interest both for his fixed and working capital, and has to pay larger wages for skilled labour.

The Chamber of Commerce attaches much weight to their allegation that Canada has "more than 1000 miles of unguarded frontier." This is, like most of those in the memorial, a mere reckless assertion made in ignorance of facts. The frontier of Canada is not crossed by a road of any description but one (the Kennebec) east of the 45° parallel of latitude—it extends about 120 miles along this parallel to the river St. Lawrence, thence up the river about 100 miles to Lake Ontario, above which it is separated from the United States by the Great Lakes averaging 60 miles in width to the extreme west of Lake Superior—with the two exceptions of the Niagara river 30 miles, for a considerable extent impassable,

and by the Detroit and St. Clair rivers 70 miles. The lakes are not navigated in winter, and in summer offer great obstacles to smuggling from causes which it would take too much space to recite—consequently the frontier which offers any avenues for smuggling is limited in reality to about 320 miles in all, and so far from being unguarded, a most efficient and zealous staff of Officers is employed upon it, occupying every available route. Railways have also to a great extent removed the temptation and ability to smuggle, the goods are all brought from the United States to the frontier by rail, and it is cheaper to pay the duty demanded on goods generally, say 20 per cent., than to incur the additional expense of seeking another mode of conveyance, combined with the risk of a contraband trade. Smuggling to a certain extent no doubt takes place, but it is generally for the mere supply of frontier villages and settlements ; and in most cases of seizure, we find that the goods are of the most portable description—Whiskey and manufactured tobacco are the only bulky articles ever smuggled, and on these articles the duties are 70 per cent. and 40 per cent. They would not be smuggled were public opinion satisfied with the imposition of a lower duty, say 20 per cent.

The Chamber of Commerce has chosen to allege, as its authority for assailing the present Canadian Customs' duties, the newspaper statements to which they have had access, and the memorialists have permitted themselves on such authority to use most unbecoming language towards the Government of Canada. It would have been more proper had they quoted the statements of the policy of the Government made by its Finance Minister, rather than those of the public press, and on this point there is now submitted an extract from the remarks made by Mr. Galt on the introduction of the new tariff, and which were fully reported in all the leading newspapers.

" There is no more important question that can engage the attention of any country than its commercial policy. There are some who would do away with Customs' duties altogether and have resort to direct taxation. Others again are in favour of a tariff which shall afford protection to native industry, and avoid the necessity of importing goods from abroad. I think it is impossible for Canada to adopt altogether either of these measures as a final policy. I think we must have reference to what are the great interests of the country in reference to taxation. The first of them undoubtedly is agriculture. There is also a large portion of the people engaged in the manufacture of timber, and the commercial interest is by no means small. There is also a manufacturing interest, growing up, but it has not yet attained the magnitude of the others

of which I have spoken. I do not believe that the adoption of a protective policy is possible in Canada; on account of the extensive frontier that she has to protect. It is plain that if we raise the duties beyond a certain point we offer a reward to unscrupulous persons to engage in contraband trade; and again, if, by raising the duty on those articles too high, we prevent their introduction, we must necessarily have recourse to direct taxation. I do not think it possible or desirable that taxation should be raised to the rate adverted to. The duties imposed are moderate, and since they had been raised from 12½ per cent. to 15, various manufactories have been created, have thriven, and are still thriving, and I am not aware that during the recent extraordinary monetary crisis they have suffered to any extent. It is right, in raising a revenue, to have respect to the possibility of finding employment for a portion of the population, but on the other hand, it is not proper to create a hot-bed to force manufactures. The revenue we have to raise permitted the putting on of duties which would give some encouragement to parties to embark in manufactures. When a person did so under a system of moderate duties, he had reasonable ground of assurance that the system would not be altered to his disadvantage, but if the duties were high the system would be regarded as one of class legislation, and as not likely to be permanent. The true object to be accomplished was to make provision for the public wants, and so to distribute the burdens as to make them press as equally as possible upon all, or to afford equal encouragement to all interests."

The nature and value of the information obtained by the Chamber of Commerce may be judged by their appending to their Memorial, an extract from a paper, bitterly opposed to the Government, which, taking up the result of six months' trade of Toronto—a port of only third rate magnitude,—pretends to give the result of a tariff which had only been in operation for three months out of six months, from which the statement was made. It will be hereafter shewn what the real operation of the new tariff has thus far been, and it will then clearly appear that the apprehensions of His Grace, as to the failure of the measure financially, have not been realized.

The Minister of Finance would not have considered it necessary to give any refutation to the statements of the Memorial from Sheffield had it not been virtually adopted by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle. He would have preferred at once entering upon an explanation of the financial position, requirements and policy of Canada, which he now respectfully submits—and which will, he believes, abundantly prove that, under the most serious difficulties,

the policy of Canada, so far from being opposed in principle to that of the mother country, has been in accord with it, as far as differing circumstances would permit.

A statement is herewith appended shewing the Total Imports, Duty, and Free Goods, imported into Canada since the Union.*

The policy of the Mother Country was protective and discriminative until 1846, and that of Canada was made as far as practicable in harmony. Differential duties in favour of the direct Trade with Great Britain existed till 1848, when they were repealed. And in 1854, the principles of Free Trade were still more fully adopted by Canada in the legislation connected with the Reciprocity Treaty. The repeal of the Navigation Laws took place in 1849. The policy of Canada has thus at the three periods of 1841 to 1848, 1849 to 1854, and 1855 to this date, followed that of Great Britain. Our markets have been thrown open on equal terms to all the world—our inland waters are navigated by Foreign vessels on the same terms as by Canadian—the necessaries of life entering into the ordinary consumption of the people have all been made free—our vast timber and ship-building interests have been thus developed—and our fisheries encouraged—and as a general principle all raw materials have also been admitted free. The only exception in the latter case being precisely that which most conclusively shows that the fiscal policy of Canada has been based upon Revenue as the primary object; as for the manufacture of the description of goods which has provoked the criticism of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce—iron and steel are the raw material, and on these very articles the duty has been steadily raised to 10 per cent. which is quite in proportion to the increased duty imposed upon the manufactured article.

The analysis of the statement herewith gives some curious and instructive results. For the eight years from 1841 to 1848, during which the protective policy existed, the total imports of Canada were £27,543,319 0s 6d., Halifax currency,—the total duty collected £2,808,507 11s 10d, and the total free goods £619,886 1s 8d. The averages being £3,442,915, £351,063 and £77,486, the duty being thus about 10¼ per cent., and the free goods only 2¼ per cent. of the whole imports.

For the next period of six years to the passing of the Reciprocity Acts, and general adoption of more liberal views—1849 to 1854—the Total Imports, Duty, and Free Goods were respectively £35,806,420 6s 1d, £4,790,372 11s 11d, £2,448,381 13s 2d—averaging £5,967,736, £798,395, and £408,063 per annum—

* See end of "*Canada from* 1849 *to* 1859,"—present Appendix.

the duty being thus about 13¼ per cent. and the free goods nearly 7 per cent. of the total imports.

For the last period of four years, from 1855 to 1858, which is that which has more particularly excited the apprehensions of His Grace, and the criticism of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, the following results are shewn :—Imports, £37,044,920 10s 2d—Duty, £3,835,276 6s 5d—Free Goods, £10,789,705 ; the annual averages having been £9,261,230, £958,819, and £2,697,426. The duty being 10¼ per cent., and the free goods 29 per cent. of the imports.

The following comparative result appears :—

1841 to 1848,	average total Imports,	£3,442,915					
1849 to 1854,	"	"	5,967,736				
1855 to 1858,	"	"	9,261,230				
1841 to 1848,	Duty,	10¼	per cent.	Free Goods,	2¼	per cent.
1849 to 1854,	"	13¼	"	"	7	"
1855 to 1858,	"	10¼	"	"	29	"

These comparative statements abundantly prove that the policy of Canada in its Customs' Duties has neither been repressive of trade, nor onerous upon the people. It is, however, necessary to draw attention to the fact that, from causes which will be hereafter stated, the results for 1858, would somewhat differ from the above average ; the late Minister of Finance, Mr. Cayley, having found it necessary to make a considerable addition to the Customs' Duties by an act which took effect on the 7th August, 1858, which gave the following results for that particular year, and which must be borne in mind, when it is necessary to explain the nature of the Customs' Act of March, 1859.

1858—Imports to 7th August, £3,970,703.

Duty, £439,643 14s 6d. Free Goods, £1,161,728 5s 0d
Duty, 11 per cent. Free Goods, 29 per cent.

From 7th August to 31st December, under Tariff of 1858—

Imports, £3,298,928 15s.
Duty, £405,703 13s 1d. Free Goods, £931,675 5s 0d
Duty, 12½ per cent. Free Goods, 28½ per cent.

The fiscal policy of Canada has invariably been governed by consideration of the amount of Revenue required. It is no doubt true that a large and influential party exists, who advocate a Protective policy, but this policy has not been adopted by either the Government or Legislature, although the necessity of increased taxation for the purposes of Revenue has to a certain extent compelled action in partial unison with their views, and has caused more

attention to be given to the proper adjustment of the duties, so as neither unduly to stimulate nor depress the few branches of manufacture which exist in Canada. "The policy of the present Government in readjusting the tariff has been, in the first place, to obtain sufficient Revenue for the public wants: and secondly, to do so, in such a manner as would most fairly distribute the additional burthens upon the different classes of the community; and it will undoubtedly be a subject of gratification to the Government, if they find that the duties, absolutely required to meet their engagements, should incidentally benefit and encourage the production in the country of many of those articles which we now import." The Government have no expectation that the moderate duties imposed by Canada can produce any considerable development of manufacturing industry; the utmost that is likely to arise, is the establishment of works requiring comparatively unskilled labor, or of those competing with American makers, for the production of goods which can be equally well made in Canada, and which a duty of 20 per cent. will no doubt stimulate. That these results should flow from the necessity of increased taxation, is no subject of regret to the Canadian Government, nor can it be alleged as any departure on their part from the recognized sound principles of trade; as it will shortly be shewn that the Government were compelled to obtain increased Revenue, and it is believed that no other course could be relied on for this result than that adopted.

The increase of taxation is never a popular step, and His Grace might have well believed that no Government would adopt it, without the strongest conviction that good faith demanded it. It is unpleasant enough to be exposed to attack in Canada for an unavoidable increase of Duties; but it is certainly ungenerous to be reproached by England, when the obligations which have caused the bulk of the indebtedness of Canada have been either incurred in compliance with the former policy of Great Britain—or more recently assumed—to protect from loss those parties in England, who had invested their means in our Railways and Municipal Bonds.

The Indirect Public Debt of Canada in 1858, £7,630,643 16s 7d., bearing 6 per cent. interest, which prior to 1857 had not been a charge upon the Revenue. In that year, owing to the commercial crisis, it became necessary to make large payments upon it, and in 1858, almost the whole amount had to be met from the general revenue. In addition to the commercial depression, the harvest of 1857 was below an average, and that of 1858 was nearly a total failure. It became manifest that the indirect debt must for many years be a charge upon the country, and Parliament was required to make provision for it. The interest on the Public

Debt, direct and indirect, thus required in 1858, £774,612 13s. 4d. and without flagrant breach of faith, it could neither be postponed nor repudiated. The pressure had come suddenly and heavily upon the people of Canada; but neither the Government nor the Legislature hesitated in making such provision as in their judgment would meet the exigencies. The Customs' Act of 1858 was therefore passed, and subsequently with the same objects in view and others, which will be thereafer explained, the Customs' Act of 1859 was also passed.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle has not, it is feared, given his consideration to the official documents shewing the Income and Expenditure of Canada for 1858, or he would have seen the absolute necessity under which the Government was acting, in proposing their financial measures for last year. His attention is now respectfully requested to the official report of the Finance Minister attached to the Public Accounts of 1858, wherein he will perceive the exact position in which the affairs of the Province stood, and that a deficiency of no less than $2,500,000 had occurred in that year.

After subjecting the engagements of the Province to the strictest possible scrutiny, the Government were of opinion that it was possible to reduce the annual outlay on many items of expenditure and the accompanying estimate submitted to Parliament will satisfy His Grace that the best efforts of the Government have been directed towards economy; the ordinary expenditure in 1858 having been $8,943,013, and the estimate for corresponding service in 1859 being $7,497,000. But after making every possible reduction, it was manifest that unless an increase of revenue could be obtained, a serious deficiency must occur in 1859. The opinion of the Government was, that having ascertained the probable amount required for the service of the year, it was their duty to recommend such measures to Parliament, as would supply the deficiency, and that although during the crisis, it might have been justifiable to borrow money for this purpose, it was no longer so. A revival of trade was confidently looked to, but, owing to the bad harvest of 1858, it could not be rapid, and it was deemed proper to recommend certain additions to the Customs' duties, to provide for a possible diminution in our ordinary importation.

The Customs' Act introduced by the present Minister of Finance is evidently believed by His Grace, and by others in England who draw their information apparently from the political press opposed to the Government, to have imposed very large additional taxation on imported goods, whereas in reality such was neither the intention, nor the fact. The new tariff was designed certainly with the

intention of increased revenue of about $500,000 on the estimated importations of 1859, but the real increase was looked for from a revival of trade; the main object of the new tariff was to readjust the duties so as to make them press more equally upon the community by extending the *ad valorem* principle to all importations, and thereby also encouraging and developing the direct trade between Canada and all foreign countries by sea, and so far benefitting the shipping interests of Great Britain—an object which is partly attained through the duties being taken upon the value in the market where last bought. The levy of specific duties for several years, had completely directed the trade of Canada in Teas, Sugars, &c., to the American markets, and had destroyed a very valuable trade which formerly existed from the St. Lawrence to the lower Provinces and West Indies. It was believed that the completion of our Canal and Railroad systems, together with the improvements in the navigation of the Lower St. Lawrence, justified the belief that the supply of Canadian wants might be once more made by sea—and the benefits of this commerce obtained for our own merchants and forwarders. Under this conviction it was determined by the Government to apply the principle of *ad valorem* duties, (which already extended to all manufactured goods), to the remaining articles in our tariff.

A step of this nature, having for its effect to give a slight advantage to the direct Trade *via* the St. Lawrence, with Great Britain, and the rest of the world, and whose tendency was somewhat to interfere with the existing close commercial relations between Western Canada and the United States—excited the bitter hostility of all the interests prejudicially affected; and both in Parliament and in the press, the most absurd and false statements were made on the subject. The opposition in Parliament strangely enough adopted as their strongest ground of attack upon the tariff, that it *receded* from the *protective principle* said to have been adopted by Mr. Cayley in the previous year—and for the purpose of defeating the Government, those in opposition in the House, who admitted the justice and propriety of the proposed changes, actually voted with the pure Protectionists. Notwithstanding all the combined efforts of their opponents, the Government adhered to and carried their measure; and it may now be interesting to observe, for the short period during which the tariff has been in force, how far it has produced the results contended for by the Government or the opponents.

The Minister of Finance stated to the House, that he did not intend materially to alter the rate of duty paid on the bulk of the imports, but only to change the principle upon which they should

be levied. The articles on which he proposed to obtain additional revenue were Cotton goods to be raised from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent, and Iron, Steel, &c., from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. This was the whole extent of increased taxation, and it was expected to yield $500,000 additional. The changes in Teas, Sugars, &c., were all merely nominal, and, as already explained, were proposed upon a more correct principle. The Imports for the first three quarters of 1859, say to 30th September—have been:

Imports £6,574,128 5s. Duty £888,946 15s. 4d. Free Goods £1,915,603—the duty being 13½ on the Imports, and the Free Goods being 29 per cent. of the whole.

The attention of His Grace is respectfully requested to this statement as shewing first, that the increased rate of duty, as compared with the tariff of 1858, as given in a previous part of this memorandum, has only been from 12½ to 13½ per cent., which can scarcely be deemed excessive—while so far from the apprehensions of His Grace being verified through a diminution of Imports and consequent loss of revenue, in both cases the estimates of the Government are borne out as nearly as could be expected, considering the state of the country, and its gradual recovery from depression. Until the close of the year, the comparison cannot be fairly made, inasmuch as we are only now beginning to benefit from our late good harvest; but as an indication of the result it may be stated that in the case of Cotton Goods, which were raised from 15 to 20 per cent. the importation for the first nine months of 1857-8 and 9 were follows:

1857,.....	$4,379,672
1858,.....	2,862,734
1859,.....	4,323,750

The Minister of Finance can also point with satisfaction to the fact that the proportion which Free Goods bears to the whole importation, is exactly that of 1858 and the average for the four previous years, viz: 29 per cent. of the imports. This may be assumed to indicate that the new tariff has not produced any disturbance of trade, nor checked importations, for it is remarkable that where so large an increase has taken place, the imports, as, from £5,500,542 in the first nine months of 1858 to £6,574,128 5s. in the corresponding period of 1859, the proportion of Free Goods to the whole remains the same.

The Minister of Finance relies upon these statements to convince His Grace, that he has scarcely done justice to the Government of Canada in his Despatch of 13th August, and that in many impor-

tant respects, the Chamber of Commerce has been entirely misinformed. He will now proceed to indicate the causes which have induced the Government and Legislature of Canada to seek, in an increase of their Customs' duties, the means of meeting the large and unexpected demands upon them. But before finally leaving the subject of the burdens upon the people of Canada, it is proper to remark that the rate of duty levied under the present tariff of 1859, covering the cost of all our Canal and Railway expenditure, is only 13½ per cent.; while in the period from 1841 to 1848, when the Province had neither Canals nor Railways, it was 10¼ per cent.; and from 1849 to 1854, when it had only Canals but not Railways, it was 13¼ per cent. If it were necessary to offer an argument on the subject, it might be very easily shewn that any increase of duty which has been placed on English goods, is quite indemnified by the decreased cost at which our Canals, Railways, and Steamships enable them now to be delivered throughout the Province; and that if the question were one of competition with Canadian manufacturers, the English exporter is quite as well off as before, while as compared with the American his position is greatly improved.

In proceeding to offer some observations upon the principle upon which taxation is imposed in Canada, the Minister of Finance may remark that the views of the Chamber of Commerce on the question of Free Trade, seemed to be based upon the assumption that it is both the principle and practice of Great Britain—and should be adopted by Canada—irrespective of its financial necessities.

It certainly appears singular, that Canada should be reproached with a departure from sound principles of finance, when, in order to pay her just debts, she imposes higher duties on the articles she herself consumes and pays for, when in England itself the same means are resorted to, and no less than £28,000,000 sterling, obtained from Customs duties—and £17,000,000 from Excise. If in Great Britain, where such an enormous amount of realized wealth exists, it has only as yet been found possible to raise one-sixth of the Revenue by direct taxation,—it need require no excuse if Canada has to raise her revenue almost wholly by indirect means.

Free Trade, in the abstract, must be taken to mean the free exchange of the products of industry of all countries, or of the inhabitants of the same country, and it is perfectly immaterial whether that industry be applied to the production of a pound of sugar or tobacco or of a tenpenny nail or a bushel of malt; it is equally an interference with the principle to levy Customs' duties or

excise on any. But it is, and probably will continue to be, impossible to abandon Customs' duties or Excise as a means of revenue; they afford the means of levying large sums by the taxation of articles of consumption, distributing the burden in almost inappreciable quantities, and in one respect have this advantage that if fairly imposed, each individual in the community contributes in a tolerably fair proportion to his means. In Great Britain it may be possible to adjust the taxation, so as to make realized property contribute more than it now does to the wants of the State; but in a country like Canada, no such resource exists, and it would be perfectly hopeless to attempt to raise the required revenue by direct taxation,—we neither possess the required machinery to do it, nor are the people satisfied that it is the more correct principle. Customs' duties must therefore for a long time to come continue to be the principal source from which our Revenue is derived.

Admitting therefore the necessity of raising a certain amount for the wants of the state, and that such amount can only be obtained through Customs' duties, the Government of Canada, like that of Great Britain, have to consider how that necessary interference with the true principle of political economy, can be effected with the least disturbance to trade. And judging of the fiscal policy of the present Government by this rule, it is contended that, with some trifling exceptions, which must arise in all human legislation, the Customs duties are imposed in the manner least calculated to disturb the free exchange of Canadian labour with that of other countries. A large class of articles termed raw materials are admitted free, amounting to 29 per cent. of the total imports. Another large class, consisting of Iron, Steel, Metals, and articles entering into the construction of Railways, Houses, Ships, and Agricultural Implements, &c., are admitted at 10 per cent. duty, Leather and partially Manufactured Goods pay 15 per cent.; Manufactured Goods made from raw materials or articles paying 10 per cent. duty, are admitted at 20 per cent.; Manufactured Goods, made from articles paying 15 per cent. duty, are charged 25 per cent., but this is exceptional, and very limited: while luxuries, comprising Wines, Tobacco, Segars, and Spices, &c., are charged at rates varying from 30 to 40 per cent, but the bulk are of 30 per cent. Spirits are charged 100 per cent., Tea, Sugar, and Molasses pay 15 per cent. and 30 per cent.

The distribution of duties on the whole Imports therefore stands thus:

	Duties.	Imports.
Free Goods.....	0	29 per cent.
Goods paying 10 per cent.....	4½	6½ "
" " 15 "	7	6½ "
" " 20 "	61	41 "
" " 25 "	1½	1 "
" " over 25 pr ct. includ. Spirits	9¾	4 "
Tea, Sugar and Molasses.....	16¼	12 "
	100	100 "

The foregoing statement will shew that if the attempt were made to reduce the duty on manufactured goods paying 20 per cent. it would necessitate an advance on the other items, unless such reduction produced a corresponding increase in consumption to make good the deficiency. Assuming then that the duty were reduced from 20 to 10 per cent., it will not be contended that this reduction, though affecting the revenue one half on these articles, would induce double the consumption; on the contrary, it is believed that it would not affect the consumption at all, as is borne out by the statistics of previous years, and of the present year. It would then become necessary to meet the deficiency by increased duties elsewhere; and in selecting the articles it is in the first place impossible to touch the bulk of the Free Goods, most of which are free under the Reciprocity Treaty, and the remainder entitled to continue free according to sound principles of Trade. Passing to the next class of 10 per cent. goods, it will not surely be contended that the scale of duty should be raised on *quasi* raw materials to a rate *in excess* of that imposed on manufactures. There is then nothing left but the articles paying over 25 per cent., and it must be observed that they form only 4 per cent. of the Imports, and pay 9¾ per cent. of the duties; if therefore, it were necessary to make good the deficiency arising from a reduction of duty on manufactures, the proportion of duty to the whole they would have to pay would be increased from 9¾ per cent. to 40 per cent., and the average rate of duty on these articles, instead of 32 per cent. or thereabout, would be increased to nearly 130 per cent. It is scarcely necessary to point out that such an increase would be utterly incompatible with revenue, and that the result would be a financial failure. On Tea, Sugar, &c., it has been found impossible to maintain higher duties than those now imposed—as they are free in the United States, and unfavourable comparisons are even now instituted by our Agricultural population.

Apart from such modifications in detail, as experience may sug-

gest, the Government of Canada believe that in order to raise the Revenue imperatively required to preserve the good faith of the Province, and to maintain its Institutions, the scale of Customs' duties is not excessive, and that it has been adjusted in general accordance with sound principles of political economy. Reductions in the scale of duties can only take place as the increasing population and wealth of Canada swell the importations, and it will be a subject of the highest gratification to the present Government,* when such reduction is possible.

(Signed,) A. T. GALT,
Minister of Finance.

Quebec, 25th October, 1859.

N. B.—The values are all given in Halifax Currency, except where the present decimal currency is used.

SPEECH OF THE HON. A. T. GALT, AT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MANCHESTER, SEPT. 25, 1862.†

On the 26th September, the Hon. A.T. Galt, late Finance Minister of Canada, gave an address in the Town Hall, Manchester, to the members of the Chamber of Commerce. A requisition, signed by the principal Manchester merchants and manufacturers, had been previously addressed to the chamber, requesting them to invite Mr. Galt to afford them information respecting Canada and its Government. The Chamber of Commerce acceded to the request, and this meeting was the result. The Mayor of Manchester (Mr. T. Goadsby) presided, and Mr. Galt was introduced by Mr. H. Ashworth, the President of the Chamber of Commerce.

The Hon. Mr. GALT, after a few prefatory remarks, spoke of the progress of Canada, in the Government in which he had had the honour for several years to hold a place. It was the largest and most important of the British colonies, having a population of 2,600,000,

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* Canada now buys a third more than she can pay for; and all her evils have arisen from this swelling of importations, which Mr. Galt so much desires! It seems to me about as disastrous for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to desire the country to be more spendthrift, on account of the slice of imports seized for the public revenue, as for a corporation to increase licenses on account of the revenue this gives to the municipality, heedless of the aggravated distress which is the consequence in the homes of the neighbourhood.—ISAAC BUCHANAN.

† Published by the British North American Association of London (G. B.)

most of whom had proceeded from this country to find a home. It was desirable that in such a colony there should not be any misapprehensions entertained as to the sympathies, intentions, and acts of the mother-country. Taking the last census, it was found that the population of Canada West had increased from 952,000 to 1,396,000, being an increase of 40 per cent.; the lands held had increased from 9,825,515 acres in 1852 to 13,354,907 in 1861. The acres under cultivation in 1852 amounted to 3,702,788, and in 1861 to 6,051,619, being an increase of 63½ per cent. The wheat products had increased from 12,082,550 bushels in 1852 to 24,640,425 in 1861, being an increase of 103¾ per cent. Canada was now producing results which in a few years must greatly enhance the importance she bore towards Great Britain, and which rendered the connection of the colony with the mother-country all the more important. This was a further reason why no mistakes should occur between them. Those points where difficulties occurred should be brought into harmony. The points upon which objections had been taken in England might, he thought, be summed up into three—namely, that the tariff legislation—the commercial legislation—was not consistent with the present views of political economists here, and that it had not been advantageous either to Canada or this country; secondly, that the cost of maintaining the colonies by this country had been large, while the result had been small; and lastly, that even assuming that the tariff question was settled and that the question of cost was satisfactorily adjusted, there were gentlemen in England who said that both England and the colonies would be better off if they were separate. The first point had excited the greatest attention in England and in the northern district—he referred to the commercial legislation adopted by Canada. It would, however be well to refer to the causes which had necessitated the imposition of Customs' duties at all, because it was now generally admitted that, where it was possible, direct taxation might be the cheapest and best mode of providing for the wants of an estate. In England the largest part of the revenue was still raised by indirect taxation; and, notwithstanding the vast amount of realized capital and the general intelligence of the people, it had not yet been found practicable to raise more than one-third of the revenue by direct taxation; it might, then, be readily understood what the difficulties were in Canada, where they had not equal advantages. The incomes of the people residing there were so small that it was scarcely possible to impose an income tax that would yield any large amount, and the fact that the country generally was settled upon by poor, and in many respects uneducated persons, was a reason why it was more difficult to make them acquiesce in the visits of the tax-gatherer. He did not consider it possible to raise, for the ordinary purposes of the

Government, any considerable part of the revenue by direct taxation, though a system had been introduced—a municipal system—for local wants, providing for education, highways, and other objects. Consequently they had had to look to indirect sources of revenue, and amongst them the Customs' duties had naturally been the principal. Revenue was derived from the postal service, the sale of lands, the public works, and other items. But the revenue derived from public lands had been wholly devoted to the settlement of those lands, it being necessary to survey the forest, to lay it out into lots, to open roads, and to take steps which were absolutely necessary for the benefit of the thousands who were in the habit of seeking their shores. The public works had not yielded the revenue which was expected from them, although the amount was something considerable. Policy had compelled the Government to forego a large portion of the tolls, but the prospects for the future in this respect were better. They were, therefore, brought to the necessity of considering the means of raising revenue by duties imposed upon the imports of the country. It was plain that the first question to suggest itself would be whether the expenditure of Canada had been judicious—whether, in fact, a large expenditure for public works and other objects should have been undertaken. The public debt in Canada was about twelve millions sterling. Of that, four millions had been expended in canals for the purpose of rendering the navigation of the St. Lawrence complete, about four millions had been advanced in aid of the railway system, and the remaining four millions had been expended partly in the construction of lighthouses, in the formation of provincial roads, and in a variety of minor charges. The two great items were those of canals and railways, making together two-thirds of the public debt of Canada. The position in which Canada stood originally was that of a country possessing no roads whatever, having her principal water communications interrupted by rapids which completely barred the navigation, having no lighthouses in the lower part of the gulf, and their trade consequently being subjected to very heavy insurances. When the goods formerly arrived in Montreal, they were handed over to the forwarder, who had to pass them through a variety of communication, from carts to boats, and from boats to carts again, so that the rate of charges to the consumer was very great indeed, he necessarily paying the whole cost up to the time the goods reached him. In Canada, then, whilst the cost of the goods was largely augmented by the insufficient means of communication, the produce which was sent to this country for the purpose of paying for these goods was, from the same cause, greatly diminished in value. The effect of the improvements had been that all the charges upon those goods and upon that produce had been largely decreased.

Instead of being, as in many cases, augmented 100 per cent., they were now taken to the most distant part of Canada at a minimum cost. The navigation of the St. Lawrence was the finest in the world; and the railway system, especially the Grand Trunk and the Great Western lines, had greatly facilitated communication. The policy of Canada in undertaking those public works had therefore not only been beneficial to the country itself, but it had placed it in a better position to carry on business with England (hear, hear). A very important question might arise as to whether the policy which had been adopted with regard to the imposition of the Customs' duties had been governed by sound principles, or an approximation to sound principles, even supposing the duties themselves were necessary. It must be perfectly clear that with a long frontier like that between Canada and the United States, in a comparatively unsettled country large facilities would exist for the carrying on of an illict trade. It was, therefore, plain that if Canada imposed duties upon articles which were imported free into the United States, from America the supply by smuggling would come, and the Treasury would not receive the duties. The same result would apply if the duties in Canada were high and those in America low. The articles which formed the bulk of the indirect revenue of England had been, until the American war broke out, free from duty in the United States. There had been no excise duty on spirits; there had been no duty on tea except when imported in foreign ships; and there had been no duty upon sugar and tobacco. These, whence the bulk of the British revenue was derived, were admitted to be fair articles of taxation, and the only limit that could be put upon them was that regulated by consumption. In Canada, although some advocated it, they did not adopt the American principle; duties had always been imposed on tea, sugar, and tobacco, and limited excise duties on spirits. These duties had formed an important part of their revenue, but they had never been so high as absolutely to encourage smuggling from the United States. Having got as much from these articles as they could get, they had to supply the deficiency from the other articles imported into the country. The principle adopted in Canada had been that of admitting all raw materials free. The next class of articles were those which had received a certain amount of manufacture, but which could not be used till they had received a certain amount of re-manufacture, and upon them a 10 per cent. duty was imposed; and upon articles fully manufactured the duty was 20 per cent. The main bulk of the Customs' revenue was undoubtedly derived from the 20 per cent. duty, but the result of the whole was an average of 17 per cent. Had they imposed a lower duty, they would still not have been sufficiently low to have heretofore produced a demand from the United States,

whose duties had averaged 24 per cent. The object of the Government was to obtain the means of keeping up the credit of the country, and it was not intended, as had been stated, to introduce a protective system. He confessed, however, there were some articles, not of very great importance, that bore that character. The best evidence that could be offered against the charge of protection was that the effect of the tariff had not been to produce manufactures. The manufactures in Canada were those which might be expected in a new country—nails, steam engines, coarse woollens, and other articles necessary in a newly-settled country. There was not at this moment a single cotton mill in Canada, nor a silk manufactory. The imports of earthenware and glass, hardware and iron, and woollen cloths had gone on steadily increasing every year from 1859 to the present time. Having thus briefly shown the causes for import duties, the principles upon which they were imposed, and the effect which they had produced on trade, he would now draw the attention of the meeting to the policy proposed by himself on behalf of the late Government, and which would no doubt have been adopted by the Legislature had not the Ministerial crisis upon the Militia Bill interrupted the ordinary business of the session. When the American war broke out, the necessity of providing for a vast outlay compelled the United States to alter their fiscal system, and to impose excise duties upon spirits, tobacco, and other articles, and large Customs' duties upon tea and sugar. Under these circumstances, it was proposed by the late Canadian Government that the duties upon tea, sugar, tobacco, and spirits in Canada should be brought as nearly as possible to the rates the Americans themselves had imposed, and they expected to obtain by these means an increased revenue on the articles referred to, and to apply the additional amount to a reduction in the duties upon imported goods. It was proposed to reduce the first class goods from 10 to 7½ per cent.; others from 20 to 15 per cent; and the three articles at 25 per cent., they also proposed to reduce to 15 per cent. It was proposed to raise a considerable sum—imitating the Americans—by means of stamp duties, with the view of making it a permanent source of revenue afterwards. But the Government resigned on the question of the Militia Bill, and their successors have not had time to consider fully the steps to be taken. While they might therefore, have made mistakes in their fiscal legislation, their object had been to reduce the charges upon trade, to increase the imports of the country, and thereby to augment the export trade and develop the resources of Canada. It was, he must say, a source of great disappointment to many of them to find that they had been misinterpreted with regard to their intentions. It was no

doubt true that there was a strong Protectionist party in Canada, but it had not been in the ascendent, and he believed it never would be (hear, hear). It must, however, be remembered that the system formerly adopted in the colonies was one of protection, and it need not cause much surprise if time were required to produce strong convictions on the subject of free trade. The people of Canada had before them the progress in wealth, population, and intelligence of the United States, especially of New England, under a protective system, and they might very naturally attribute to that system results which had really been obtained despite of it, and which were truly attributable to the vast resources of the American continent and the wonderful energy and ability of its people. In referring to the second point he had mentioned at the outset, namely, the cost of the colonies, he said that in the old times, when the colonies were governed from Downing-street, they were a constant source of vexation and expense to this country. More particularly would this apply to Canada. The result of that old system was expensive to England and distasteful to the colonists. When Earl Russell was Colonial Secretary in 1846, the question of responsible or self-government was conceded to the important colonies. The result had been most satisfactory, and there had been no serious dispute since between Canada and this country, and the same might be said of all the North American colonies. Except for Imperial purposes, there had not—till the American war broke out—been the necessity for maintaining a single soldier in Canada. Although troops were sent out, they were never wanted for the purpose of preserving peace and order in the colony. That had been always done, and would always be done, by the ordinary Government. In times of peace, therefore, there was no necessity for military expenditure, except indeed for occupying the important fortresses which existed. The whole of the expenses of the Civil Government were borne on the Canadian budget. There might be, and he thought there were, one or two small sums still which the English Government bore—such as the expenses, under agreements with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of one or two Bishops of the country and one or two Indian treaties; but the sums were very small indeed, and were such as the Imperial Government had not thought could be applied for to the colony. The expenses of the Governor-General's salary, his secretary, and the whole staff, were borne on the Canadian estimates. It might be well to state what Canada did on the breaking out of the American war, when in a state of uncertainty what Great Britain would do. No application whatever, up to the time he left the Government, had been made by the Colonial Government for a single soldier to be sent out, but they did ask the

Imperial Government to send out and store in Quebec a large quantity of those arms which were stored in Woolwich. That was three months before the *Trent* difficulty occurred; and that was the only application that had been made, except it had been very recently. What they desired was to have arms in the country, to be able to supply them to the militia for the defence of the colony. When the *Trent* difficulty arose, it became the duty of the Imperial Government—and it nobly performed that duty—not to leave Canada unprotected. It was impossible that Canada could, in such a contest as was then threatened, defend herself. She could not raise an army of 100,000 men. England herself would have found a difficulty in maintaining such an army in addition to her present expenditure. The difficulty, therefore, became Imperial in its character, but as members of the empire they thought it their duty to do their share. They were quite willing to furnish all the strength of the country, and to pay as far as they could under the circumstances, but it would be perfectly idle to assume that they could do all the work should a war break out. The proportion in men and means which Canada ought to contribute in the event of a war with the United States could be, he believed, readily settled by negotiation with the Imperial Government, provided difficulties were not made through unjust and acrimonious attacks upon Canada, such as unfortunately had not been infrequent, and which could not fail to cause exasperation and to obscure sound judgment on both sides. His own views and those of the late Canadian Government were expressed in the defeated Militia Bill, and are, briefly, that Canada should at her own cost maintain an organization whereby 50,000 men could be at once placed in the field, thoroughly officered and with a certain amount of drill, and that a reserve of 50,000, in a less forward state of discipline, should be provided, with further provisions for additional draughts upon the militia if required. If war actually occurred, it must be plain to every one that the ability of Canada to pay such a force would almost wholly cease if her territory became the battle-field; and the financial burden would necessarily have to be borne by the empire at large. The question whether colonies were of any value at all was a very important question. Its importance could not be exaggerated, because if a mistake were once made it could not be remedied. For two hundred years England had been obtaining colonies in all parts of the world; and if they were once given up it was clear that they could not be brought back again. In speaking of the colonies of British North America, it had been assumed that Canada could be given up with the most perfect good feeling on either side, and that everything would go on as at present, while responsibility on each side

to the other would be wholly removed. Now, a very slight knowledge of human nature would tell gentlemen that if an important community was in this way turned adrift, without notice or warning, that was not the best way to produce good feeling. It was scarcely possible it could exist under such circumstances. There would be great irritation ; and in the case of Canada another result would follow. It being impossible for her to maintain herself in her position to the United States, such a policy would be tantamount to surrendering her to the United States ; and the people of England would not, therefore, have created a new and friendly nation, but would have very greatly augmented the strength of a country that had latterly shown extreme animosity towards them. This was plain English ; and the same might be said of the West Indies, who could not long remain independent communities. He contended that before advocating or taking a step which could never be retraced, the present colonial policy of self-government should be thoroughly worked out and exhausted. It had thus far been eminently successful, though only in operation for a very few years. Quarrels between the colonies and the mother-country had almost wholly ceased. The Imperial expenditure had in time of peace been reduced to literally nothing, so far as the wants of the self-governing colonies were concerned, and he believed the question of self-defence admitted of easy solution. He thought the present policy should be further developed and extended, and he would venture to suggest the direction which it ought to take. Much difficulty arose, and must always exist, from the number and variety of the colonies. Many had adjusted their own tariffs and established their own fiscal systems ; the consequence was, that if difficulties arose with one requiring the imposition of taxation, it might be in opposition to the policy of the others and of the mother-country. He thought, then, it would be desirable so to harmonize and federate them as to bring them into different groups, so that instead of fifty colonies there would be five or six groups. It was clear that by joining the resources of all, the strength of the whole would be increased for defence, and thus the burden of defending them would be reduced to the mother-country. As to the North American colonies, the question had been brought under the notice of the Imperial Government three years ago, but no progress had been made. Canada, with a population of 2,600,000, was debarred from the ocean during the winter season, and even in summer she had little connection with the lower colonies. New Brunswick had a population of 300,000. Canada had no coal ; New Brunswick was one natural coal field. Nova Scotia had a population of 330,000 ; she possessed valuable mines of iron, coal, and even of gold. New-

foundland was celebrated for its fisheries. If these colonies could bring together the resources which each possessed for the benefit of the whole, the strength and influence of the whole would be increased. Instead of five different systems and tariffs, there would be only one; instead of lines of custom-houses along each frontier, there would be none, and the expenses of collecting the duties would be reduced; and instead of maintaining half-a-dozen different Governments, there would be only one. The expenses of administration would also be reduced, and the result would be productive of general benefit to all. Even as regarded Great Britain, it certainly would not be considered an unimportant object to have available in case of need the sailors and fishermen of those countries, 60,000 of whom were there employed. In ten or fifteen years the present population of 3,500,000 would probably be doubled—its strength united and developed—and if ultimately it were found necessary to separate, they might then be both ready and able to stand alone and resist foreign aggression. But if, as he hoped, the result were to show that the union of these colonies with Great Britain could be maintained with increasing benefit to both, then how much would the strength of the empire be increased by the possession of such a powerful dependency? After some further observations to the same effect, Mr. Galt concluded by saying that all parties would rejoice at the success of such a policy. He then sat down amidst applause.

Mr. H. Ashworth said there was a great deal of misapprehension with regard to the advantages of colonies, and especially with regard to the tariff of duties imposed by the colonies. This part of the country had been very restive lately under the Indian duties of five per cent., and it was a still more anomalous circumstance that Canada should impose much higher duties. We had some 50 colonies upon our hands, which appeared very different judged by the standard of Imperial requirements to what they did when weighed in the balance-sheet of advantages. Suffering as the people did, we ought not to confine ourselves to the Imperial advantages of having a dominion upon which the sun never sets. We ought to consider whether or not we were in a condition to allow the taxes which were charged so heavily upon us to be expended at the rate of some four or five millions a year in upholding colonial governments in all parts of the world, and where the people were much better off than the people of this country (hear). Mr. Galt had spoken of the Canadians as a poor people, but previously he had enlarged upon the progress of the colony in wealth and population, remarking that while the governmental charge per head in Canada

was 5*s*. 2¾*d*.,* in Great Britain it was 2*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*. (hear, hear). Was it likly, then, that we should be prepared to sanction a further outlay? Our North American colonies were largely composed of lands which were waste, and which would probably remain waste to the end of time. The climate was such that little could be done on the surface of the country for six months of the year. The population was put down at 2,600,000, which was rather more than the population of Lancashire. He had himself taken observation of a large portion of the population of Lower Canada, and he could assure them that so far from their being at all to be compared to the working people of this country, they were about the most imbecile class of people he had ever seen. They were French, and had subdivided their lands into mere strips and small patches, and they had nothing to sell, and no money wherewith to buy. It had been the policy of Canada to fix high duties, and their conversion to Free Trade principles was of recent date. A newspaper published in that country during the present year exulted in the number of cotton, woollen, and other manufacturing establishments formed in the colony. Was it wise of us to sustain a policy which excluded our commerce by high tariffs and exulted in the idea of becoming our rival? He had no objections to the Canadians growing their own corn, spinning their own cotton, and manufacturing their own wool, and, as soon as convenient, taking themselves to themselves. It was admitted that taxation could be raised for Canadian schools, then why not for the remission of the tariff upon European manufactures? The tariff had been reduced to 15 per cent., but that was no great advantage. If lowered further the Canadian labourers would be able to buy our goods (hear). When the French treaty was negotiated, it was put forward as an unanswerable argument against a less duty than 15 per cent. that our colonies charged 20 per cent. (hear, hear). Mr. Galt told them that the Canadians paid for their own bishops. (Mr. Mason—"No.") The Duke of Newcastle, our Colonial Secretary, had told a deputation the same. He (Mr. Ashworth) had gone into the subject, and had found that the payment was not entered in the colonial but in the miscellaneous estimates.

Mr. GALT—It is a mistake.

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* N. B.—The Hon. Mr. Galt, in a letter addressed to the *Times* on the 29th Sep., corrected these figures. He states that the annual charge in Great Britain for interest on public debt was 19*s*. 10¾*d*., while in Canada it was 5*s*. 2¾*d*. ; and that the whole annual expenditure of Great Britain was 2*l* 8*s*. 9*d*., while in Canada it was 14*s*. 10¼*d*., and not as erroneously quoted by Mr. Ashworth, 5*s*. 2¾*d*.

Mr. ASHWORTH could refer him to the treasury book containing the sums. There was a point beyond which human nature could not bear hard dealing, and the time had come for plainer language to be used towards Canada. Mr. Ashworth quoted the following as the sentiment of Canada :—"It is the duty of the present Govnment to affirm the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry." This was not very becoming language from a country which was so largely under obligation to ourselves. Mr. Ashworth concluded by quoting the following observations by that pertinent writer, Professor Goldwin Smith,—"We are keeping the colonies in a perpetual state of political infancy, and preventing the gristle of their frames from being matured and hardened into bone. We are making them extravagantly democratic. There is but one way to make Canada impregnable, and that is to fence her round with the majesty of an independent nation" (applause.)

Mr. HUGH MASON said that no one in this country wished abruptly to snap the ties which bound Canada and this country together; but, at the same time, he believed that there was growing feeling in favour of our colonies, and especially Canada, assuming at no distant day the power, dignity, and responsibility of independent nations. If there was any country in the world which ought to do with a low amount of taxation, it was Canada. The International Exhibition showed that Canada possessed the richest mines of undeveloped wealth of almost any country. Both the mother-country and the colony had special grievances. Mr. Galt said they paid the salary of their Governor-General, but they were not allowed to engage or dismiss him; the mother-country, without paying the cost, demanded the patronage. On the other hand, he understood that the salaries of a brace of bishops were saddled upon the mother-country. These were two special grievances. The corn of Canada was admitted into England duty free, but duties were imposed upon our manufactured goods which were almost prohibitory (hear). These were not the kind of relations that ought to exist between a parent and a child. He thought the fear of dismemberment was visionary, for in the case of Ireland the sale of estates had been the greatest blessing to that country. If the honourable gentleman's mission was in the slightest degree to put Canadian hands into the pockets of British taxpayers, he hoped Mr. Galt would leave Manchester at all events with an unmistakeable impression that this was not the time for Canada to ask the Lancashire operatives and millowners for a portion of their taxes. (Mr. Galt—Certainly not.) Canada was like a son who wished to start life

where his father stopped. If Canada wanted a perfect system of railroads, she must go through the early stage of road-making which we went through in this country. We ought not to be expected to give any money for Canadian railways. He cordially endorsed the opinion of Mr. Ashworth, and sincerely hoped, for the sake of Canada and England, that the time was not far distant when the former would be an independent nation. In a time of peace it did not matter what Government a country had, because everybody was flourishing, but Canada perhaps saw that some day she might have difficulties to encounter from neighbouring States, and then what would Canada be to us? He should most decidedly object to the retention of Canada as a battle-field between this and any other country (hear). If we must fight, he hoped it would be upon the sea.

Mr. FERGUSON hoped it would be fully understood that Mr. Ashworth's opinions were not those of the majority of the Chamber of Commerce (hear, hear). Both the gentlemen who had spoken expressed merely their individual opinions (hear, hear, from Mr. Mason).

Mr. MALCOLM Ross did not go to the full extent of either Mr. Ashworth or Mr. Mason. On the subject of the proposed railway guarantee, Mr. Ross expressed a decided opinion that it was most impolitic to ask for such a guarantee while the Canadian Government were talking about increasing the duties upon imported goods. In disproof of what Mr. Galt had said, Mr. Ross quoted the following from an American paper:—"The trade in home manufactured woollens has been large and very successful. There are now a great number of first-rate mills in the province, the productions of which are eagerly sought for, and bear a high character. The production of our manufactured cloth is rapidly on the increase. We are rejoiced at this favourable indication, and hope to see the importation of woollen goods steadily decline." Exactly the same process was going on in Canada that led to the erection of cotton mills in Bombay. We had not the slightest desire to prevent their erecting mills, but it was scarcely fair to ask us to contribute to the support of a country that excluded our manufactures by a taxation of 20 per cent. He wanted both countries to go hand-in-hand with kindly feelings, and asked nothing that he was not prepared to grant. He had no desire to turn Canada away without a moment's notice, but he wished the two countries to act as members of the same family (hear). England was prepared to do her duty, provided her efforts were appreciated by the colonists. Even if Canada were dismembered, he hoped that kindly feelings would still prevail. If we sent soldiers to fight for the Ottoman, how much stronger was the claim

of Canada to our support? (hear). He hoped that this meeting would show that the question of our colonies was not altogether a consideration of pounds, shillings, and pence.

The MAYOR referred to the fact that the high tariff in Canada had been a bar to the reduction of the Indian duties. When the duties to India were 10 per cent., the deputation was asked, "How can you require the Government to reduce the taxes upon cloths imported into India, when in Canada they are 20 per cent., remembering that India pays the cost of her Government, and Canada does not by a considerable amount? The troops lately sent to defend the frontier of Canada certainly cost a million of money. How could Canada expect England to do that, when she put a positive interdict upon the importation of our industry? (hear).

Mr. Galt, in reply, said that Mr. Ashworth, in speaking of his personal acquaintance with the French inhabitants of Lower Canada, had done, no doubt unintentionally, the people very great injustice. He had called them imbecile. That was a term that was most unjust to their intelligence and industry (hear, hear). He asserted, on the contrary, that they had made great progress, and that this fact was shown by statistics. The last census showed the progress made in Lower Canada during the last ten years. In 1852 the population of Canada East was 890,000; in 1861 it was 1,111,000, being an increase of 25 per cent. In 1852 the land held by these people was 8,113,000 acres; in 1861 it had increased to 10,223,000, being an increase of 27⅜ per cent.; thus showing that the proportion of land appropriated had increased more than the increase of population. The number of acres under cultivation was 3,605,000 in 1852; whereas it was 4,678,000 in 1861, being an increase of 29¾ per cent. With regard to production, that had also increased. The bushels of wheat raised in 1852 were 3,073,000, and in 1861 2,363,000, being a decrease of about 16 per cent.; but on this point he had to say that it was well known that the farmers of Lower Canada had turned their attention to the growth of other grains. In other grains, for example, the number of bushels raised in 1852 was 12,147,000, but in 1861 it had increased to 23,534,000, being an increase of no less than 93¾ per cent., or very nearly as much as was shown by the whole British population of Upper Canada (hear). He felt it his duty to make these statements in justice to French-Canadians, and to add that it should be remembered that they had not had the advantages of the other portion of the Canadian community, that they had been settled for a very long period of time and had not had the advantages of a fresh influx by immigration, and that all their advances had proceeded from themselves. He contended, then, that as they had been able to introduce

improved municipal systems, and that as there was a school in every parish, where every child received a free education, they were, or ought to be, beyond the reach of any stigma (hear). Mr. Ashworth had referred to the cost of the colonies being 500,000*l.* a year. This referred to the whole of our North American possessions. He could only repeat that the troops kept in Canada in time of peace were not kept there for the purpose of the colony. England kept them there for Imperial purposes; that was an Imperial act in connection with the distribution of the Imperial forces, and he thought, too, that the hon. gentleman was mistaken as to the proportion of charge due to Canada. With regard to the clergy reserves, the hon. gentleman must have been under some misapprehension. He (Mr. Galt) would not go into the history of this question, but there could not possibly be more than two bishops connected with this charge, and the whole salaries were 1,000*l.* per annum each. As to the correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle in reference to the proposed law concerning shipping, that law was certainly not designed for the purpose supposed by Mr. Ashworth. Great Britain had always been desirous that the coasting trade of America should be thrown open, as hers was, and Canada was also desirous of it, but the Americans were not disposed to make the concession. The idea then occurred to the Canadian Legislature that the imposition of a small duty on vessels receiving a British register would be a fair charge, and might tend to procure a settlement of the question; but the bill was expressly reserved for the consideration of the Imperial Government, who, in disapproving of it, might have spared Canada an unmerited lecture. As to the Sheffield memorial, that involved the principle of self-taxation, for which the Canadians had always contended and which they would uphold. Mr. Ross and Mr. Mason had referred to some possible mission which he (Mr. Galt) might have to this country in reference to a guarantee for colonial works. He could only assure the chair that his mission was purely private. He was glad to have had the opportunity of visiting Manchester, but he neither professed, nor did he in fact hold, any official connection in reference to this visit. He had come only to afford an opportunity of making some explanations. Certainly he had no mission to the Imperial Government about railways or anything else. He should be satisfied if any good resulted from the removal of the mistake or misapprehension that, whilst some gentlemen were in England seeking a guarantee to some public works, the Canadian Government were at that time discussing the question of increasing the import duties. He could assure the chamber, as a fact, that during the last four years, since the tariff of 1859, there had been not only no such discussion,

but no such intention (hear, hear). On the contrary, the late Government, as already stated, took the first opportunity of proposing a reduction of the import duties (hear, hear). With regard to the proposed guarantee to the International Railway from Halifax and Nova Scotia to Canada, he was strongly in favour of that railway, believing that it would be of great advantage to Imperial as well as colonial interests. But the proposal of the Duke of Newcastle was that the colonies themselves should pay the whole cost. His Grace certainly proposed that the guarantee of the Imperial Government should be given to a certain amount of the cost, but the colonies themselves were expected to pay the interest upon the whole cost. As to Canada, he might here mention that the Imperial Government gave a guarantee of 1,500,000*l.* sterling for Canada sixteen or seventeen years ago, for the purpose of enabling her to complete her canals. From that day to this there has never been sixpence advanced or paid by the Imperial Exchequer. The whole amount had been raised by Canada three years ago, and it was now in the hands of the British Government to be paid as the bonds fell due. This was the way Canada met her obligations; and if it was the interest of Canada to undertake further responsibilities, they would be met in an equally honourable and straightforward way. Canada, however, thought that her interests might have been better protected in the matter of the subsidies to the ocean steamers. Upwards of 180,000*l.* a year was paid to the Cunard line. The effect was to reduce the cost of goods sent by that route to that extent, thus taking Canadian trade away and enabling the Americans to build their railways and improve their communications. The necessity of having direct communication between the St. Lawrence and England compelled Canada to pay 80,000*l.* a year for the purpose of maintaining her intercourse with this country, when she need not have paid anything if Canadian interests had been properly consulted at home. Under these circumstances, he hoped gentlemen would believe that he had visited Manchester from a sincere desire to remove misapprehensions as to the feeling and the policy of Canada; and though he was sorry at the tone of Mr. Ashworth's remarks, he must say that it was much better that Mr. Ashworth should have made his statements there where he (Mr. Galt) had an opportunity in his presence of answering them, than that they should have been made where they could not be answered (hear). What was wanted was frank and free discussion, and, with Mr. Ross, he believed the result would be the removal of those differences which were often so injurious to harmony (hear). All he would add was—Let the experiment of self-government in Canada be worked out to its legitimate conclusion. If that conclusion was

that it would be better to separate, so be it; they could then separate without any danger of heart-burnings or animosity. But if the conclusion favoured those who believed in the importance of colonies to the empire, then they could go on with the certainty of the strength and prosperity of the empire being increased and not diminished by the connection (cheers).

A vote of thanks to the Mayor brought the proceedings to a close.

VI.

ADDRESS OF LIEUT.-COL. BUCHANAN, M.P., ON GIVING UP THE COMMAND OF THE THIRTEENTH BATTALION VOLUNTEER MILITIA.

HAMILTON, 20th November, 1863.

Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the 13th Battalion Volunteer Militia: *

Deeply impressed as I am with the conviction that no man is a volunteer soldier, worthy of the name, who allows his own private feelings to interfere with devotion to his country's service, I shall not risk the general harmony by taking any part in the Public Meeting of Officers, which, as *Lieutenant Colonel commanding*, I have called for this evening on the subject of my successor, and I feel it now to be my duty to do away with any idea that may exist that I have any intention to withdraw my resignation. I am, therefore, I think, entitled to call upon all others, whether officers or men, to aid in getting quit of any awkwardness in the position of the members of our Battalion towards each other. There is no necessity for any such if the simple principle is strictly adhered to, that the interests of the service, generally, and more immediately of the *Companies composing the Battalion*, must overshadow all personal objects or predilections, as well as all personal oppositions or antipathies.

MY ADDRESS WHEN I FIRST RESIGNED.

I reproduce this to save recapitulation. I had at that time seen clearly that a battalion composed of independent volunteer com-

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* After a portion of this address was thrown off, Mr. Buchanan saw it was necessary, for the safety of the Battalion, to agree that his resignation be not meantime acted on. And this pamphlet is published, not for the purpose of the local dispute, but as evidence on the great Public Question of Provincial Defence.

panies is even more a contradiction in *reality* than in terms; and even had I not supposed that there had been a violation of one of the conditions, on which I took command of the battalion, I would have felt it my duty to resign on the ground to which I attributed my resignation when talking of it to Lord Lyons, who was here about the time: "I have (said I) resigned my commission as Lieutenant-Colonel of the volunteer regiment here, as a protest against the *farce* of the Government's attempting to make a few drill associations (for volunteer battalions amount to no more) the main force relied on to defend the Province; truth compels me to say this, although no one values or admires the volunteers as individuals or companies, more than I do."

THE PRESENT ENTANGLEMENT WHICH THREATENS THE VERY EXISTENCE OF VOLUNTEERING IN HAMILTON.

It will be observed that in my preamble, I talk of "the interests of the service generally, and more immediately of the companies composing the Battalion," in the spirit of my address last August. And in the same spirit, my advice to you at present is, not to quarrel about *battalion* matters. They are not worth quarreling about, under the volunteer system, of which the prosperity of the *company* is the *life's blood.*

My advice to you is to remember that you owe your primary allegiance to your respective companies, and that your interest in them and in the cause of volunteering should prevent your allowing mere *battalion* matters to cause disturbance among you. Ask yourselves—why should the shadow take the place of the substance in our minds? Why should *volunteering* be endangered for the sake of the *bauble*, Battalion Organization, especially since Battalion Drill can be learned as well, or perhaps better, from a professional Field Officer. Had my advice been asked, it would have been given in the terms of the explanation made by me in Parliament. The view I expressed was, that until necessity calls for it, there should be no more than one Field Officer to each Volunteer Battalion, thus leaving room for two men of the *greatest experience and fitness* when the day of danger arrives, and thus also giving the Captains of Companies the opportunity of practice by rotation as field officers, which rank, I think they should fill in the Active Militia of the Province. The Battalion Drill of Volunteers should be by the Brigade Major; or, if it is seen to suit the circumstances better, by a permanent Adjutant, with the rank of Major. In the case, for instance, of our Battalion, if the Senior Major were allowed to retire with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, (as other Majors

have been) to which his long service entitles him, we would have remaining the Junior Major in the double office of Major and Adjutant. And I see no necessity for any other appointment at present, even although my resignation were accepted.

I have only again to repeat my advice to avoid any quarrel about *Battalion* matters. They are non-essential to *the prosperity* of volunteering. The company can exist and flourish without the battalion, but the battalion cannot exist without the company, and without its being in a flourishing condition; so that no intelligent Officer in command of a battalion can fail to see that it is his first duty, as the highest interest of his battalion, to promote the popularity of the Captain among his Company by whatever advice he gives to either. The company and the Captain, who has had the merit of raising and drilling it, are convertible terms; and as a Subaltern, non-commissioned officer, and private, I myself always acted upon the principle (believing there is no other practical principle) of cordially supporting my Captain, if I conscientiously could. If I could not, I would quietly have retired from the company. It will be seen how great a responsibility this throws upon the Captain, of avoiding any act in which he cannot carry the Subalterns and other members of his company along with him. My absence from the meeting of Officers to-night, will show you that I am taking the advice I am giving you; and if I now go on to show you that no one has had so good a right to complain as I have had, I trust you will not attribute this to any selfish object, but to my being anxious to expose the utter impracticability of proper discipline in a volunteer Battalion, while at the same time I continue to set a proper example of forbearance, in which direction I have hitherto gone so far as to put my own feelings entirely to one side.

PRACTICAL PROOF THAT THE BATTALION ORGANIZATION OF VOLUNTEERS ENDANGERS THE GREAT ESSENTIAL INTEREST OF THE SERVICE—THE COMPANY ORGANIZATION.

Thirty years ago I myself was satisfied that the natural troubles of the *company* are all that volunteering can stagger under; and I now proceed to give the best practical proof, from the experience of a Volunteer Battalion in the most favourable circumstances, and composed of companies equal to any in the Province, that the Battalion organization of volunteers endangers the great essential interest of the service—the company organization. The following was the stringent arrangement which I felt it my duty to make when I undertook the command of the Battalion; and it will be seen that

the practical violation by the officers, from whatever motives, of my conditions, have been the great causes of the evils of our Battalion:

HAMILTON, 17th December, 1862.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Booker,
Commandant of Active Force, Hamilton.

I hereby authorize you to submit my name to the Government as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Volunteer Regiment of Light Infantry, now being organized in Hamilton. The memorandum on other side embodies my views, and which I understand you to have explained to the other Officers whose names you submit (for majors). It may be well to explain that I held a commission as Lieutenant of the Incorporated paid Militia, the Queen's Rangers, in 1837,—was two months on the Niagara frontier at that time—and that I hold the thanks of that regiment on retiring.

I have the honour to be, Sir, yours respectfully,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

MEMORANDUM.

17th December, 1862.

1. While admitting that all personal considerations should give place to secure the most efficient defence for the country and city, I am impressed with the strongest conviction that the Lieutenant Colonel of the Hamilton Volunteer Regiment (*especially as Hamilton is the key to the Upper Province*) should be a military man of as much experience as possible.

2. For the attainment of the foregoing object, my giving the thing a trial would do harm, unless it was understood that, in case of my leaving, the step should not be expected in the Regiment.

3. I could only entertain the responsibility by my having the appointment of a Military Adjutant to be paid by the Regiment, unless we can get Government to do so, as this is done in England.

4. I also feel that the senior Major should be a military man—but in our circumstances, this seems impossible.

(Signed,)

A. B., *Commandant.*
J. A. S., *Captain, whose name was to be submitted as Major.*
J. E. O'R., *ditto.*

And on the back there is the following in Colonel Booker's writing:—

"Assented to and initialed. A. B.
"17th December, 1862."

This plain understanding was violated almost from the first, by the practical refusal of the Officers to avail of the services of the military Adjutant (than whom there is not a more experienced Drill or Musketry-Instructor in Canada), whom I paid out of my own pocket; and it was the same thing, grown so intolerable that it practically amounted to a disobedience of my orders though I appeared not to see it, which in August led me to feel that the time had arrived when I had the alternative either to resign, or to inaugurate a system of punishment, which would have been fatal to the volunteer system. If, to some extent, my conditions were not fully known by some previously to my speech at the opening of the Drill Ground, this could not be pleaded subsequently. Of course in my arrangement, at the beginning, I had no personal object in view, and no reference to the particular case of this battalion. My object was to guard against the general (almost universal) evil of the *sacrifice of the drill of the volunteers*, to the very creditable desire of their Officers to educate themselves by *practice;* and I rejoice to be able to admit, that the evil has been less with us than I ever saw it before, this being no doubt in the proportion that the zeal and assiduity of Officers were greater.

The next violation of the agreement with me involved, I am sorry to say, the entire apparently disrespectful *ignoring* of me, and disallowance of the Battalion having been under the least obligation to me. In my particular case, I cannot believe that any positive disrespect was intended, and I only view it as an extraordinaty confirmation of the views which I expressed in my address of 10th Aug., as follows: "As an individual, I sympathize with, and I may say, less or more, approve of the things which it were subversive of all my self-respect as well as my authority to overlook as Colonel of the Battalion even if this would not be a violation of my duty in that capacity. I now perfectly understand that the allegiance of independent companies or unpaid volunteers can only be to the Captain and officers of their particular company; and I prefer putting my resignation rather on occurrences which were *inevitable under the system*, than which are peculiar to the 13th Battalion, thus parting with you on such good terms that hereafter there may be nothing to prevent us co-operating together towards the great object which we have in common." And, far from wishing to aggravate the usurpation of the officers commanding companies, I was most anxious that it should have turned out that all officers but myself had been consulted, and that the views of the men had been indirectly got at, seeing that each of the latter had it in his power to leave the Battalion if a Colonel was forced on it, in whose hands he would not consider his life so safe as in other hands. I

had fondly hoped to have remained an honorary member of the Officer's Club, which I had established, and whose first mess dinner was at my house on the Mountain, and to have had a voice, if not a vote, in all appointments for years to come, as a friend above all motives except the interests of the Battalion. I thought that this (especially so long as I represent Hamilton in Parliament) might have been of use to the service as well as to the Battalion, while it would have given me the desired excuse of continuing to share its pecuniary sacrifices, which are so much greater than many of the officers and men can afford. You will observe that I go into these particulars with the public view of showing the danger there would be of trusting too much to volunteer battalion organization, even with the best companies and in the most favourable circumstances.

But that I think it best for the interest of the service and of the battalion that I should interfere as little as possible, I could go into many more details. I shall, however, content myself with the shortest recital of the facts which will make the case and state of things clear to the battalion. These are as follows: Nevertheless all the circumstances already explained and while I am still acting as *Lieutenant-Colonel commanding* (from its being the desire of the Government not to accept my resignation) the officers commanding the eight companies (one of whom had transmitted his own resignation to me two months ago and had ceased to drill) presented a requisition to another civilian to take my place, without in the least hinting the thing to me or to the Battalion, or even consulting the other officers, as I *eventually* found out. I had thus no opportunity to remind them of the condition I had made, when I agreed to take the position during the period of preliminary business and expense, that my successor should be a military man. I certainly could not be supposed to have been capable of putting so great an insult on the battalion, as to have, by special agreement, stipulated that the promotion should pass the battalion, otherwise than in favour of a professional soldier.

It was to me a matter of deepest anxiety to know what to do in the extraordinary circumstances. My desire to see peace and unanimity prevail if possible in the Battalion alone dictated my course. I took the ground that if the subalterns had been consulted (which I took for granted) it would be for the interest of the Battalion that I should set the example to the Majors of unanimity. Quite apart from the question of whether the name proposed or to be laid before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, was the best or not, if his nomination was unanimous it might be the best state of things practicable in the circumstances, although I had a right to complain of the violation of the agreement with me.

When therefore, the Brigade-Major had shown me the requisition, and I had duly considered all the circumstances, I wrote two notes, one to the gentleman to whom the requisition had been made and the other to our Senior Major. The former of these was in the following words:

"HAMILTON, 10th November, 1863,
Tuesday Evening.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You will receive a requisition from Officers of the 13th Battalion, that your name may be put before the Government as my successor as Lieutenant-Colonel thereof, and I have the greatest pleasure in expressing my hope that you will accede to it.

"I need scarcely say that my interest in the Battalion will continue, and that I shall be happy to co-operate towards its success so far as an outsider can."

The latter note was of the same date, and in the following words:

"MY DEAR SIR,—Though your notice to-day, was the first I had of the requisition to * * * * * I heard of it otherwise this afternoon, and having taken the whole position and circumstances of the battalion into my most serious consideration, I have felt it my duty to write to him as per copy within, which please show to Major O'Reilly. As I feel it will be the best for the interest of yourselves, as well as of the battalion, I shall be glad to hear that you and Major O'Reilly take the same course."

These notes were delivered on the 11th instant, but not being in town that day (it being the public Thanksgiving Day), I heard no more of the matter till the 12th. And what I heard will be best explained, by my giving a note which I wrote to the gentleman to whom the requisition had been presented.

"MOUNTAIN, 12th November, 1863,
Thursday Evening.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your note, and would have written a line to you before leaving town, but that (this being the English steamer's day) I was engrossed to the last moment.

"In respect to the Battalion, further circumstances have come to my knowledge which make me advise you not to act in the matter till you make sure that a majority of the officers wish you to do so—as otherwise you might not be able to keep the Battalion together.

"I took the course I did of writing to you and also to the majors (as per copy of my letter which I now enclose) hoping to set the example of *unanimity* and thus to redeem the grave error which the Captains had committed, through ignorance I am willing to suppose.

"You are of course aware, from the Brigade-Major having at the request of the Captains presented it to you before I had seen it, that I had cause of the deepest offence, had I chosen to suppose the Captains capable of intending disrespect to me.

"In the circumstances, however, my interest in the Battalion led me to take the course which I thought most likely to prevent other Officers taking offence.

"I hoped that the Majors would follow my example, and I thought it likely that the Lieutenants had been consulted, although my son (an Ensign) had never heard of the proposed requisition.

"I have now reason to suppose that all the other officers have taken offence at the Captains, and I think it due to you that you know this, so that you may act cautiously."

Having received, from the gentleman referred to, a note stating that his letter allowing his name to be submitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, had already been sent to Quebec, I address the following note to him:

"HAMILTON, 16th Nov., 1863.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I find that thirteen officers of the 13th Battalion have sent a protest to the Government against any appointment of my successor until they, and four others who were not consulted, should have an opportunity of expressing their opinions.

"I have, therefore, felt it my duty to call a special public meeting of the officers for Friday—three days' notice being required. My object is to get greater unanimity established, as without this the Battalion would cease to exist.

"I have also felt it my duty to convey, both by telegraph and mail, this information to Government, and to advise that time be given to get comparative unanimity, as this would be the only chance of the Battalion being kept together."

My telegram to Government was as follows:

"HAMILTON, 16th November, 1863.

"TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL POWELL,
Deputy-Adjutant General, Quebec.

"Don't appoint my successor till greater unanimity is attained, otherwise the battalion will be broken up. I am astonished to find that two-thirds of the Officers had never been consulted. I myself was never consulted. I, however, overlooked this; and, in order to set an example of unanimity, I wrote to the gentleman to whom

the requisition was made, that I would be glad if he allowed his name to be submitted. My example, however, did not induce any other Officer, who had not been consulted, to come in; and thirteen Officers have sent you a protest against any appointment, until there is a general consultation of Officers. I have seen it my duty to call a special general meeting for Friday. Three days' notice were required. The only safe course of the Government is not to make any appointment meantime.

"ISAAC BUCHANAN."

The following was the reply:

"QUEBEC, 17th November, 1863.

"TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BUCHANAN,
Hamilton.

"Telegram received. Appointment will not be made at present.

"WALKER POWELL."

THE GENERAL QUESTION OF THE DEFENCE OF THE PROVINCE.

I avail of this, as of every proper occasion, to refer to the vital question of the proper defence of the Province. Hamilton is proud in remembering how much its former Member, the late Sir Allan McNab, did in the militia organization; and through the pre-eminent energy of this city, we shall, I have no doubt, be able to exert the most salutary influence on the well-considered system of defence which the Province looks to Parliament to mature. Indeed there is no doubt that the strong views expressed by me, of the absolute necessity of such a Militia being established as would be the main arm of the Provinces' defence, did much to get Government to alter its views of last year, and to declare for this principle; and I have only to hope that my other strongly-expressed conviction (*that the expense of the militia is one which should be raised by a direct tax, and should not depend on the State for the time being of the Provincial exchequer*), may equally prevail. But rather than make any lengthy remarks here on this vital matter, I prefer referring you to my speech in Parliament, on the 11th September last, which I shall append to this. You will observe that it is AN ORGANIZATION AS A GREAT MILITIA FORCE, that I think volunteers should be sent to the frontier. I think that there should be a principle adopted by which there would, *in one month in each year*, (for the whole thirty days if the Province can afford this) and *always during war*, be a fusion of the volunteers individually into the militia.

The militia and the country should be convertible terms. Every man in the country, old and young, should feel himself a militia man; and be the more ready to pay money towards the Province's defence, the less he is able to give bodily assistance. There are on the Militia Rolls about 360,000 names: say that we deduct a third who could plead disability for active service, unless in time of actual war, and we assume 240,000 men as our sedentary militia—a number every year increasing. It would require a fourth of this number, or 60,000 men, to be drilled each year for a month, or for so many days less as the want of funds made necessary. The turning out, for the time specified, of this active force would be *compulsory*, unless the required number should volunteer, which no doubt would be the case, if all is done by Parliament for these defenders of the Province that ought to be done. Indeed *much more than a fourth* could be got to volunteer for a month's drill with pay at half a dollar a day; but the preference of volunteering into the Active Militia (which would be a thing so much valued as to make young men volunteer as the means of attaining it) should be given to the *volunteer companies*, in consideration of their remaining embodied during the whole year. I think also that the Officers of the volunteer companies who volunteer into the Active Militia, should be entitled to a step higher rank in the militia service, than that which they hold in the volunteer service. I have only to repeat that it is as militiamen, not as members of volunteer companies, that I feel you should be called upon for active service; my strong views on this point having been expressed in the following words, in which I closed my explanation in Parliament:

"He (Mr. Buchanan), in conclusion, desired to guard himself against future, as there have been former, base attempts to represent him as not appreciating the Volunteer force. He was himself a Volunteer in 1837, and in 1862—his son now carries the colours of the 13th Battalion—and no one was prouder than he was of the past history and present energy of the Canadian Volunteers. They are the *elite* of the Militia of the Province, and their excellent spirit will, in an incredibly short time, leaven the whole body, should occasion require it. Individually, and as individual companies, in which they act as with one will, they are all that men can be; but still, they are *Volunteers*, and it is impossible they should have the strict battalion discipline, to which they would cheerfully submit, if it were necessary, or if they were under the moral obligation of doing their compulsory duty as *militiamen*. It should never be forgotten that, compared to *the moral obligation, as well as compulsion*, under which a militiaman acts, the *promise* to the Province of the Volunteers is more a mere temporary *notice of intention;* and let it always

be remembered, to the credit of the volunteer, that this is a notice of intention to do more than his own share of the military duty of the country, and more, therefore, than the country has any right to expect of him. We need not conceal, however, from ourselves, that when patriotically joining a volunteer company, a not inconsiderable proportion of the volunteers have not stopped to reflect on the relationships in life which will prevent them, however willing, doing more than their own share of the defence of the Province. All, therefore, that it is safe to calculate is, that by volunteering the men mean to prepare themselves to do their own share in the defence of the Province, and it is the fatal error of the Administration, that, in regard to invasion, it has been led to depend on the volunteers more than just as individually splendid *elements* to render much more easy the rapid formation of a GREAT PROVINCIAL MILITIA FORCE."

PARTING ADVICE.

And now, in bidding the Battalion farewell, I feel that I cannot better show my deep interest in the individuals composing it than by reminding them of the following glorious passage in HENRY THE FIFTH :—

" Every subject's duty is the King's ; but
" Every subject's soul is his own. Therefore
" Should every soldier in the wars do as
" Every sick man in his bed, work every
" Mote out of his conscience ; and dying
" So, Death is to him advantage ; or not dying,
" The time was blessedly lost, wherein such
" Preparation was gained ; and in him that
" Escapes, it were not sin to think, that
" Making God so free an offer, He let him
" Outlive that day to see his greatness, and
" To teach others how they should prepare."

" Volunteers, as well as professional soldiers,—and all men, as soldiers in the common battle of life who see their comrades daily dropping around them,—should ever keep these words before them as a rule of duty and conduct. Indeed, for my part, I should not be able to have the same high confidence of the existence in any man of the proper sense of duty to his sovereign, if I saw not in him—*as evidence of his perpetually feeling himself in a higher presence than that of man*—that original loyalty to himself and his family—that freedom of soul—of which the consequence is that proper self-

respect,—that thoughtful solicitation for his personal safety, in due proportion to the position in which he is placed—so well portrayed in the glorious words which I have quoted.

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

MR. BUCHANAN'S ADDRESS ON TRANSMITTING TO GOVERNMENT HIS RESIGNATION AS LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF THE 13th BATTALION.

"*Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the* 13*th Battalion Volunteer Militia:*

"I am sorry that I had not an opportunity of expressing to you before I resigned, my regret at having prematurely to part with you. And now I can see no good object to be served by entering into any more particulars than the public have to do with, for as an individual I sympathise with, and I may say, less or more approve of, the things which it were subversive of all my self-respect as well as of my authority to overlook as Colonel of the Battalion, even if this would not be a violation of my duty in that capacity. I now perfectly understand that the allegiance of independent companies or unpaid volunteers can only be to the Captain and Officers of their particular company; and I prefer putting my resignation rather on occurrences which were inevitable under the system than which are peculiar to the 13th Battalion, thus parting with you on such good terms that hereafter there may be nothing to prevent us co-operating together towards the great object which we have in common. Indeed nothing would be viewed by me a prouder achievement than hereafter to raise an independent company of volunteers, if I had time to give to drill.

"There is no greater admirer of the volunteer system than I, but it must be a *voluntary* and not a compulsory system, otherwise there is a misunderstanding somewhere. To the extent then that there was *compulsion* in the Militia Bill lately introduced, the Government is under a misunderstanding; and so great was this misunderstanding that I suppose there would under that Bill scarcely be a volunteer. I see, therefore, that my resignation will have as its mission to proclaim to the Government with a loud voice that you are *volunteers*, and should not be expected to be more; while I trust that it will be the means of having the militia made such that you can remain volunteers. In regard to our own Battalion, I can only further say that my interest in it shall not cease, but that my best assistance will be given to whomsoever the Governor-General

may please to appoint as my successor, although I shall be anxious to awaken the Government to the fact that this volunteer system should be viewed rather as a preliminary organization for drill, or as a system of calling into existence *elements* which may be hereafter so placed as to do good service to their country; it being unreasonable to suppose that the present handful of volunteers could (or that if it trebled in numbers they could) do what is expected of them, to defend the frontier. In my speech to you at the opening of our Drill Shed, I dwelt at some length on its being the first consideration that all volunteer arrangements be such as NOT TO EXPOSE UNDULY THE LIVES OF THE MEN, WHICH I AM NOW SATISFIED THE PRESENT SYSTEM WOULD DO. On the subject of a new state of things, to which the present system would be an auxiliary, I can sufficiently express my view by giving below a quotation from yesterday's *Spectator;* and with every good wish for you as a body and individually,

"I remain, yours faithfully,

"ISAAC BUCHANAN."

HAMILTON, 10th August, 1863.

Extract from "Spectator" of yesterday, describing the new Militia Organization desiderated by Mr. Buchanan:

The Militia question has been somewhat unexpectedly brought up here in a definite form, by a local occurrence which we have no doubt will excite snrprise, and give rise to much remark. Our city member, Isaac Buchanan, Esq., has felt it is duty to the Province, as well as to himself, to resign his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Thirteenth Battalion of Volunteer Militia. His eyes have been opened to the imminent danger we are in from an efficient Militia system being prevented by one apparently being in existence, although it is a system amounting to nothing as a main arm of defence, while fitted to do admirable service as an auxiliary. The total unfitness of independent, unpaid volunteers for battalion organization is the great fact to which Mr. Buchanan has become alive. It is obvious that if volunteers were in the least jealous of control by a Colonel like Mr. Buchanan, there could be very little hope for any other man receiving sufficient consideration. It appears that in addition to finding a large amount of Drill room, Mr. Buchanan was mainly instrumental in the erection of the great Drill Shed, which reflects such credit on Hamilton; that he procured

and paid out of his own pocket an experienced military officer as Adjutant; that in order to make the Battalion *uniform*, he agreed to relieve the Government of the payment of six dollars to each man of the Rifle and Highland Companies; that at his own expense he sent abroad for a set of splendid Regimental colours, and a Flute and Drum band; that to aid in keeping up the *esprit de corps* of the Battalion, he was the means of getting up an Officer's club, with a monthly Mess dinner; and all must know that in giving so much of his time, he was giving that on which no money value could be placed. It is probable, therefore, that no one possessing less influence could have got on so well as Colonel Buchanan.

The error lies at the root of the system. Unpaid volunteering does not seem capable of being carried out in discipline when it goes beyond the *Company*. The allegiance is to the Company not to the Regiment. In such case the same discipline is impossible as in the Line. The unpaid volunteer is necessarily too independent. He can give his Captain two months' notice, and quit. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Bill may, perhaps, alter this; he proposed in his former Bill that young men should volunteer for five years, and only leave with the sanction of the Governor-General; but *if this were adopted there would be no volunteers*. In this we think the volunteers are right, and so thinks Mr. Buchanan. Every one knows that there can practically be no allegiance, except to the officer whose influence raised them. We value unpaid volunteering as a practical institution, very admirable and suitable for Canada; but unpaid volunteering, as we have shown, must be a matter generally speaking of independent companies. This, we understand to be Mr. Buchanan's view. He does not wonder at the difficulties he has had; but it does not prevent his feeling that self-respect requires him to resign even if his loss of confidence in the system did not make this imperative. We understand his idea to be that there should be Battalion Drill by a Drill Instructor or by the Captains in rotation, and *the field officers, all to be professional men, should only be appointed when they are called into the field for active service*. Mr. Buchanan thinks this is the only footing on which the lives of the men, when taken to the frontier, would be safe. If volunteer officers wish promotion over the rank of Captain, they should get it in the militia.

But the main point now brought up is, that Mr. Buchanan feels that he dare no longer, by remaining Colonel of a volunteer Battalion, appear to approve of a system which constitutes volunteers the main defence of the Province. As auxiliaries no man values them more than Mr. Buchanan, but they must be no more than *auxiliaries*. He thinks that a Provincial Militia, worthy of the Province,

should be organized without delay, and our present volunteering preserved as an auxiliary, more of a local character being given to it—that is, its first duty to be local protection, although it should be in the power of the Governor-General as Commander-in-Chief to organize the unpaid volunteers into Battalions and send them to the frontier in case of necessity. To expect volunteers without pay to do more than this is quite illusory. A high military authority has characterized Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Bill, proposed last spring, as *creating a standing army without pay, and with every discouragement in fine and otherwise, to the volunteer that seems possible to be conceived!* Mr. Buchanan has become satisfied that the Militia, when on duty, must be paid and enjoy certain privileges; possessed of these he hopes that enough would volunteer, as is the case in England, to prevent the necessity of ballotting, which is of course the only alternative. MR. BUCHANAN INSISTS THAT ALL SHOULD BE TAXED FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE MILITIA FORCE, leaving the volunteers to be provided for by the Government as at present, although eventually the localities should take over their expense.

Mr. Buchanan feels that in regard to finding the means, THE MATTER IS VERY WRONGFULLY MINGLED UP WITH THE PROVINCIAL EXCHEQUER, the defence of the Province being really not a matter so much for the Government as for the people. It is not so much to protect the Government that assistance is required from Canadians to the British troops; it is the defence of the people and their property that requires this. No expense should be gone to that is not necessary, but our lives and property must be protected, and the people should, through *a small per-centage on the assessment rolls*, annually raise the amount in the localities, and pay it over to the Provincial Government for distribution, according to the Statute, among the Provincial Militia. As MR. BUCHANAN SAYS, THE PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY—PERSONAL AS WELL AS REAL—SHOULD DEFEND THE COUNTRY. He calculates that an eighth of one per cent. per annum on the value of all assessable property would support a strong militia. This is clearly something which we have in our power, and if we refuse to do it we must not be astonished if the loyalty of Canada is impugned in England.

[Mr. Buchanan's speech in Parliament on 11th September, will be published separately, as MILITIA BROCHURE, No. 2, together with some other details of the *Means of Defence*, on which the Province should insist. Whatever these BROCHURES produce will be applied as contributions towards a fund for the Monument *in the Gore*, by the Militia and Volunteers, which has been talked of, to the late Colonel, the Honourable Sir Allan N. MacNab, Baronet.]

VII.

A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE C. B. ADDERLEY, M.P., ON THE RELATIONS OF ENGLAND WITH HER COLONIES. BY THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE, PREMIER OF NOVA SCOTIA.*

LONDON, *Dec.* 24, 1862.

DEAR SIR,

Just before leaving England in January last, I read a letter addressed by you to the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, on the present relations of England with her Colonies.

A short time ago a friend put into my hands a second edition of that letter, prefaced by some observations suggested by the rejection of the Militia Bill submitted by the late Ministry to the Parliament of Canada.

While I acknowledge that this *brochure* has been written with great skill and ingenuity, and in a spirit of commendable moderation, I regret to be compelled, by a sense of duty to the North American Provinces, and to the Empire at large, to question the soundness of the conclusions at which you have arrived.

If I understand your argument, drawn from the History of the old Thirteen Colonies, it is this: All those Colonies provided for their own defence, and kept up standing armies, or maintained a well-disciplined militia, wherewith to fight the French and Indians, with little or no cost to the mother country; and, therefore, the five existing colonies of British America, and all the other outlying portions of the Empire, ought to do the same.

Granting, for the moment, the accuracy of your historical research, and the entire premises on which you found this argument, ought not every British statesman and every right-thinking man to whom you appeal in these islands to ask, what were the results of that system? Read them in the early history of those thirteen Colonies. From their first foundation down to the Revolution, they can hardly be said to have belonged to the Empire at all,—or to have been ruled or guided upon any system offering the slightest hope or promise of the perpetuity of amicable relations.

Founded by grasping speculators, who desired to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonists and of the mother country, or planted by Englishmen fleeing from religious persecution at home, they knew but little of the fostering care of a maternal government from the first. Their early history is the history of backstairs in-

* Published by the British North American Association of London (G. B.)

fluence and intrigue—the rights and interests of the colonists being eternally perilled or sacrificed by the mischievous interference of the prerogative. They rarely knew the majesty of England in any of its graceful or benignant aspects. The people of England, in those days, had but little liberty themselves. The Colonies had no responsible government. The transatlantic Britons had no faith in the British bayonet as a symbol of order, freedom and civilization. They had seen it, but too recently, red with the blood of martyrs for opinion's sake, and bristling round every form of despotic usurpation. Indians in the wood, and Frenchmen on the frontier, were dangerous enemies, but those the early settlers of New England had braced themselves to encounter and subdue. Those perils were external, but what they most feared was the internal danger of the arbitrary exercise of the power of the Crown, backed by British soldiers in their midst. The red coat was ever an object of suspicion and distrust in the New England States; and, as the Governors sent out from home were continually menacing their charters, coming into collision with their general courts, and trying every variety of sap and mine by which the peculiar frame-work of those democracies might be shattered and overthrown; and as the British soldiers were the janizaries of the Governors, rather than the guardians of public liberty, the prevalent feeling of the old Colonies was this—the fewer soldiers the better; and this feeling of suspicion and distrust, visible to the eyes of all men in all the legislation, correspondence and military organization of the period, finally culminated into armed resistance; and, when blood was shed, and tea destroyed, and minutemen and soldiers were shooting each other all along that country road, which is now a beautiful carriage drive from Lexington to Boston, the Provincials reaped the advantage of their military training, and justified the policy which you approve; but, strange to say, without perceiving that they had objects in view the very reverse of those which you profess to have at heart.

That you are a loyal gentleman I know, but if I did not know it, I should certainly be at a loss to discover evidence of a desire to keep this Empire together, in your strong recommendation that Her Majesty's Government should pursue towards those noble groups of Colonies which make up, what the *Times* aptly styles, "that mysterious unity called the British Empire," the very policy which always perilled the allegiance of, and ultimately lost to us, the splendid provinces which now form the United or Disunited States.

But, if we had only lost those Provinces by tolerating or encouraging the system you advocate; if, when they had established their Independence, the genial influences of a common origin and of old fraternal relations had been re-established; if they had treated the

Revolutionary war as Englishmen do the Wars of the Roses, or as Englishmen and Scotchmen do the old Border Conflicts, as the common treasury of History, Poetry, and Romance, but not of bitter feeling; if they had carried into practice the wise saying of a gallant American Commander in China, now a Confederate Chieftain, and remembered on all occasions, or even on great occasions, "that blood is thicker than water;" if they had given us, what our Colonies invariably give us, their moral support to our diplomacy and their material aid, to the extent of their means, in times of peril, then I will freely admit that your argument would be divested of half its danger. The Colonies could not be preserved by your system, but, if they were friendly nations when they were gone, to part with them might only be a question of dignity and convenience. England might still, in her isolation, be regarded as the mother of nations, and be treated with all courtesy and respect. The Empire would be gone but, if secure of the chivalrous support of the outlying Provinces, the Islands might be safe.

But let us borrow again the stern lessons of history. Did the Thirteen Colonies cease to chew the old roots of bitterness? Did they turn to Old England, as a lady turns to her mother after an elopement, when she is married and settled and all is forgotten and forgiven? Is it not almost incredible with what persistent suspicion and mistrust every movement of the Imperial Government has been regarded in that country ever since the recognition of its Independence? Have the people of the United States ever been without a grievance? Has not their diplomacy been most aggressive? Did they not fall upon the rear of England in 1812, when her front was presented to the powerful armies and skilful European organization of the first Napoleon? Were not their sympathizers flung across our frontiers during the political disturbances of Canada in 1837? Was not their whole moral support given to Russia during the Crimean War? Were we not, last year, openly insulted and defied, and only saved from the cost of another conflict by the vigour of the British Cabinet, the divided condition of their country, and the preoccupation of their forces by land and sea? Does not every organ of public opinion in the Northern States come to us by every mail charged with menace and hostility to England? What have we gained, then, by the Independence of the United States, that should induce us to train the Colonies that remain to follow their example and prepare for separation? Is it not clear that, under the system you advocate, the old Thirteen Colonies maintained a doubtful allegiance to this country? Is it not also equally clear that the troops they trained, when the struggle came, were to a man enemies to the British Crown? And is it not painfully apparent that, as the results of

the system you advocate, the Mother Country lost all the advantage of her early colonization, and trained rich and flourishing communities to regard her with feelings of hostility more implacable and undying than those which her government is called to confront in any other part of the world.

I am truly amazed that a gentleman of your keenness of perception and great political experience, can be so self-deceived as to press, at this time of day, the adoption of a policy that, in every aspect in which we view it, has proved so disastrous.

Let us examine it in relation to finance. The cost of the first American War was £104,681,218; simple interest at 3 per cent. on this sum would amount to £240,021,996. £50,000,000 were spent in the Second American War. The interest from 1815 to 1862 would be £117,500,000. Here we have then, in round numbers, the enormous sum of £616,784,432 which Great Britain has lost by training Colonies in the mode which you recommend. Even if this country had assumed the task of defending the old Colonial frontiers, of beating off the French, and occasionally chastising the Indians, enormous sums of money might have been saved. It is, perhaps, vain to speculate, at this late period, as to what might have been the results of a different system. Had timely concessions been made; had self-government been frankly conceded, had the British soldier been presented to the Colonial mind as the representative of order, and the friend of freedom,—who can doubt that the first American War would never have occurred,—that the second, which grew out of the bitter feeling engendered by the first, might have been avoided. Even had a period arrived when political separation became a convenience or a necessity, it might have been arranged by friendly negociation; and an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family, would probably have insured freedom of commerce and perpetual amity and good will. The British troops might have been withdrawn, marching to their places of embarkation to the sound of merry music, and followed by the acclamations of the self-reliant communities whose early struggles they had shared, whose industrial development they had protected, whose liberties they had never menaced, whose blood they had never shed. Though it may be too late to speculate on what might have resulted from applying to the old thirteen Colonies the system which now obtains, no man can deny that the old one, which you would substitute for the modern, bore nothing but bitter fruit, and is condemned by every page of our old Colonial history.

Let us see, now, how the modern system works. Great Britain, to maintain her position as a first-rate European power, is compelled

to keep up a respectable standing army. While Russia maintains a standing army of 486,000 men—and France, England's nearest neighbour, with a chief of unrivalled enterprise, sagacity, and soaring ambition at her head, can call into the field in a few days 680,000 men—could England, if she had not a Colony in the world, hold any but a very inferior European position with an army of less than 100,000 in peaceful times? Could she defend her soil from intrusion and insult, in case of war, with less? If she could not, then the Army Estimates would not be much reduced even if she threw off her colonies to-morrow. The legions might come home, and the outlying portions of this great Empire might be left to drift into new alliances and hostile connexions, but the legions would be wanted to defend the British Islands, without the moral support or material aid of millions of human beings, ruthlessly severed from all active interest in their success, by being told that their friendship was not worth preserving.

It is, then, folly to suppose that the Provinces, having no power to protect their interests by diplomacy, and no voice in determining the policy out of which hostilities may arise, would ever consent to keep up standing armies, to waste their revenues, and to assume the burden of their own defence in any wars that England might provoke. To enforce your policy would engender ill feeling, and ultimate separation. The boy who is asked to do a man's work, and is driven from the homestead because he lacks the strength, may still love the scenery which charmed his eye, and the old trees that shaded the threshold from which he has been driven, but to expect him to love very much the brethren who expelled him, would be to hope rather more from human nature than is warranted by our experience of the world. The Provinces, once separated upon such an issue, there would be an end of friendship, of mutual sympathy, and co-operation.

> "To be wroth with those we love
> Doth work like madness in the brain."

The greater the affection the more intense the hatred. The Colonies, whose pride had been thus wounded—whose birthright had been denied—whose friendship had been undervalued—who had been cast, like Ishmael, without the charmed circle of home-thoughts and filial obligation—would form new ties, and contract Transatlantic, Asiatic, or European alliances. Friends and sympathizers enough, believe me, they would soon find; and they would grow and flourish, but with their growth would grow also the root of bitterness; and at least one generation of Englishmen would have to die, perhaps twenty, before this national eviction was forgotten or forgiven.

Take the group of Provinces which I know best. For a century their inhabitants have lived under the Crown of England, but for only twenty years of that long period have they had constitutional control over their internal affairs. Over their relations to the rest of the world they have at this moment no control. Though California, three thousand miles away, is represented, at Washington—though Algeria is represented at Paris—the noble North American Provinces, with their boundless territory and resources, and four millions of people, have no representation in London. You admit us to representation in your Industrial Exhibitions, but from that great arena of intellectual display on which the finer minds of North America and of all the Colonies might occasionally shed some lustre, you carefully exclude us. Our columns of gold and our pyramids of timber may rise in your crystal palaces, but our statesmen in the great councils of the Empire, never.

Our courts may exhibit the boundless resources and advanced civilization of the Colonies, but the men they produce you regard as inferior at all times, except when the Empire is to be defended; then they are to be tasked beyond their strength, and are expected to rise to the dignity of citizenship, from which at all other times they are carefully excluded. Is this fair? Is it just?

You will not deny that Norway and Wurtemburg, with their million and a half of people—Saxony, with its two millions—even Oldenburg and Brunswick, with their quarter of a million, are treated in England with a deference and distinction never accorded in this country to the North American Provinces, with their four millions. The people of these States are foreigners; we are only Englishmen on the wrong side of the Atlantic. Does it never occur to you that you ought to elevate us to the full dignity of citizenship, before you call upon us to assume all its burthens?—that, before you ask us to share with you all the peril and cost of Empire, you should share with us its honours and distinctions? In the simple French ballad, Jeannette expresses her opinion—

> "That those who make the war,
> Should be the men to fight."

Whenever the war is made, Mr. Adderley makes it, and Mr. Howe is called upon to shoulder his rifle and do duty upon the frontier where Mr. Adderley is never seen. Is this fair? Yet, if I understand your argument, it is this: Whenever war is declared by this country the North Americans must defend their own. Let us change places for a year, and your hasty judgment would be corrected by your own feelings and experience.

But we are told the old Colonies did this, and where is the hard-

ship? I have already shown you what became of the old Colonies, but will now show you what, in all human probability, would become of the North American group if your advice were to prevail.

The old thirteen Colonies had to fight Indian tribes scattered through the woods, and the French on the frontiers, without roads, and hundreds of miles from the settlements. These wars were wars of outposts and excursions. Their enemies—brave and savage enough, I admit—rarely made their appearance in any very large numbers. If the whole Six Nations, or Philip's subjects, *en masse*, were paraded to-morrow, the State of Maine would crush them all; and the militia of Nova Scotia ought to be a match for all the soldiers that New France could have mustered at any period in our old Provincial history. But when you ask us to defend ourselves against thirty or even against twenty millions of people of our own race, whose settlement and civilization precedes our own by a hundred years—who, forty years ago, were sufficiently numerous to maintain war on land and sea for three years against the whole power of Great Britain—you ask us to do that which is simply unreasonable and unjust. If this be expected or asked, it is quite clear that the Queen's name is to us no longer a tower of strength—that the imperial Government abdicates dominion in North America. Shall it be said that the diplomacy of England is to involve us in foreign quarrels, and that the arms of England are not to be employed in our defence? It is most unfair to tell us that because the old thirteen Colonies defended themselves against a few thousand French and Indians, the five Provinces of British America are to fight twenty or thirty States, with a population of thirty millions. The idea is preposterous, and can never be seriously entertained by the Government and Parliament of England.

Should the Northern and Southern States settle down under separate forms of Government to-morrow, it is clear that, though our danger may be diminished, the odds will still be fearfully against us. We shall even then have twenty millions of people, active, enterprising and sagacious on our flank, with a navy only inferior to that of Great Britain and France, and an army familiar with war, of at least two or three hundred thousand men.

I do not mean to say, that in a struggle for the sanctity of our soil and for the freedom of our homesteads, we could not now make a gallant defence even against this mighty power.

The people of the Southern States have taught us, even if we had not learnt before in the history of Scotland, of Holland, and of Switzerland, what may be done by a high-spirited and determined people, fighting on their own soil, against fearful odds and vastly

superior numbers. If driven to do it, we could fight and die in unequal combats on our frontiers. We could retire to our river heads, thick forests and mountain fastnesses, we could even fall back upon our frozen regions; and we might, if our arms were blessed by Providence, in the end weary out the enemy and win an honourable peace and secure our independence. But is it not apparent that what has happened to the Virginians would happen to us? Our cities would be captured, our fields laid waste, our bridges would be blown up, our railways destroyed. The women of British North America, as remarkable for their beauty as for their purity of thought, would become a prey to a soldiery largely drawn from the refuse of society in the old world and the new. Our commerce would be destroyed, our improvements stopped, our whole society disorganized. But, whatever its issue, when the war was over, trust me that that portion of the British family who had sought our subjugation, who had shed our blood, traversed our country, and outraged our women, would stand higher in our estimation than that other branch of the family, who, from craven fear or calculating selfishness, had left us to contend with such fearful odds, who, false to the fraternal traditions of a hundred years, to the glorious unity of our common history, to the dead Englishmen and British Americans, lying side by side at Chrystler's Farm and Chateauguay, at Bloody Creek and Queenston, false to the modern union of hearts, not pens, ratified in the sight of Heaven in every large city of British America, when Queen Victoria's son, the future sovereign of this Empire, accepted the homage of our people, who hailed His Royal Highness as the representative of our Empire's unity, and who believed that protection and allegiance were reciprocal obligations.

Far better would it be, if this were to be the result of the amended relations which you propose, that England should at once say to North America, assume the management of your own foreign relations. Send your own Ministers to London, to Washington, or wherever else you please. We will admit you to the status of the most favoured nation, but we can no longer burthen our Treasury with your defence or hazard the contingencies of a more intimate union. When this was said of course no Englishman could confront the world with the calm self-respect which marks his demeanour now. The Russian woman, who, to save her own life, flung her babes to the wolves, was slain by her friends and neighbours. This people might escape the punishment, but their turpitude would be none the less. On this point I speak strongly, but I speak as I feel. My life has been spent in developing the principles and policy by which this great Empire may be kept together; and,

just when the Provinces, content with well regulated self-government and honourable imperial relations, are, perhaps for the first time in the world's history, proving that British Institutions as well as a British population may safely be transplanted, that an Englishman may go abroad anywhere, and carry with him veneration for his Sovereign, affection for his brethren, and love for his native land, and yet enjoy all the privileges of self-government under the old flag, is it not hard to see this magnificent system, of which the "Colonial Courts" and the Lancashire subscriptions are but the first-fruits, rudely shaken by speculative politicians, or perilled by such taunts and dissensions as have been of late too rife in England?

Talk of defending the Colonies,—I hope to live to see the day when the outlying Provinces of the Empire will as freely send their contingents for the defence of these Islands, as they have this year sent their treasures to your Crystal Palace, and their cheerful contributions to your distressed manufacturing towns. The anti-colonial feeling has been assumed to be strongest among those who, in this country, are known as the Manchester School of Politicians. If this be so, and I do not assert that it is, then what a pregnant answer may be drawn from the noble manifestations of national feeling, as contradistinguished from mere local obligations, by which our country's annals have been illustrated within a month.

When Lancashire is invaded by the Republicans, who, at a distance of three thousand miles have power to stop their looms and close their factories, when gaunt famine stalks through her streets, when hunger makes wan faces and weak frames which pestilence threatens to devour, does all England fold its arms and say to the Lancastrians, defend yourselves, protect yourselves, feed yourselves? Does Scotland or Ireland say this? Do the outlying Provinces say so? No! Thanks be to Almighty God that this has been nowhere said. The whole Empire has rushed to the relief of Lancashire, and that noble Principality is saved. With such an example before him will any Manchester man or any other Englishman say to three hundred and fifty thousand Nova Scotians or New Brunswickers, or even to three millions of Canadians, defend yourselves against twenty millions of Republicans, whenever our diplomacy, over which you have had no control, fails to avert a war. No! this will never be said, until the Britons of the present hour are as abject as those whose "groans" for more Roman soldiers provoke our laughter in the pages of ancient history. I grant you that all England has assumed that Lancashire should help herself; and I at once concede that, to the full extent of their ability, any of the Provinces that have or are likely to become the seat of war,

should, to the utmost extent of their means, provide for their own defence.

I shall, by and bye, show that whatever may have been done in other parts of the Empire, the British Americans have never flinched from the performance of this duty; but before touching this branch of the subject, let me correct a very prevalent error that seems to prevail in this country, that it is the interest of North America that binds her to England. This is a popular error, and may mislead a good many people if it is not corrected.

Suppose that your Scottish border was fifteen hundred miles long, and that Scotland contained thirty millions of people, with a powerful army and navy, and the second mercantile marine in the world. Suppose British America to contain your population and England ours, would you not, under such a condition of your relations, laugh at any body who told you that it was your interest to adhere to us, at the risk of the hatred and hostility of Scotland. But such is our position and yet we adhere to you. Why? Because it is a question of honour and not of interest. Is it from any special regard we have for the Manchester cotton spinners, the cockneys of London, or even for the very enlightened individuals who now wear the coronets of England, or divide the rhetorical distinctions of the House of Commons? No! By the Beard of the Prophet, no! we have heard and seen you all, and we go back to our North American homes, conscious that the race we are training there are worthy to be classed as your equals. What then binds us to this country? Our interest? God forbid. Let Nova Scotia throw herself behind the Morrill tariff to-morrow and shut out the manufactures of England: there would be cotton mills upon her magnificent water powers in less than two years, and the whole consumption of thirty millions of people for her manufactures, as well as for her raw products, would be open to her at once. Her fishermen would immediately share the national bounties which are given by the Republic to foster a National Marine. The coasting trade and the free navigation of the rivers of the United States would be open to our vessels; we could coast from Maine to California. Every Gubernatorial chair, every department, every diplomatic office, on either continent, would be open to us; and yet, with all these temptations to desert you, we still adhere to England. Why? Because, as I said before, it is a question of honour and affection, and not of interest. Our allegiance has never been divided, but has come down to us, in an unbroken stream, from the earliest record of the monarchy. We have never been anything else but Britons. Why should we now? Don't tempt us, by unworthy suspicions, and political hypercriticism of our every act,

to desire to be anything else. Not only our blood but our thoughts have been mingled for centuries. Our fathers fought on the same fields, died on the same scaffolds, burnt at the same stakes, struggled for the same principles; won the Great Charter, built the great cathedrals and castles, cleared up the face of England and made her what she is; and shall you, because you happen to be left in possession of the homestead, and because we have gone abroad to extend the territory of the Empire, to people the earth and to subdue it, to illustrate and reproduce our civilization under new forms and in distant regions—shall we, I ask, forfeit our inheritance, be deprived of our birthright, and hear our brethren plead that their interest is no longer promoted by the connection!

Why, you think little of your interest where your honour is concerned in your transactions with foreign nations. You do not repudiate your treaty with Portugal, or your moral obligations to defend the Turk. Shall your own brethren be treated worse than foreigners? When you violate your compact with the descendants of those Englishmen whom Cornwallis led to Halifax, with the descendants of the loyalists who stood by you when the old Colonies deserted, with those British and Irish emigrants who have gone to the Provinces with their shamrocks in their bosoms and their thistles in their hats, fondly believing that they were not going from home. When England does this, then let the holders of the National Scrip look out, for she may be expected to do anything. When John Bull stoops to this humiliation, when he

> "———grows so covetous,
> To lock his rascal coffers from his friends,
> Be ready, gods, with all your thunderbolts,
> Dash him to pieces."

I have promised to prove to you that, upon all trying occasions, the North American Provinces have not shrunk from the perils or the cost of war. When the old Colonies revolted, every effort was made to induce the Northern Provinces to declare their independence. The few persons who were disaffected were sufficiently active. A slight demonstration was made upon the Common of Halifax, and the standard of rebellion was raised by a few thoughtless young men in the County of Cumberland, but these disturbances were promptly put down, and the Maritime Provinces remained firm to their allegiance.

In 1775 the British Government had but one weak battalion in Canada,* numbering not much more than 500 men. The Republi-

* See Sir James Carmichael Smith's "*Precis of the Wars in Canada*," an admirable work, just published by his son.

cans, under General Montgomery, invaded Canada in the direction of Montreal, preceded by proclamations offering the most tempting inducements to shake the loyalty of the inhabitants. The Canadian Militia rallied to the support of the Royal authorities on every point of the frontier.

At Fort St. John, Chambly, Sorel, they did duty with the regulars, and might have successfully defended this part of the Province, had not Sir Guy Carleton's strategy been seriously at fault.

Arnold led a force of 1,200 men up the Kennebec and down the Chaudière; Montgomery, who had taken Montreal, joined him with the bulk of his force at Quebec. "The garrison of that city consisted only of one company of regulars, with some seamen and marines from a sloop of war lying in the St. Lawrence." Of the 1600 bayonets that confronted this formidable American invasion, 1400 at least must have been wielded by the strong arms of the Canadian Militia. Four simultaneous attacks were made by the combined Republican armies, gallantly led and directed by Arnold and Montgomery. At every point the enemy was foiled and driven back by these sixteen hundred men, four-fifths of them being those raw Canadian Militia, whom it seems to be the fashion, in this country, just now to depreciate and undervalue.

This time, at all events, the Province was saved by the steady valour of the Canadians, as it was impossible for the British Government to send any efficient succour till the spring.

In 1776, Arnold, still encamped before Quebec, was reinforced by a strong column of 3000 men, "with some heavy artillery." 4000 Republicans occupied St. John, Chambly, and Montreal. Help came from England on the 6th of May, and the invading armies were compelled to evacuate the Province, and in the following year, the war was carried into the enemy's country, and then followed that disastrous campaign which ended in the surrender of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga.

The war of 1812-15 was neither sought nor provoked by the British Americans. It grew out of the continental wars, with which we certainly had as little to do. Whether a Bourbon or a Bonaparte sat upon the throne of France, was a matter of perfect indifference to us. We were pursuing our lawful avocations—clearing up our country, opening roads into the wilderness, bridging the streams, and organizing society as we best could, trading with our neighbours, and wishing them no harm. In the meantime British cruisers were visiting and searching American vessels on the sea. Then shots were fired, and, before we had time to recall our vessels engaged in foreign commerce, or to make the slightest preparation for defence, our coasts were infested by American cruisers and privateers, and our whole frontier was in a blaze.

You count the cost of war by the Army and Navy Estimates, but who can ever count the cost of that war to us? A war, let it be borne in mind, into which we were precipitated without our knowledge or consent. Let the coasts of England be invaded by powerful armies for three summers in succession; let the whole Channel, from Falmouth to the Nore, be menaced; let Southampton be taken and burnt; let the South-downs be swept from the Hampshire hills, and the rich pastures of Devonshire supply fat beeves to the enemy encamped in the Western Counties, or marching on Manchester and London; let the youth of England be drawn from profitable labour to defend these great centres of industry, the extremities of the island being given up to rapine and to plunder; fancy the women of England living for three years with the sound of artillery occasionally in their ears, and the thoughts of something worse than death ever present to their imaginations; fancy the children of England, with wonder and alarm on their pretty faces, asking for three years when their fathers would come home; fancy, in fact, the wars of the Roses or the Civil wars back again; and then you can understand what we suffered from 1812 to 1815. Talk of the cost of war at a distance; let your country be made its theatre, and then you will understand how unfair is your mode of calculation, when you charge us with the Army Estimates, and give us no credit for what we have done and suffered in your wars.

Though involved in the war of 1812 by no interest of fault of our own, though our population was scattered and our coasts and frontiers almost defenceless, the moment it came we prepared for combat without a murmur. I am just old enough to remember that war. The commerce of the Maritime Provinces was not a twentieth part of what it is now, but what we had was almost annihilated. Our mariners, debarred from lawful trade, took to privateering, and made reprisals on the enemy. Our Liverpool "clippers" fought some gallant actions, and did some service in those days. The war expenditure gave to Halifax an unhealthy excitement, but improvement was stopped in all other parts of the Province; and, when peace came, the collapse was fearful in that city. Ten years elapsed before it recovered from the derangement of industry and the extravagant habits fostered by the war.

A few regiments were raised in the Maritime Provinces, their militia was organized, and some drafts from the interior were brought in to defend Halifax, whence the expeditions against the French Islands and the State of Maine were fitted out. Canada alone was invaded in force.

General Smith describes the conduct of the Canadian Militia in the few but weighty words that become a sagacious military chieftain pronouncing a judgment on the facts of history:—

In 1812 the Republicans attacked Canada with two corps, amounting in the whole to 13,300 men. The British troops in the Province were but 4,500, of which 3,000 were in garrison at Quebec and Montreal. But 1,500 could be spared for the defence of Upper Canada. From the capture of Michilimacinac, the first blow of the campaign, down to its close, the Canadian Militia took their share in every military operation. French and English vied with each other in loyalty, steadiness and discipline. Of the force that captured Detroit, defended by 2,500 men, but a few hundreds were regular troops. Brock had but 1,200 men to oppose 6,300 on the Niagara frontier. Half his force were Canadian Militia, yet he confronted the enemy, and, in the gallant action in which he lost his life, left an imperishable record of the steady discipline with which Canadians can defend their country.

The invading army of yeomen sent to attack Montreal were as stoutly opposed by a single brigade of British troops, aided by the Militia. In the only action which took place the Canadians alone were engaged. The enemy was beaten back, and went into winter quarters.

In 1813, Canada was menaced by three separate corps. The Niagara district was for a time overrun, and York, the capital of the Upper Province, was taken and burnt. The handful of British troops that could be spared from England's European wars, were inadequate to its defence, but in every struggle of the campaign, disastrous or triumphant, the Canadian Militia had their share. The French fought with equal gallantry in the Lower Province. At Chateauguay, Colonel de Saleberry showed what could be done with those poor undisciplined Colonists, who, it is now the fashion to tell us, can only be made good for anything, by withdrawing them from their farms and turning them into regular soldiers. The American General had a force of 7000 infantry, 10 field pieces, and 250 cavalry. De Saleberry disputed their passage into the country he loved with 1000 bayonets, beat them back, and has left behind a record, of more value in this argument, than a dozen pamphlets or ill-natured speeches in Parliament. Of this action, General Smith says: "The affair upon the Chateauguay river is remarkable, as having been fought on the British side, almost entirely by Canadians. The Republicans were repulsed by a very inferior number of Canadian Militia and of troops raised in Canada, thus affording a practical proof of the good dispositions of the Canadians, and the possibility, to say nothing of the policy, of improving the Canadian Militia, so as to be fully equal in discipline and instruction, to any American troops that may be brought against them at any future opportunity."

But why need I multiply illustrations ? . It is apparent that but for the steady discipline and gallant conduct of the Militia, who are now held so cheap, the small British force which the mother country, fighting Napoleon on the Continent, could safely spare, would have been overpowered, and that Canada would have been lost before Waterloo was won, as it would have been before the arrival of the British troops in 1775, but for the gallant defence of Quebec.

But, you may say to me, all this has changed. The year 1862 presents more formidable combinations to confront than the year 1812. The United States have grown and thriven, are populous and trained to war, have railroads pointing to your frontiers, and a powerful navy on their coasts.

I grant all this, but will shew you presently that there are some elements of hope and progress at the other side. But first let me shew you that if the forces are so unequally balanced, British statesmen and legislators are themselves to blame. When the Independence of the United States was established in 1783, they were left with one half of the continent and you with the other. You had much accumulated wealth and an overflowing population. They were three millions of people, poor, in debt, with their country ravaged and their commerce disorganized. By the slightest effort of statesmanship you could have planted your surplus population in your own provinces, and, in five years, the stream of emigration would have been flowing the right way. In twenty years the British and Republican forces would have been equalized. But you did nothing, or often worse than nothing. From 1784 to 1841, we were ruled by little paternal despotisms established in this country. We could not change an officer, reduce a salary, or impose a duty, without the permission of Downing Street. For all that dreary period of 60 years, the Republicans governed themselves, and you governed us. They had uniform duties and Free Trade with each other. We always had separate tariffs, and have them to this day. They controlled their foreign relations—you controlled ours. They had their ministers and consuls all over the world, to open new markets, and secure commercial advantages. Your ministers and consuls knew little of British America, and rarely consulted its interests. Till the advent of Huskisson, our commerce was cramped by all the vices of the old Colonial system. The Republicans could open mines in any part of their country. Our mines were locked up, until seven years ago, by a close monopoly held in this country by the creditors of the Duke of York. How few of the hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, who gazed at Nova Scotia's marvellous column of coal in the Exhibition, this

summer, but would have blushed had they known that for half a century the Nova Scotians could not dig a ton of their own coal without asking permission of half a dozen English capitalists in the city of London. How few Englishmen now reflect, when riding over the rich and populous states of Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Arkansas, that had they not locked up their Great West, and turned it into a hunting ground, which it is now, we might have had behind Canada, three or four magnificent Provinces, enlivened by the industry of millions of British subjects, toasting the Queen's health on their holidays, and making the vexed question of the defence of our frontier one of very easy solution.

I parade these pictures of disparity in no spirit of querulous complaint, but to shew you that if the British Provinces are not stronger, the people who have struggled against all these disadvantages, and made them what they are, are not to blame. There is a British statesman, now rendering good service in another department, who in 1839 had the sagacity to see through the rottenness of this old Colonial system, and who had the boldness to try an experiment, which has been crowned with the most signal success. Lord Russell's despatches, written in that year, conferred self-government on the North American Provinces. Not self-government, in the sense in which some shallow politicians in this country advocate it now, and who, if permitted, would destroy this Empire. But self-government to the full extent that it was then demanded. Self-government, which did not change our allegiance, that guarded every Treaty and every prerogative of the Crown, but which left us free to change our cabinets, dispense our revenues, control our officers, open our lands, and regulate our trade. Above and beyond all that Lord Russell has ever done, or said, or written, not excepting his services in passing your own Reform Bill, when he dies, his fame will rest upon his despatches, and on his colonial policy of 1839. The system then established has spread to the Eastern and African Colonies, and it will continue to spread, wherever hereafter our people occupy the waste portions of the earth, and establish a British community.

Under that system the North American Provinces, for the last twenty years, have grown and thriven. Old controversies have been settled, old grievances redressed, old abuses swept away. We have no disputes with England, except when you send us a Governor deficient in constitutional training, tact, and common sense. The authority of the Crown is everywhere sustained by a parliamentary majority. If we do not govern ourselves well, we have nobody but ourselves to blame.

Here lies our first great source of strength in any future contest

with the Republicans across the border. Our future is assured, and it includes every element of hope, every security for rational freedom. The advancing enemy can no longer hope to find, in any of the Provinces a divided population. His proclamations, offering us the benefit of Republican institutions, would produce even less effect than the droppings from a flock of wild geese flying over the soil. We have been guided by experience, they by theory. We have clung to institutions which have borne the test of centuries, theirs have been tried in the recent contest, and have yielded to the simplest strain. We have secured, in combination, the largest personal liberty with a strong executive. They appear to be unable to protect their country without sacrificing the guards of public and social life.

We will defend our country, then, because our institutions are a part of it, and our institutions are worth preserving. In any future contest with our Republican neighbours, trust me, that the concessions made to us by England in 1839 will be worth an army upon the frontier. You seem to be half repentant for the share you have had in urging these concessions. Be re-assured. Do not lend your fine talents to those who mean what you do not mean, who would go further than you, who would pollard the British oak that you would only trim ; who, not having themselves the wit to guide the glorious ship of Empire, in which we are all embarked, would put her under jury masts, and hug the shore to disguise their ignorance of navigation.

But I admit that when fighting is to be done, there is something more required even than enthusiasm in a good cause. I have not lived all my life in a garrison town without knowing the difference between discipline and the want of it ; between a soldier and a civilian.

But a great mistake prevails in this country as to the amount of discipline which our North American Militia would require, in order to make them, if not quite equal to your crack regiments, quite as good as the ordinary rank and file in conducting defensive warfare in a new country. Let us see what our young men know that many of your old soldiers do not. In the first place they are trained to field work and field sports. They can row, swim, fish, shoot, ride, walk on snow shoes, and camp in the woods in half an hour without the aid of canvas, hut themselves in the winter anywhere where wood is to be had. These are fine accomplishments, as your Guards would have discovered last winter, had two or three thousand of our young fellows, with their rifles and snow shoes, and a week's provision on their backs, chosen to have disputed their passage anywhere between Bic and Montreal. But

suppose that war had been declared last year, and that the youngsters had joined the Guards, as they would have done to a man, how long would they with their hearts in the business, have been learning, in addition to what they knew, all that a disciplined soldier has to teach; and how rapidly would they have taught the Guardsman what, for his own preservation and efficiency in such a country, it is indispensable that he should know? It is on this admirable combination of qualities, on this reciprocal interchange of services, sympathy, and instruction, that in the second place, I rely on any future wars which we may be compelled to wage in defence of our Provinces in North America. Your troops will always have the highest discipline, the most perfect knowledge of a profession, in its elementary stages not difficult to learn, and our young men, who cannot afford to leave their farms and play at soldiers in time of peace, will be apt scholars, and not bad teachers to the soldiers in time of peril. It was this admirable combination of the finest qualities required to make an army, that told upon the combats of 1812–15, and that will tell upon any future contests into which we may be driven. We ought to have good leadership and good drills from the first apprehension of hostilities, and, having these, it must be confessed that our materials wherewith to work are in quality unsurpassed.

But you will naturally ask, may they not be improved? and should not the youth of the Colonies be trained to arms that they may be better able to co-operate with British troops in defence of our common country?—and I answer, that we are training, and preparing to train them in a mode suitable to the condition of our country—in a mode that, while it is but little burdensome, and excites no ill-will in the Provinces, can give no offence to our neighbours.

Let me illustrate this part of the subject by facts drawn from Nova Scotia, with which I am best acquainted. During the long peace which followed the Treaty of Paris our Militia laws were very rarely revised, the Militia were never called out, and our population, busy with the arts of peace, "studied war no more." Matters continued in this state till the Volunteer movement began in this country. Almost simultaneous with that movement, under the personal superintendence and guidance of Lord Mulgrave, we began to raise Volunteer Companies in Nova Scotia; and there are now between three or four thousand young men, in the flower of life, who have selected their own officers, approved and commissioned by the Commander-in-Chief, purchased their own uniforms, and, under the sharp training of efficient drill sergeants, taken from the British army and paid by the Province, have become, in a

marvellously short time, very effective troops. We have one battalion that brigades with the garrison, strong companies at Pictou and Sydney for the defence of the coal mines, and many others, formed and forming, in the seaport towns and rural districts. Taking the number at 4,000 and our population at 350,000, this would be equal to 86,000 Volunteers to be raised in this country. Taking the cost of uniforms and amounts expended in ammunition and organization at £25,000, and, comparing our revenue with yours, it can be shown that our expenditure is, in proportion to our means, equal to an outlay of £9,733,000 for this country. Should we be scolded for doing this in the short period of three years?

But we have done more. We have set seriously about re-organizing our Militia. The whole force is being enrolled. Old officers are retiring with their rank. Those who are young enough and still desire to serve are told to qualify or resign. No young officer is appointed who has not qualified. The military spirit has revived with the apparent necessity, and is fast spreading all over the Provinces. Half the members of the Legislature last winter earned an appetite for breakfast in the drill-room, and used to pass my window on the coldest mornings with their rifles over their shoulders. The crack of the rifle is as common a sound as the note of the Bob-o-Link, and intercolonial shooting matches are becoming an institution.

Our Militia Laws had not been revised since that rather memorable period when Governor Fairfield called out the militia of Maine to settle the north-eastern boundary question by an invasion of New Brunswick. What took place then finely answers the argument that in the Provinces we wait for British troops to defend us.

On that occasion there were but a regiment or two in all the maritime Provinces. The Canadian garrisons were too far off, and, it being winter, could only come to us by the road the Guards traversed, or through the enemy's country. But we did not wait for troops from England or from Canada either. Our Militia Law was revised in a single day, and ample powers given to the Governor to spend every pound of revenue and call out every man in Nova Scotia for the defence of our sister Province. Fancy Scotland or Ireland menaced, and every man in England ordered to turn out for her defence, and you have a parallel to what took place in Nova Scotia. Had we hesitated, had we waited, there might have been collisions, perhaps war, but the promptness of our demonstration astonished Governor Fairfield; and the three cheers for the Queen and for New Brunswick, given by the members of our Legislatures standing in their places, with the Speaker in the

chair,—however unparliamentary the outbreak of feeling may appear,—proved to the militia of Maine that if they crossed the Border, a loyal and high-spirited people were ready to confront them.

The territory in dispute was given away, Canada and New Brunswick were almost split in halves. The provincials laid down their arms, and accepted peace on such terms, with shame and sorrow, not much relieved by the subsequent discovery of an old map, which showed how our diplomatist had been practised upon. From that period till the occurrence of the Trent affair, last winter, the prevailing belief in all the Provinces was this, that for no North American interest, or no North American question, would Great Britain go to war. In this belief our militia laws were neglected, our training ceased. Our officers grew old and obese, or died, and nobody would take their places. No Government would spend a pound upon defence, and after the withdrawal of the guarantee to the Intercolonial Railroad in 1851, the impression deepened that the people of this country were indifferent to our prosperity or defence.

When the Trent affair aroused the indignant feeling of the empire last autumn, we were, as we were in 1812, utterly unprepared. The war again was none of our seeking.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had thousands of vessels upon the sea, scattered all over the world. Canada had her thousand miles of frontier unprotected. Had war come, we knew that our money losses would have been fearful, and the scenes upon our sea coasts and our frontiers, sternly painted as they must occur, without any stretch of the imagination, might well bid the "boldest hold his breath for a time." But, did a single man in all those noble Provinces falter? No! Every man, aye, and every woman, accepted the necessity, and prepared for war. Again, it was a question of honour and not interest. In a week we could have arranged, by negociation, for peace with the United States and have kept out of the quarrel. But who thought of such a thing? Your homesteads were safe, ours in peril, a British, not a colonial ship, had been boarded, but what then? The old flag, that had floated over our fathers' heads, and droops over their graves, had been insulted, and our British blood was stirred without our ever thinking of our pockets. The spirit and unanimity of the Provinces, no less than the fine troops, and war material, shipped from this country, worked like a charm at Washington. President Lincoln, like Governor Fairfield, saw clearly that he was to be confronted, not only by the finest soldiers in the world, but by a united and high-spirited population. The effect was sedative, the captives

were given up, and the provincials, as is their habit when there is no danger to confront, returned to their peaceful avocations.

We were pursuing these most sedulously, not disturbed by any panic fear of our Republican neighbours, and most unconscious of having done anything to warrant the sudden outbreak of feeling that occurred in this country last summer, and with which we were deeply pained, and perhaps not a little disgusted.

The causes of complaint urged against Canada, in England, are two-fold.

1. Her high Import Duties are objected to; and
2. She is blamed for defeating a Ministry on a Militia Bill.

As respects the tariff of Canada, let me observe, that, when self-government was conferred upon that Province, the right to construct her own tariff was virtually conceded. By a special despatch, sent to all the Provinces when Lord Grey was Colonial Secretary, the right to impose what duties they pleased was specifically conceded, providing they were not discriminating, and were made to attach alike to importations from all countries. No restriction of the right to protect their own industry was stated. But in none of the Provinces have protective or discriminating duties ever been imposed.

It is true that the import duties of Canada are rather high. But it can be shown that all the duty raised is actually required to pay the interests on the debts of the Province, to carry on its public improvements, and to provide for its Civil List. It cannot be shown that there is much needless extravagance in the administration of the Government. With the single exception of the Governor-General's salary, regarded in this country as too low to secure the higher style of talent, no public officer in that Province receives a remuneration for his services that would not be regarded in England as inadequate, if not parsimonious. The highest judicial officers and heads of departments only receive £1000 sterling per annum.

The debts of Canada were incurred for the construction of canals and railroads, of the highest Imperial and Provincial importance. They were designed to attract through British territory a large portion of the trade of the great West. When the Intercolonial Railway is finished we shall not only control the telegraphic and postal correspondence of the Western States, but secure to the people of Great Britain at all seasons a steady supply of breadstuffs; should unhappily the Atlantic ports of the United States, in war, be closed against them. Who then will venture to assert that these were not elevated objects of the highest national importance, and these objects being secured, surely no man will suggest that the debts incurred ought not to be honourably redeemed.

Those persons, in this country, who desire that Canada should raise her revenue by direct taxation rather than by duties upon imports, do not reflect that there is a wide distinction to be drawn between an old and densely populated country and a new one but thinly peopled. In England the mass of the inhabitants live in cities and villages, even in the rural districts every acre of land is owned and cultivated, and has a money value. In Canada, as in all the Colonies, a large portion of the population live at great distances from each other. In the remote settlements land has often but a nominal value, and money is scarce. To collect direct taxes in such a country often costs more than they come to. Hence the preference shown for the system of raising revenue by import duties. They yield more without harassing the people, than could be got, with infinite labour and vexation of spirit, by any system of direct taxation. As the Provinces prosper and population increases, the import duties will come down. In the meantime, as there is not a cotton factory in any of the Provinces, as every year the consumption of British manufactures, in all their varied forms of beauty and utility, steadily increases, and as the consumers and not the producers pay the duty, why should exception be taken to our tariffs? I trust that my explanations under this head, will be regarded as entirely satisfactory. The colonies of England take now £46,000,000 worth of manufactures every year; and I hold, that as the selling price in England includes all that the manufacturer has to pay towards the national debt, and the maintenance of the Army and Navy, the colonists, who honestly pay for and consume these goods, pay now, independently of their own military expenditure, a noble contribution towards the funds dedicated to national defence.

Let us now see whether the great Province of Canada has done, or has failed to do, anything to warrant the sharp Parliamentary and newspaper criticism with which she has been assailed in this country.

I have shown you that her untrained Militia has twice saved the Province, and I have shown you that, on the very latest occasion when Great Britain appealed to their patriotism, every man responded to the call. Let me now show you that, although she may not have quite met the public expectations of this country (not very accurately informed as to the state of feeling in the Province), she has not been entirely neglectful of her defences, but is at this moment much better prepared to resist attack than she ever was at any former period of her history.

In 1855 the Militia Law of Canada was carefully revised; under that law the Government enrolled, drilled, and armed, at

the expense of the Province, a very respectable volunteer force. The country was divided into military districts, and the whole sedentary militia, consisting of every man capable of bearing arms, was organized.

In 1862 the law was amended to enable the Commander-in-Chief to make the enrollment more reliable and perfect. The Volunteer organization was rendered more general, arms and clothing were given to all persons who desired to enlist in those Volunteer corps. It is assumed, on good authority, that Canada, at the close of this year, will have 15,000* volunteers, equal, if the population of the two countries are contrasted, to 105,000 for the British Islands.

All the officers of the Sedentary Militia are now required to receive military training and instruction. They are removed if they do not. Hereafter no officer will be appointed or promoted who has not acquired a fair knowledge of arms. The number of officers whom it is the design of this system to qualify, will amount to 20,000. Brigade majors have been appointed in all the districts. The Governor-General is, by statute, Commander-in-Chief, and is authorized, at his discretion, or on any apprehension of danger, to call out every man in the Province, or any number that may be required. Under the law, as it stands, at fifteen days' notice, 50,000 men, perfectly organized in companies and battalions, and with all their regimental officers, from a colonel to a corporal, could be placed upon any point of the frontier.

What skill or soldiership have the great armies of the Northern States exhibited, that we should be much afraid to confront them, if the Canadians have not degenerated and if this country shews, as it certainly did last winter, a determination to fulfil its honourable obligations? "A little leaven leaveneth the whole mass," and twenty thousand British soldiers, judiciously distributed and skilfully led, with this fine force at their back or serving in the ranks beside them, ought to be able to give a good account of any invading army which the Northern States can send against them. But I apprehend that when those States emerge from the present disastrous civil war it will be some time before they will madly rush into a war with England. Looking to their mourning households, to the maimed and emaciated soldiers wandering through their streets, to their heavy national debt, to their disordered finances, and to the tremendous power which this Empire can put forth, if we are only true to each other, the day is distant when those States will heedlessly provoke a contest with this country. This is

* Actually 25,000, and others offered who could not be accepted.

evidently the opinion in Canada, and, so far at all events, it would appear that, in acting upon it, her Government has been sustained.

I have no desire to touch the local politics of Canada. I regret that the late Government elected to fall on the Militia Bill, and that their opponents were good-natured or unskilful enough to let them. I think the Opposition should have recited, by resolution, the reasons for which they turned the Ministers out. Had they done so, a good deal of the misapprehension which has prevailed in this country, which has evidently inspired the debates in Parliament and the criticisms of the press, might have been avoided.

The right of the Parliament of Canada to turn out a Ministry, even upon a Militia Bill, cannot be questioned. Had Lord Palmerston's Government been overthrown last winter upon the question of the fortifications, nobody would have denied the right of the majority to aim a hostile vote; and certainly no British American, even if it had prevailed, would have fancied that there was one loyal Englishman the less.

I have shewn that 15,000 volunteers in Canada is equal to a force of 105,000 if raised in this country. To complete the contrast it should be remembered what boundless resources are in an old kingdom like this, compared with all the visible means of taxation to be found in a new country like British America. You have the accumulated results of the labours of countless generations of men, running over a period of some two thousand years. You have all that your fathers and ours toiled for and made from the Roman Conquest to the departure of the "*Mayflower*." All that your fathers have created since, and all that in your own day and generation, having this enormous capital to work with, you have been enabled to earn for yourselves. To say nothing of the labour of your people, it is asserted that the machinery of this island performs the work, every year, of 800,000,000 men.

With untold treasures upon the surface and beneath it, with an annually accumulating capital that an actuary can hardly estimate, and this tremendous mechanical power in your hands, you can bear an amount of taxation which would sink any new country, with a limited population and a history of a hundred years, if she attempted to impose upon her people proportional burthens. I grant that we have less poverty, and that the property we have is more equally distributed, but we have not a tithe of your accumulated capital and productive power, and the contrast which the two countries exhibit, in this respect, should ever be borne in mind by candid reasoners whenever this class of questions is discussed.

Let me now direct your attention to the state of your defences, at a period of your history when England and British America may be more fairly contrasted than they can now.

In 1588, the population of England was 5,000,000. She was in as much peril as we are now, or ever were, from the armies of the United States. The subtle policy of Parma and Philip was closing around her: the Armada was in the Channel, and two of the best appointed armies of veteran troops that Europe ever saw were preparing to land upon her shores.

That they did not land was owing to the protection of an over-ruling Providence, to the liberality of her merchants, and to the heroic achievements of those glorious seamen who left the land forces little to do. But had England been invaded, how was she prepared? Motley, in his *History of the Netherlands*, tells us the story of her defences, the condition of which ought certainly to have overthrown the Ministers, had England possessed Responsible Government in those days.

The Spanish armies were estimated at 116,000 men. "In England," says Motley, "an army had been enrolled, a force of 86,016 foot and "13,831 cavalry, but it was an army on paper merely." Even of the 86,000 men (not one-fifth of the militia of Canada) only 48,000 were set down as trained, and it is certain that the training had been of the most meagre description. "Of enthusiasm and courage there was enough, but of powder and shot there was a deficiency."

Sir Edward Stanley thus describes the militia he was sent to inspect in Cheshire and Lancashire:—"They were appointed two years past to have been trained six days by the year, or more, at the discretion of the muster-master, *but as yet they have not been trained one day*, so that they have benefitted nothing, nor yet know their leaders." "There was a general indisposition" (in England then as in Canada now) "in the rural districts to expend money and time in military business until the necessity should become imperative."

Even in August, when the Armada was on the wing, "the camp was not formed, nor anything more than a mere handful of troops mustered about Tilbury to defend the road from Dover to London. The army of Tilbury never exceeded sixteen or seventeen thousand men."

About as many as Nova Scotia could, with her two railroads, have drawn around the citadel of Halifax from her eastern and western counties in a week, had their services been required last winter; not half as many as Canada, in twenty days, can now plant upon any point of her frontier. The aggregate tonnage of the whole Royal Navy was 11,280 tons, less than the tonnage of the vessels built in our port of Yarmouth in a single

year.* Of the land forces Motley states that "A drilled and disciplined army, whether of regulars and militia-men, had no existence whatever."

The Commissariat arrangements were in keeping with the discipline and organization. Leicester, writing to Walsingham, says of his raw levies :—"Some want the captains showed, for these men arrived without one meal of victuals, so that on their arrival they had not one barrel of beer or loaf of bread; enough, after twenty miles' march, to have discouraged them and brought them to mutiny." On the 6th August the Armada was in Calais Roads, and up to the 5th no army had been assembled, not even the body guard of the Queen; and Leicester, with four thousand men, unprovided with a barrel of beer or a loaf of bread, was about commencing his entrenched camp at Tilbury.

These are the facts of history, and it sometimes strikes me that British legislators and politicians would act more wisely if they were gravely pondered, before they undertook to criticise too severely nascent but vigorous offshoots of that sound old stock that, when passing through the stages of advancement which we have just reached, when the population of England was about the same as ours is now, thought themselves able to face a disciplined army with the limited amount of preparation that Motley so quaintly describes. They should not compare small things with great, but things which bear some proportion to each other, and they ought not to expect us to be less averse to expensive standing armies than our ancestors were when their necessities were quite as great.

But let me turn your attention to another period of English history. Let us come down the stream of time from 1588 to 1685, and inquire in what condition the army and militia of England were when her population was nearly double that of Canada. First, read what Macaulay says on the subject of direct taxation :—"The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, almost always

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* A forcible and vivid idea of the rapidity with which the shipping of Yarmouth is increasing will be derived from the perusal of the subjoined figures, shewing the amount of tonnage owned in this port at the various decennial periods since 1822 :

In the year	1822	- -	3,000 tons.
" "	1832	- -	4,318 "
" "	1842	- -	13,765 "
" "	1852	- -	18,880 "
" "	1862	- -	45,198 "

We very much question if there is another port on the face of the globe, with the same extent of territory and population, that can boast of equal increase in the same period.—*Yarmouth Tribune, Nova Scotia.*

out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring into the Exchequer, and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious, for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits, and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive."

It is hoped that some allowance will be hereafter made for our hereditary impatience of direct taxation.

After describing the powerful, well appointed and finely disciplined armies kept up by the leading powers of Europe in the reign of Charles the Second, Macaulay says :—" In our island, on the contrary, it was possible to live long and to travel far, without being reminded by any martial sight or sound that the defence of nations had become a science and a calling. The majority of Englishmen, who were under twenty-five years of age, had probably never seen a company of regular soldiers. The only army which the law recognized was the militia. The whole number of cavalry and infantry thus maintained was popularly estimated at a hundred and thirty thousand men." (Not half the militia of Canada.)

These militiamen received no pay, except when called into actual service. Macaulay describes them as :—" Ploughmen officered by justices of the peace."

By degrees Charles got together a few regiments of troops ; but the regular army, as late as 1685, did not consist, all ranks included, of above seventeen thousand foot, and about seventeen hundred cavalry and dragoons, not a great many more, it would appear, than the militia officers of Canada. The discipline was lax, and could not be otherwise. " The common law of England knew nothing of courts martial, and made no distinction in tim of peace between a soldier and any other subject ; nor could the Government then venture to ask the most loyal Parliament for a Mutiny Bill. A soldier, therefore, by knocking down his colonel incurred only the ordinary penalties of assault and battery, and by refusing to obey orders, by sleeping on guard, or by deserting his colours, incurred no legal penalty at all."

Let us trust that the discipline of our despised militia in the Provinces is not worse.

Macaulay's description of the Navy is almost as ludicrous :— " The naval administration was a prodigy of wastefulness, corruption, ignorance and indolence ; no estimate could be trusted, no contract was performed, no check was enforced."

But to return to the Army. There was " no regiment of Artillery, no Sappers and Miners."

Surely we are not much worse than this in the Provinces? Hear Dryden's description of the militia of England in the reign of James the Second:

> "The country rings around with war's alarm,
> And now in fields the rude militia swarms.
> Mouths, without hands, maintained at vast expense,
> In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;
> Stout once a month they march, a blust'ring band,
> And ever, but in time of need, at hand.
> This was the morn, when hast'ning to the guard,
> Drawn up in rank and file they stood prepared
> Of seeming arms to make a short essay,
> Then hast'ning to be drunk, the business of the day."

Here, then, are the militia of England described by her poets and historians at a time when England had nearly double the population of Canada. With these pictures before us, and remembering what our Provincial Militia have done, and knowing what they are, I do not think we need blush for their history or organization.

At this moment Queen Victoria rules over fifty-one colonies and dependencies, which, with the British Islands, form the Empire that you and I desire to consolidate and improve. How this is to be done is a question of stupendous interest, demanding the highest qualities of statesmanship for its consideration and adjustment. There are those who seem to contemplate the dismemberment of this great Empire with evident delight, and who appear to regard the spread of British institutions and civilization as a misfortune to the world at large, and an injury to the parent state.

But let us see what there is within this charmed circle of Imperial duties and relations that is worth preserving. It is true that every outlying Province, as I have already shewn, may be attacked whenever the mother country is at war, yet war can only come when the plastic powers of astute diplomacy have been exhausted, and when the dread alternative has been deliberately accepted by enlightened public opinion. But into how many wars might not these fifty-one Provinces be dragged if this Empire were dismembered, and if they were left to be overrun by neighbouring States, or drawn into entangling alliances with populations often ruthless or unenlightened?

In the interests of peace, then, we are bound, if we can, to see that this Empire is kept together. We are equally bound, if we regard the interests of religion. Wherever British power is acknowledged and the British bayonet gleams, the missionary of

every Christian Church can tread the land in safety, and teach and pray without personal apprehension. That dismemberment is sometimes advocated by persons who call themselves free traders, is to me amazing. Where, on the earth's surface, since barter was first essayed, have so many populous countries been bound together by common interests, and by the mutual interchange of productions, on a basis of such perfect freedom? Strike down the power that binds these communities together, and into how many antagonistic systems and economic absurditities would they not drift? This Empire possesses the noblest schools of law, the purest judicial tribunals, from which our Colonial Courts draw forensic animation and guiding light without stint and without shame. What British or Colonial judge or lawyer would disturb this equable flow of precedents and decisions? Then, again, if we look to literature and the arts, how charming it is to know that while every gifted youth in the most remote Province of the Empire may win the admiration of the community in which he lives, there are fifty other Provinces to rejoice in his success and to feel the exhilaration of his genius. How charming is it also for the emigrant, pioneering in a new country, too young to have produced a picture or a book, to read Tennyson or Burns by his camp fire at night, or to look at Landseer's dogs over his mantelpiece in the morning, conscious that he can claim kindred with the artist and the author, and that the ballad and the engraving link with treasures of literature that are inexhaustible, and of art that can never die. Whatever improvements time may suggest for its better organization and further development, this Empire, as it stands, has its uses, and should be kept together.

In this opinion I am quite sure that you and I agree. We differ as to the mode. If I understand your argument, you would have half a hundred little standing armies, scattered all over the globe, paid out of fifty treasuries, and with uniforms as various as were the colours in Joseph's coat, with no centre of union, no common discipline, no provision for mutual succour and support. I would have one army that could be massed within a few days or weeks on any point of the frontier, moved by one head, animated by one spirit, paid from one treasury. Into this army I would incorporate as many of the colonial militia as were required to take the field in any Province that might be attacked; and, from the moment they were so incorporated, they should be moved, paid and treated, as an Imperial force. There would still be work enough for the sedentary militia to do, in defending the districts in which they lived; and if this were done, and if the Provinces, as they would, bore a large part, if not the whole, of the burden of

local defence, they would do all that could reasonably be expected. If the county of Annapolis were attacked, I would not pay a militiaman out of the Imperial Treasury for defending his own county, but if a regiment were drawn from Annapolis to defend the citadel at Halifax, or the coal mines of Pictou—if it were marched into New Brunswick, or volunteered to defend these islands, then it should take its number, draw its pay, and be treated in all respects like any other regiment of the line. So long as this is done we shall have an Empire and an Army. We shall soon cease to have either when the other system is tried. And why should we try it? Why should we reverse Mennenius Agrippa's fable, and teach the belly of the Empire—the common treasury and storehouse of all its wealth—to complain? The British soldier is no longer viewed with distrust or apprehension in any part of the Empire; he is everywhere recognized as a citizen with a red coat on, prouder of his citizenship than of the highest grade in the finest regiment in the service. Nor is he viewed with any jealousy or dislike by the Provincial militia. Our young men know that they can study the use of arms from no more gallant exemplars, and they know also that when summoned to the field, they can rely upon the steadiness, the endurance, the discipline, and the humanity of the British soldier. The late illustrious Prince Consort, on presenting the colours to the 13th Light Infantry, in February, 1859, expressed our opinions with great accuracy and force, when he said, "The British soldier has to follow his colours to every part of the globe, and everywhere he is the representative of his country's power, freedom, loyalty and civilization." So long as these civilized soldiers circulate around the Empire, drawing into their ranks, as occasion may require, the youth of the Province, it is their mission to defend, so long will it be strong and its civilization secure. When they are withdrawn, and the outlying regions are left to drift into new experiments, "shadows, clouds, and darkness" will rest upon the scene, and of the glories of this Empire we shall chance to see the beginning of the end.

A great deal might be said upon some passages of your letter in which you limit the growth of aristocracies and democracies by geographical lines, but I desire to confine my observations to the question of national defence. Aristocracies will grow in every country, with the increase of wealth, the development of mental power, and the grateful recollection of heroic achievement. They are growing now in every state and province on this continent, in most of which you will find families as proud, and circles as exclusive, as any to be found in Europe; but old trees cannot be transplanted, and any premature attempt at aristocratic transplantations would decidedly fail.

You seem to apprehend that the slightest "impact of any fragment from the ruins of the union" would terminate the connexion of these Provinces with the Parent State. I do not think so. Surely if we have resisted the impact of the whole Union, pretty seriously delivered on several occasions, we ought to be able to withstand concussion from a part. Let us look at this matter thoughtfully, and without allowing our nerves to be shaken by the eccentric movements across the line. The Southern States, even if their independence were established to-morrow, are too far off to ever think of invading these Provinces. Their labouring population, being slaves, can never be soldiers or sailors, and though the white men who own them are splendid material for defensive warfare, trust me, it will be a long time before they will march into Canada and leave their slaves behind them.

The Northern States are our immediate neighbours, and, next to the mother country, ought to be our fast friends and firm allies. We claim a common origin, our populations are almost homogeneous, bridges and ferries, stage, steamboat, and railway lines, connect our frontier towns or seaboard cities. Our commerce is enormous, and is annually increasing in value. Every third vessel that enters the port of Boston goes from Nova Scotia. Our people intermarry, and socially intermix, all along the frontier. For one man that I know in the Southern Confederacy, I know twenty in the Northern States. All these mutual ties and intimate relations are securities for the preservation of peace. I admit that a good deal of irritation has arisen out of the civil war, but I rely on the frank admission of the Northern people, when the war is over, that for this they were themselves to blame. The Provinces, at its commencement, deeply deplored the outbreak of that war, and for weeks their sympathies were with the North. The storm of abuse that followed the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality, and the demand for the rendition of the Commissioners, naturally changed the current of feeling, and the skill and gallantry of the Southern combatants, have won, in the Provinces as everywhere else, as heroic achievements always will, whatever may be the cause of quarrel, involuntary admiration. Still, our material interests, and everyday thoughts and feelings, are in accord with those of the Northern States; and, when they come out of this war, there is no reason why, having shaken themselves clear of elements of internal irritation and disturbance, they should desire to disturb us, merely because we choose to live in amity with our common parent under British Institutions. We are bound to hope, at all events, for the restoration of kindly thoughts, and the continuance of peaceful relations. If war comes, I have already shewn

that we are not so ill prepared as you assume, and that, if we do not waste our strength in idle controversy and insane divisions, we can still maintain the power of the Crown and the integrity of the Empire.

In the confident belief that fair and courteous discussion of these momentous questions will have a tendency to steady the public mind, I have been induced to throw off these pages, and have now only to assure you that,

I have the honour to be,

Your very obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

SPECIAL REPORT OF COMMISSIONER HATCH.—THE TREATY PRONOUNCED INJURIOUS TO THE UNITED STATES.—ITS ABROGATION RECOMMENDED.

Hon. Israel T. Hatch, who was charged with the special duty of examining the operations of the revenue laws and the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, has reported to Congress adversely to the continuation of the treaty. Subjoined is an abstract of the report, which is quite too long to admit of its insertion in full in this work :—

" *To Hon. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury* :—

" In discharging the special duty assigned to me, of examining the operations of the revenue laws and the Reciprocity Treaty on our Northern frontier, with Canada, I beg leave to report that I have visited the principal points of intercourse between those countries, for the purpose of acquiring a practical information; and have also had interviews and correspondence with leading individuals whose interests are affected by the treaty, and who are engaged in the various pursuits of trade, agriculture, and manufactures. The personal observation I have thus been enabled to give the workings of the treaty at the places where its effects are perhaps most perceptible, and the information derived thus from the every-day experience of those who do business under it, I have believed would furnish most important data for forming a practical judgment of its operation.

" The Treaty of Reciprocity produced a revolution in the operation of the revenue laws, as well as in the revenue itself.

" The principle of Reciprocity, in the commercial intercourse of the United States with Canada, has met the approbation of all poli-

tical parties in this country at all times. The territory of the provinces is indented with our own along a line extending across the continent from ocean to ocean. The wages of labour (the great modern test of one phase of national equality) are nearly equal in both countries. The cost in the production of wheat and other cereals differ but little on both sides the boundary line. Shown thus to be apparently commercially alike by these leading considerations, and minor parallels confirming the similitude, it is not singular that at various periods of our national existence the idea of reciprocity in trade between the two countries has received the favourable regard of eminent men.

The leading idea of the treaty was to permit the introduction of the products of one country into the other free of duty, and consequent reciprocal benefits were expected would follow to both. The various colonies included in its provisions were left to regulate their own traffic, and each colonial power can annul its honorary obligations without reference to its sister provinces or the engagements of the empire. No statesmanship could, however, foretell the workings of the treaty, or had a right to anticipate legislation adverse to its spirit. Correct in principle, as the treaty itself was, the perversion of its spirit and the disregard of its substance on the part of Canada have produced results it is the province of this report to exhibit.

The effects of the Reciprocity Treaty were first and immediately visible in the great change produced in our collection of revenue upon the Northern frontier, and cannot fail to attract attention. In 1854, the last year unaffected by the treaty, although the enumeration was then complete, the revenue on articles rendered free by the treaty during subsequent years, and imported from Canada alone, amounted to more than $1,243,403. Assuming this as a basis for calculation in the ordinary mode of computing an increase of revenue, and that the revenue would have continued to increase in the same ratio as during the previous five years, we should, for the five years now passed, and ended June 30, 1859, have collected a revenue of $7,166,659, or $1,433,331 annually, on importations from this province alone, and we should at the present time have a yet larger revenue from this source, if the treaty were abrogated to-day, for the geographical and political reasons which made the Canadians seek our markets for the sale of their products remain unimpaired in every particular.

"The revenue derived by Canada from the same class of merchandise was, during the year 1854, as stated by Mr. Bouchette, then the Canadian Commissioner of Customs, only $196,671, or less than one-sixth of $1,324,403, the amount levied that year on Canadian productions by the United States.

"During the same year, 1854, the revenue derived by the United States on the chief importations from all the provinces included in the treaty was $1,524,457, computing the increase of revenue during the five succeeding years, upon the basis of the increase during the five years next before the treaty, the revenue derived from this source would have been $9,257,856, or $1,851,517 annually. Several items of these importations are not included in this calculation; and we are now near the close of an additional year, when the revenue from this source, for the six years elapsed since the treaty, would have been $11,109,103.

"The large amount of our importations from Canada, since the treaty, would form no accurate test of the income we might have obtained from that source. In 1856, the articles received from Canada by the United States, and rendered free by the treaty, amounted in value to $17,810,684, besides many important but unenumerated items. At the average duty of 20 per cent., the revenue would have gained more than $3,562,138 on the importations of that year; or, as Canada received from us during the same year $7,899,554, the value of the corresponding articles, there was for that year a balance of trade in favour of Canada amounting to $9,911,130, the duties on which would have been $1,982,226. During the four years elapsed since the treaty came into effect, and euded 31st December, 1858, we have received from Canada $28,771,690, in value of the articles enumerated in the treaty more than she has received of us. At the same rate of duty the revenue on them would have been $5,754,338, or $11,722,689 if computed on $58,613,449, the value of the commodities received by us since the treaty, and similarly free.

"Statistics show that while, for the five years next preceding the treaty, duty was paid on nearly five times the amount of importations from Canada as were admitted free of duty, the exact proportions being $4,487,433 of free goods, against $21,344,132 of the other class, since the treaty; and, beginning with our fiscal year, 1856, until July 1, 1859, a period of four years, similar importations to the amount of $59,419,925 have contributed nothing at all to our revenue, while we have charged duties only on $2,150,394, or about one-thirtieth part of the amount admitted free of duty; and on closer examination it will be seen that a large proportion of the duty paying articles imported from Canada consist of commodities not produced in the country.

"During the years 1856-7-8, the total amount of the products of American industry taxed in Canada was $18,294,293 more than the amount of Canadian productions taxed in this country; reciprocity and equality being in this instance represented by

the relative proportions of forty-five to one. This is the condition of trade purchased by a loss of revenue, being in 1854, the last year before the operation of the treaty, more than six times the revenue collected by Canada during that year on the articles made free by the treaty, and imported from the United States.

"The treaty was conceived in the theories of Free Trade, and in harmony with the progress and civilization of the age. It was a step forward in political science. American legislation had been characterized by an extraordinary liberality to a foreign neighbour, placing her lines of transportation upon an equality with our own, and merchants upon an equality with our own in receiving foreign merchandise in bond. We conceded commercial freedom upon all their products of agriculture, the forest, and the mine; and they have either closed their markets against the chief productions that we could sell to them, or exacted a large duty on admission into their markets.

"From time to time the Canadian duties have been increased since the ratification of the treaty, and during the last five years the following duties have been exacted on the declared value of various chief articles of consumption:—

	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.
Molasses	16	11	11	18	30
Sugar, refined	32	28	25	26½	40
Sugar, other	27½	20	17½	21	30
Boots and Shoes	12½	14½	20	21	25
Harness	12½	17	20	21	25
Cotton Goods	12½	13½	15	15	20
Iron Goods	12½	18½	15	16	20
Silk Goods	12½	13½	15	17	20
Wood Goods	12½	14	15	18	20

"Every year a new tariff has been enacted, and each of them has inflicted higher duties upon the chief productions of American labour. These duties are so adjusted as to fall most heavily upon the products of our citizens.

"If it be true that the Canadian Government has a right to increase its taxes upon our industry as it has done, almost to the exclusion of our manufactures, because no stipulation against this course was inserted in the treaty, then it has a right to put an embargo (for a prohibitory duty amounts to an embargo) upon all articles not enumerated in the treaty; and there could be no check to its aggressions.

"When the tariff was under discussion in the Provincial Parliament, a deficiency of $4,000,000 (greatly exceeding the revenue of

that year) was officially announced. This deficiency and the consequent increase of taxation on American manufactures arose, it is asserted by the organs of the Government, from expenditures in carrying out their system of internal improvements.

"In comparison with the duties of 1854 the duties levied by the tariff of 1859 on many of our manufactures, such as boots and shoes, harness and saddlery, clothing, wearing apparel, &c., have been increased a hundred per cent.; and in the large class of unenumerated articles, including leather and nearly all our other manufactures, such as woollens, cottons, tobacco, printed handbills, checks, &c., hats, household furniture, glass, axes, edge tools, firearms, agricultural implements, nails, &c., other hardware, stoves and castings, upholstery, carriages, medicines, India rubber goods, musical instruments, soap and candles, starch, trunks, manufactures of brass, copper, lead and tin, earthenware, paints and varnish, (except for the use of ships), manufactures of marble, &c., &c., the duty has been increased sixty-two and a half per cent, or upwards; while on the distillation of grain the increase has been a hundred and twenty-five per cent.

"Viewed as a question of national integrity, the conduct of the Canadian Parliament, in thus taxing the products of American industry almost to their exclusion from the Province, must be pronounced to be a violation not only of the letter and spirit of the treaty, but of the amity and good faith in which it was conceived, and without which all international obligations are unavailing.

"The laws by which the passage of foreign productions through the country in bond was permitted, were an essential part of the system of reciprocal benefits, intended to develop harmoniously the natural advantages of each country. They tended to reconcile our people to the inequalities it imposed on us. They vested in the financial officer of the government a power hitherto exercised in the most liberal manner towards the railroads and carrying lines to Canada in permitting alike the exportation to Canada and reimportation to the United States of foreign merchandize in bond, and merchandize of American origin. Upon this idea of being the carriers for us depend the hopes of marking profitable their investments in railroads and canals. Their public works were constructed as our carriers, not theirs.

"Canada now endeavours to deprive us of all the benefits of this system by laying duties on the value of goods at the place of purchase. The people of Western Canada were accustomed to buy their wines, spirits, groceries, and East and West India produce, besides many other commodities, at New York, Boston, or Montreal—the former system admitting American cities to competition,

the duties having been specific and levied on the weight, measure or number of the articles wherever they were purchased. Thus no greater duty was charged on imports *via* Boston or New York to Toronto or Hamilton than *via* the St Lawrence to Montreal. The present system forces the people of Canada to discontinue their business connections with our merchants, and buy from the Montreal or Quebec importer.

" Thus the productions of China, Brazil, or Cuba, if brought to Canada *via* the St Lawrence, will pay duty only on their value in the country of their origin ; but if purchased in our Atlantic cities, must pay duty on that value increased by interest, freight over the ocean, and the various other expenses and charges of the insurer, shipper, and merchant. This is not only legislation against our carriers, but against all our mercantile interest.

" The combined influence of the treaty and our bonded system, even before the high tariff, was exceedingly injurious to the largest portion of the northwest. Its farmers suffer from competition with those of Canada. Its manufactures, useful in the daily wants of Canadian life, are now excluded, and in the bonded system the whole trade in foreign goods on the frontier is lost to the United States. American duties being exacted in all cases where the original package is broken,and the Canadian purchaser from the frontier, American merchant, would thus be compelled to pay duties twice over—first to the American and afterwards to the Canadian Government. The ordinary customer is thus driven from our stores ; and so far as the American market is yet used by Canadians, for purchasing foreign goods or manufactures, the common supply of Canadian stores is thrown into the hands of Canadian merchants who procure their supplies in Montreal. If upon exporting foreign goods to Canada in less quantities than the original package, the duties were returned to the owner, the goods, until the recent increase in the Canadian tariff, would still have been bought in the Atlantic ports, but they would have been sold to Americans who would resell to the Canadian retailer or consumer as they had done in former years ! and our merchants on the frontier would not be debarred as now from a fair profit, by the discrimination of our own laws against them.

" An extensive trade had been established in leather, alcohol, pure spirits, burning fluid, boots and shoes, castings, hardware, clothing, machinery, cabinet ware, upholstery, musical instruments, drugs and medicines, manufactures of cotton, wool and tobacco. On most of these articles the present duty is prohibitory, and the trade is entirely destroyed, or of trifling amount.

" A general dissatisfaction with the treaty exists on the Southern

side of the boundary line, wherever its operation is perceived, except in those parts of the West where the Canadian is erroneously regarded as an additional purchaser or consumer, and not as he really is, a mere grain carrier in rivalry with our own, or in those other parts of the United States as to which, for its own purposes, the Canadian or British Government has made preferential laws, and to which it has given a local prosperity at the expense of the general welfare of this country.

"In the profits accruing from freight between the two countries, the advantage since the treaty has been in favour of British shipping—the value of exports and imports by the vessels of each country being regarded as the test. In the five years ending June 30, 1854, the value of domestic exports to Canada in British bottoms was $12,595,816, and in American bottoms $16,595,816, the preponderance in our favour being about one-third, whilst in the five years since the treaty, and beginning with July 1,1854, there was an excess againt us of nearly one half, the value being $26,330,730 in American vessels, against $38,942,652 in vessels of British nationality. No marked inequality exists in the imports to the United States by the shipping of both countries—the value carried by each being $37,223,665 in American, and $36,528,968 in foreign vessels.

"Canada grounded her hopes of future greatness upon the possession of the St. Lawrence. The Western States have considered it of great advantage to themselves, and it was said when we obtained its navigation that the benefits arising from this national privilege would more than counterbalance any fancied injuries or wrongs on other interests. The British minister— Sir H. L. Bulwer—after pressing upon our attention the spirit evinced by Canada towards our manufactures, and promising on behalf of the Canadian Government to carry a liberal policy out still further, presented the navigation of the St. Lawrence, with the adjoining canals, as the consideration to be paid by that Province for the free interchange of natural productions with us and for the navigation of Lake Michigan.

"The commerce of the North-western lakes is of immense national importance, amounting to $587,197,320. More than 1,600 vessels, with an aggregate burden exceeding 400,000 tons, are employed in navigating these waters, which Chief Justice Taney, in that decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which gives the Lakes forever their international character, termed "inland seas." It was believed that the advantages gained by the navigation of the St. Lawrence would bear adequate proportions to the number and value of these commercial fleets, but the official statements of Canadian authorities show that since the treaty received the signa-

ture of the President of the United States, nearly six years ago, no more than forty American vessels, with a burden of only 12,550 tons, passed seaward through the St. Lawrence, and that of these less than half, or nineteen vessels, with a burden of only 5,446 tons, have returned from sea.

" It would seem that the promised advantages from the navigation of the St. Lawrence were more poetical than nautical, as the navigation of Lake Michigan, ceded to Canada by the treaty, has been so extensively used that in the year 1857 one hundred and nine British vessels cleared from Chicago alone, thus depriving our own carriers of freight by enabling others to take the produce of the great grain growing regions through Canada to ports on either side of Lake Ontario, or to Montreal, and thence to the Eastern States, or—chiefly by British vessels—to Europe. It is a noticeable fact, in this connection, that the above is a statement of only the clearances of one port upon Lake Michigan of Canadian or British vessels for one year ; and that is more than double the number of United States vessels that passed outwards through the St. Lawrence for the last six years since the ratification of the treaty, and quintuple the number that ever returned inward from sea.

[The report here goes on very elaborately to show that the Grand Trunk Railroad of Canada is the great commercial and political power of the Province, and is a grand British monopoly, designed by the Government to divert the carrying trade from the Western States, extending over a thousand miles—from Portland to Detroit. It states that certain articles sent to England *via* Portland are subjected to the same duties only as if they came directly from Canada—an exception which dees not exist in favour of any other port in the United States—and argues that the hope of reciproicty in the carrying trade is futile when such distinctions are made in favour of this gigantic competitor.]

The report concludes thus :—

" The natural adaptation of the United States and Canada to give and receive reciprocal benefits, easily and without humiliation, conferred by neighbours on each other, is well known, but the explicit and earnest appeals of Canada for an honourable and mutually beneficial reciprocity are now no longer uttered. With an increase of wealth and importance, the liberality of her spirit and of her promises has ceased ; and deeming herself secure in our forbearance, Canada has adopted, by her recent legislation, a policy intended to exclude us from all the geographical benefits of our position, while she hopes to use all their advantages for her benefit Each concession has been used as a vantage ground for further encroachment. She has reversed the natural laws of trade, and prevents her merchant and

agriculturist from buying in the same market where they sell. The revenue formerly collected on our Northern frontier has been annihilated. She has increased her own revenue by a tax on American industry. The advantageous trade formerly carried on with Canada by the cities and villages on our Northern frontier has been destroyed. Our farmers and lumbermen encounter the competition of new and productive territories. It having been found that our shippers, sailors and merchants in the Atlantic cities were transacting a mutually profitable business with Canadians, the grasping spirit of their legislation endeavoured to secure all the benefits of this traffic, and attacked our interests with discriminating duties. Our railroads suffer from a British competitor, supported by privileges equivalent to taxation on their business with the Canadian province and the interior of our own country. Our manufacturers, instead of exporting to Canada, are checked by imposts intended soon to prohibit the entrance of their productions into the Province. The wool and raw materials of Canada are admitted duty free into our markets, but fabrics made from them are excluded from Canada, contrary to the explicit assurance of the British Minister, on behalf of the Canadian Government, that it would be "willing to carry the princiciple of reciprocity out still further." Hitherto the vaunted advantages from navigation through the St. Lawrence have been scarcely worthy of any serious consideration. The proffered hand of commercial friendship, accepted for a time by Canada with far more advantage to Canadians than to ourselves, is now rejected. In this exclusive and unnatural system, Canadians yet depend upon our market for the sale of their productions, upon the immense traffic of our States for their carrying trade, and upon our territory for the means of transit to the ocean. For their participation in the traffic of our States, which is the object of their unscrupulously aggressive tariffs, they depend upon the continued liberality of our revenue regulations, made under laws giving great discretionary powers, intended to be used in facilitating our commerce, instead of advancing the commerce of a foreign country.

"The results of the reciprocity treaty and Canadian legislation upon our commerce and revenue are too obvious to have escaped the sagacity of British statesmanship. By the treaty we placed Canada on an equality with one of the States of this Union, without subjecting her to any of its burdens. By her legislation in imposing extraordinary taxes upon the products of American industry she is compelling us to bear her burdens, created to sustain gigantic rivalries, worthy of the imperial ambition, for supremacy, by land and water, over our inland commerce, and for the grave influence which thus may be exercised upon our political career.

"The tenor of the instructions under which this report is made, excludes the idea of any recommendation upon my part pointing toward any remedy of the great evils which investigation has thus shown exist under this system of miscalled reciprocity. I cannot but believe, however, that I should fail in the duty assigned to me if I omitted to at least suggest the practical results to which the foregoing considerations would lead.

"A treaty broken is a treaty no longer. Obligations upon one party cease when co-relative obligations have no binding force upon the other. That the substance and spirit of this treaty have been more than disregarded by the other contracting power with which it was made is too evident to admit of dispute. It is equally evident that a systematic scheme of provincial legislation, affirmatively aggressive upon great interests of this country, commenced with the ratification of the treaty as the beginning of its opportunity, and has progressed in its strength and its extent, in its details and its scope, in all disastrous consequences, every day while that opportunity has continued. Without the treaty no such aggressions could have been ever attempted; with its termination they must cease. Then the Government of this country can resume, through legitimate means, the protection of those great interests which governments exist to protect. Then the Canadian Parliament must be compelled to modify its existing legislation in this respect, until the day shall return when, as before, the laws of trade, regulated by the legislation of Congress, shall give us something far more like reciprocity than we now possess. The Home Government—the Provincial Government itself, in the great interests entirely dependent upon our trade—have given hostages which will be far more binding upon them than this ruptured treaty, that their legislation would not then be shaped to make us their tributaries.

"I certainly should transcend my province in making any particular suggestion of the means of abrogating the treaty. It is not for me to say whether or not the repeal of the assenting laws of Congress required by its fifth article would have that effect, or what more limited effect, if any, it would have. Convinced, as I am, however, that the dilatory measure of giving the notice required by the treaty for its abrogation would be far too slow to afford practical remedies of the abuses, I have exhibited in this report, I certainly should fail in that duty which the prolonged and most careful consideration of these most important matters bring so strongly home to me, if I did not at least point out the fact that such proper alteration of the navigation laws of 1817, in relation to the transportation of goods in foreign vessels from one port in the United States to another port in the United States, as would make the

prohibitions in such cases upon foreign vessels equally applicable to a carriage of property by other foreign means from one of our ports to another; and that the withdrawal of the present privileges existing under the laws of 1799 and 1854, in reference to the shipment, carriage and re-entry of property going to and from the United States and Canada, would in a most important degree hasten the removal of many, and perhaps all of the numerous evils I have stated. The necessary consequence of such action must be the alteration by the Canadian Parliament, now in session, of the legislation under which which we now suffer. The wrongs of to-day would thus be immediately, but perhaps only temporarily, mitigated. The proper, radical and sufficient remedy, beyond question, is the speedy abrogation of the treaty itself.

(Signed,) "ISRAEL T. HATCH.

"Washington, March 28, 1860."

THE AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN FROM AN AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW.

Mr. Gould, of Montreal, wishes us to republish the following. It will be observed that this is an argument for the American Zollverein from another point of view, or from what may be called the *Free Trade point of view*. Mr. Buchanan deplores England's adoption of Free Trade, or Free Import system, and his object is to show the miserable position in which English legislation has left Canada, which leaves Canadians, in truth, no alternative but to look out for themselves. Mr. Gould, on the other hand, who is an American by birth, holds the same view as Mr. Brown, that England was quite right in introducing her free trade system, and takes for granted, like Mr. Brown, that this was for the benefit of the people of England, and that their claims on her attention are more urgent and paramount than those of the colonists! Here he and Mr. Brown are separate in their views, for Mr. Gould, more patriotic than Mr. Brown, as a Canadian, assumes as a self-evident proposition that as England treats Canada as she treats any other nation, Canada could not possibly afford to do otherwise than look only to its own interest and treat England just as any other nation, asserting against England the right to establish differential duties, seeing that it is the interest of Canada to do so, because otherwise the United States will not establish differential duties against Europe in favour of Canada:

(*Montreal Gazette Extra, February* 14, 1852.)

The following Memorial is to be laid before the meeting of the Board of Trade, on Tuesday next, by IRA GOULD, Esquire:—

To His Excellency, the Right Honourable JAMES, *Earl of* ELGIN *and* KINCARDINE, *Governor General of British North America, &c. &c. &c.*

The MEMORIAL of the BOARD OF TRADE of the City of Montreal respectfully represents—

That whereas the subject of Reciprocity between Canada and the United States has been regarded as of great importance to the commercial interests of this Province, and repeated efforts have been made by the Provincial Government for the attainment of this object, none of which, it would seem, have proved successful.

And whereas, your Memorialists entertain the belief, that all future efforts will prove equally unsuccessful, while the basis, on which Reciprocity is sought, remains unchanged, and also believing that the Congress of the United States have withheld their assent, not from the want of friendly disposition on their part, so much as from a natural and proper regard to the interests of their own people, based on the belief that the plans heretofore submitted, were imperfect and partial in their character, inasmuch as whilst they proposed to admit the Canadian producer to share in the markets which have been created by the manufacturers of the United States, they offered no adequate return, and no enlarged field to the manufacturing interest of that country.

And whereas it is the belief of your Memorialists that all attempts to overcome this difficulty, and to obtain Reciprocity either by a system of discriminating duties between the manufactures of the United States and other countries, or by any other means, will be found imperfect, and would, in fact, prove fruitless.

Therefore, it is the deliberate conviction of this Board, that in order to secure the great object had in view and which has so important a bearing on the interests present and future of Canada, it is necessary to assume a different basis, and to enlist on the side of this great question a more enlarged and liberal policy—a policy commensurate with the spirit of the age in which we live, and in accordance with the ideas, commercial and political, of the great nations chiefly interested.

Starting from this point, and in illustration of their views, your Memorialists beg to refer to what is to be seen at this moment on

the other side of the geographical line which separates Canada from the United States. There we behold thirty-one independent and Sovereign States, embracing an aggregate population of twenty-five millions, each with full authority over its own affairs, passing and controlling all their municipal and internal regulations, enacting and executing their own laws, and acting in every respect a distinct and independent part each towards the other; and yet for the purposes of the most free and perfect commercial intercourse with each other, these thirty-one States have mutually agreed upon one uniform system of commerce with foreign countries applicable to the whole of them, but still not within their control as individual States. Various as are the products of the different parts of the Union, and opposed as the commercial interests of the people at the first sight might seem to be, they all harmonize within the system which has been adopted, and under which they have gone on increasing in wealth and influence, and have enjoyed and continue to enjoy an amount of commercial and social prosperity not to be found elsewhere.

Keeping this in view, and returning to Canada,—here we have seen the Government under which it is our privilege and glory to live, extending for a long period towards her Colonies the strong arm of protection, guarding them from danger from without, at the same time that they received advantages in the home market accorded to no foreign nation; and this protective system Great Britain continued to extend until, in the progress of events, the Colonies had grown up to a state of ripened manhood,—when such treatment became no longer necessary or desirable. Then, having seen them fairly embarked on the task of self-government, England has herself removed the shackles which weighed so lightly on the colonist, and bidding them take that course which is most consistent with their welfare and interests, has turned her regards (as it was natural and proper she should do) to the millions of her subjects more immediately around her, and whose claims on her attention are more urgent and paramount than those of the colonist. To us she has said in effect, "Whatever be our political relations, *commercially* we must henceforth treat you as we would treat any other nation;" and knowing her necessities, and our own wants and resources, we do not complain that she has done so.

From this view of the actual system existing in the United States, and our altered relations with England, it would seem to result as a natural consequence that the time has arrived for Canada to seek such commercial relations with the United States as will enable us to participate in the benefits we see springing from their system, and which will admit us to a *Commercial Union* with that country,

at the same time that we shall retain our cherished political relations with Great Britain unimpaired and intact. That this can be effected, your Memorialists sincerely believe, and it is in this belief and with this view, that they now beg respectfully to submit.

1. That in the opinion of your Memorialists, it should be the policy and aim of the Provincial Government to seek for and obtain in the best practicable form, and in the speediest manner, *complete and entire free trade with the United States*, as well in all foreign articles imported into the two countries as of articles the growth and manufacture of the same.

2. That in the opinion of your Memorialists, the only practicable way of securing this object is, by the adoption by the Provincial Government, of the American Tariff of Duties on all importations from sea, and by the free admission of the productions and manufactures of each country into the other; thus assimilating the commercial interests of the two countries in *the way* that is most desirable they should be assimilated.

3. That amongst the details of this arrangement would be included the complete extinction of all Custom Houses on both sides of the frontier, retaining only those in Canada at the Ports of Quedec and Montreal, and also of a just and equitable apportionment of the amount of duties received, to the Government of each country.

4. That for the purpose of perfecting this arrangement, and as a further inducement thereto, the right of free navigation of the St. Lawrence and our inland waters, with the use of our harbours and canals, should be granted to the United States upon the payment of the same tolls and dues as are paid by ourselves.

Finally, it is the opinion of your Memorialists, that such an arrangement as the above would be greatly to the advantage of Canada, and in nowise inconsistent with that connexion which is our duty, as well as our desire, to maintain with the Parent state.

VIII.

ISAAC BUCHANAN, Esq., M.P.,

Was born at Glasgow, N. B., on the 21st July, 1810, and is the fourth son of the late Peter Buchanan, Esquire, of Auchmar, an ancient seat of the Buchanans, on the banks of Loch Lomond, Stirlingshire, on the confines of Dumbartonshire, a spot historically interesting, being the very gateway between the highlands and lowlands at the pass of Ballmaha, through which the robber McGregor herded such cattle as were unprotected by black mail. Mr. Buchanan's father was a merchant of high standing in Glasgow. The estate, comprising an area of fourteen hundred acres, and including the hill immediately south of Benlomond, the last of the Grampian range, was sold to the Duke of Montrose in 1830, by Peter Buchanan, Esq., the younger, recently deceased, who afterwards joined his brother, Isaac, and put the money got for Auchmar into his extensive Canadian business. This beautiful property had been long coveted by the noble house that now possesses it, not only on account of its romantic situation and fine shooting, but for its contiguity to Buchanan House, the ducal seat, and because Auchmar was the only spot in the whole parish of Buchanan which comprised the entire eastern side of Loch Lomond, not then included in the duke's magnificent domain.

Mr. Buchanan was carefully educated, passing from the Glasgow grammar school to a preparatory training for the Glasgow college, under the celebrated scholar and antiquary, the Reverend Dr. Graham, of Aberfoyle, who assured the pupil's father that his son would take the highest honours at the university. Mr. Buchanan, however, was not destined to undergo the university ordeal, having met with an incident, when on his way one day about the beginning of October, 1825, to purchase his college gown, which presented to his view an entirely new career.

Meeting in the street a friend of his father, John Leadbetter, Esq., he was informed by that gentleman that he could secure for him a rare opening in the house of William Guild & Co., West India and Honduras merchants, and was then on his way to mention the thing to his father. The boy immediately caught at the proposition, having formerly observed how many sons of the first families in Glasgow had failed to obtain desirable openings when prepared for them. Though his father was absent at Auchmar, and would not return for a month, he resolved at once, on his own responsibility, to accept the proffered appointment for a short period,

urging upon Mr. Leadbetter, who showed some hesitation, that if the father disapproved, he could still go to college.

He had been a month with Messrs. Guild & Co. before his father became acquainted with this change in his son's destiny, who though feeling much disappointment of the hopes he had cherished of his boy's literary success, however yielded to his inclinations, and Isaac became permanently fixed in business at the early age of 15. Within three years he was in a position of great responsibility, from an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, leading to an almost unparalleled rapidity of advancement. Before he was the age of 20, he was taken in as a partner, and in 1833, the Canadian branch of the business was wholly transferred to him.

Previous to his coming to Canada, in 1830, Mr. Buchanan had distinguished himself by dispensing with all the nonsense of intricate book-keeping, and by instituting the most valuable reforms or simplifications in the book-keeping forms of statements, &c., which are still in use throughout the extensive ramifications of his former and present business connections. In his boyhood, Mr. Buchanan had been surrounded by the happiest influences, his father being an elder in the Church of Scotland, and his mother being one of those loveliest spirits who in life and death experience and illustrate "the peace that passeth all understanding;" and he has carried the fruits of his early prepossessions with him into the world; for in a recent election address,* we find him uttering the following manly declaration: "My more immediate friends can understand how, with such favourable views of the prime minister [the Hon. John A. Macdonald], I could be the independent member I have been. I hope this arises from my being possessed of enough of the Scottish character to have the fear of God, and to have no other fear—to be able to realize myself as being perpetually in a higher presence than that of statesmen or kings."

And those alone who know the man best can testify how fearless is his conduct in the presence of the mere face of clay.

So intense were his physical and mental labours in the early career of his manhood, and while laying the foundation of his since eminent house, that his health became endangered, nor was the relaxation he sought such as youth generally flies to, the only *diversion* of mind he allowed himself being an attendance on the medical and philosophical classes of the Glasgow college. At no period of his life has he been heart or brain idle, a sound constitution enabling him to perform an amount of work almost incredible.

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* In the general election of 1861.

THE PIONEER OF THE TRADE OF UPPER CANADA.

Upper Canada is indebted to Mr. Buchanan for the early development of that immense wholesale trade now carried on in that portion of the province. In the fall of 1831, he established a branch of his business in Toronto, his brother merchants of Montreal laughing at his presumption. Had that course been a prudent and profitable one, was it to be supposed that the old fathers in the trade would not have adopted it? In vain they laughed; in vain they warned and foretold Mr. Buchanan's speedy discomfiture, and return from the "far west" with his unbroken shipments of goods unsold. But the supposed folly of to-day proved the wisdom of to-morrow. The house of Buchanan & Co. flourished in the wilderness. His timid competitors found that a march had been stolen upon them, and one after another followed, as they saw how well the ice bore. The pioneer, however, kept the lead. A branch of their business was subsequently pushed on to Hamilton, and from thence to London, where a magnificent building has been erected by his firm there, Adam Hope & Co., forming at once an ornament to that rapidly improving young city, and a monument of the enterprise and success of the house of the Buchanans and their business associates.

To be the pioneer of a great trade, in a great country, necessarily involves his being a party to the originating of all those institutions which mark the difference between civilization and barbarism—churches, educational systems, hospitals, asylums, news rooms and commercial exchanges, boards of trade, national and immigration societies, insurance offices, banks, trust and loan companies, steam navigation, telegraphing, &c., &c., &c., and last, though not least, railroading. Mr. Buchanan's and Buchanan, Harris & Co.'s early successful efforts, both in Canada and Britain, for the Great Western Railway are universally known and appreciated as having been quite essential to its construction. He moved the first resolution at the public meeting at Hamilton, when it was resuscitated in 1845, and, with his brother and Mr. Atcheson, organized the subsequent meeting in Manchester, which secured the railway's construction.

STATE OF CANADIAN POLITICS THIRTY YEARS AGO.

Very soon after coming to Canada, Mr. Buchanan became satisfied that two matters, affecting vitally the peace and prosperity of the Canadas, were wrong. Lower and Upper Canada were both ruled by oligarchies, which, even if they might be the best mono-

polies possible, from the individuals being the best men in the province, must pass away before there could be political quiet in the country. In Lower Canada it was a mercantile oligarchy, not unlike the present "Manchester School" in England; each governor being expected to see through the eyes of the Quebec and Montreal merchants, whose interest was diametrically opposed to that of the great mass of the people; the interest of the latter being to have high, not low prices for their productions, just as it is the interest of the weavers in England to have good, not bad wages. In Upper Canada, on the other hand, it was a Church of England oligarchy, whose most fatal blunder was in insisting that the Scottish Church Establishment was a dissenting church in Canada. It was the Scotch, being left in this injured and degraded position, that made the conspirators of 1837 see any chance for rebellion.

CLERGY RESERVE QUESTION.

The first propositition for a settlement of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, without secularising them, was made by Mr. Buchanan. In 1835 he published, as an extra of the *Toronto Albion*, which was widely circulated, a plan for the settlement of "this vexed and difficult question," in which he startled people by asserting that there was *no difficulty* in understanding and settling it, only that they took this *old idea* for granted, and would not apply their minds to it. There was then no common school system, and his plan was simply to establish one by compulsory tax or assessment, having a column for each Christian sect in the schedule, and having thus ascertained the field for usefulness of each religious body, to give them for religion the same sum as they are respectively assessed for education, or a sum in exact proportion to this out of the clergy reserve fund.

Mr. Poulett Thompson, on his coming to Toronto in 1839, sent for Mr. Buchanan. Very shortly before, while in Scotland, Mr. Buchanan had drawn out the petition from the city of Glasgow to the Queen, stating that such an appointment of a man chiefly known as connected with Russia and the interests of the Baltic, and *an enemy of the colonies*, like Mr. Thompson, would throw paralysis into every British interest abroad, and praying Her Majesty "*to reconsider the appointment, and to select for this important dependency a governor not known to be inimical to the great interests which he is sent to protect and promote!*" The *London Times* had devoted two leading articles to it, and had declared that had equally strong remonstrances come from other

great places, Lord John Russell, the then colonial minister, must have kept Mr. Thompson at home. Mr. Buchanan mentioned this to the secretary, Mr. Murdock, who brought to him the governor-general's summons, and made Mr. Murdock promise to make a point of having it mentioned to his excellency before the interview, as he *declined sailing under false colours*. It was about the clergy reserve question that the governor-general desired to see Mr. Buchanan; and his excellency afterwards, when he visited Hamilton the following summer, indicated to him that his plain declaration that the Scotch could not be expected to be loyal to "a government that made them dissenters by act of Parliament," had greatly affected Lord John Russell and the home ministry.

The following year the term "a Protestant clergy" was declared to include the ministers of the Scottish establishment, and danger No. 1 was thus got over; but still the peace of the country was threatened by the state in which the question was left. The province seemed worse pleased with a two than it had been with a one-headed monster! And after it had for a dozen years been the stock-in-trade of the political agitators, who really did not desire its settlement, the question was at length brought to the hustings in 1854. Having proposed an anti-clergy reserve league which should never be let down till equal justice was done to all sects, Mr. Buchanan allowed his name to be used against Sir Allan MacNab, to enable parties, by their votes, to record their view that the peace of the province required an immediate settlement of the clergy reserve question; and to save his election, Sir Allan at last promised his friends that he and his political allies would no longer stop the way. Fifteen years previously Mr. Buchanan had given evidence before the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and during a much longer period had kept up constant communication on the subject with Principal McFarlane, Dr. Welch, and other leaders of the church, as well as with the Marquis of Bute, her Majesty's Commissioner to the Church, whose friendship Mr. Buchanan enjoyed. The intimacy, especially with Dr. Welch, which he had kept up (his family having been members of Dr. Welch's congregation when in Glasgow), was of material public benefit as increasing the doctor's interest in the Canadian church question, and in giving him greater confidence in making his magnificent report as convener of the Colonial Committee, which may be said to have settled the question. Dr. Welch had one of the finest minds of the day, and a man whose friendship was a great honour as well as privilege; he was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, when the disruption occurred in 1843, and having seceded, he was the first

Moderator of the Free Church. Mr. Buchanan was one of twenty friends whom Dr. Welch asked to endow the Free Church college, in Edinburgh, by giving a thousand pounds each. Mr. Buchanan replied, that he would give the amount, but that he felt it would be more natural that his subscription should be applied to assist the Free Church college and churches in Canada,—and so the money was applied.

SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS IN 1837.

For the first ten years after coming to Canada, Mr. Buchanan used to visit the British markets nearly every year, and he arrived out at New York in the spring of 1837, to witness a dreadful financial crisis. The evening he landed, he was in company with eleven of the first merchants of New York, nine of whom had suspended, and on the apparently solvent *two* being twitted as unfortunate "men still in the body," one of them whispered to Mr. Buchanan, "just till Monday." The streets were full of an enraged populace threatening the banks; and his fellow passengers lost not a moment in getting on board the North River steamer leaving New York. Mr. Buchanan, however, remained in New York for many days, and, mingling with all sorts of people, satisfied himself that the then patent facts entirely corroborated the views of money he had always held; he then came into Canada, and being president of the Toronto Board of Trade, moved successfully in getting Parliament called together in June, which passed a bank relief bill that saved the trade and industry of the province from overthrow. The bill enabled the banks to suspend if necessary, without forfeiting their charters. The simple argument Mr. Buchanan used with "the members" and people in general, was this: The banks of the United States have suspended specie payments, and every silver dollar taken from Canada will, for the Americans, who take it, pay a debt of a dollar and a quarter, from specie having gone to a premium. It is clear then that to possess themselves of our specie, they can bring over their commodities and undersell our farmers and other producers, twenty per cent.; so that unless our banks in Canada get the power also to suspend, our producers will be seriously injured:

1st. By reducing their prices.

2nd. By depriving them of their home market.

3rd. By removing the basis of the circulation—thus still more lessening prices and reducing the markets of the farmer; preventing the importers paying their British creditors; and causing incalculable distress unnecessarily to every class in the province.

Himself seriously impressed on the importance of the subject, Mr. Buchanan has, at every returning panic, entered the field of explanation in the New York and Canadian newspapers. He believes that (while also a great evil to the working classes in England) the *principle* of money law which both the United States and Canada have borrowed from England, decrees that the American producers must for ever remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to middlemen in Europe; that in a word, while the foreigner for our paper money can get, at a price fixed by law, the portable article gold, which he can lay down on the other side of the Atlantic, at a cost of one per cent., he cannot be expected to take in lieu thereof any American commodity, except at the price thereof in Europe, less the charges to take it there and a very full margin. So that to the extent there is any inflation here, through paper money, or through prosperity from any other cause, the foreign importer gets the advantage over our home producers as getting the increased price for *his* wares, without paying any increased price, which he should do if the law of supply and demand were allowed equally to affect gold for his foreign exchange, that being a convertible term for gold, *the article whose price is fixed by law!*

It may here be remarked, that Mr. Buchanan considers the ill success hitherto of the British currency reformers, to have arisen from their ignorantly attacking Peel's bills of 1844 and 1845, measures for the mere regulation of banking, and for the security of the bank note circulation; while the bill that they should attack is Peel's bill of 1819, this being the measure embodying Peel's "*science*" of money, which is so suicidal.

HIS GREAT NERVE AND INDOMITABLE PERSEVERANCE.

Possessed of an active and powerful brain, of benevolent and liberal instincts—wealth that buoys him harmlessly over the malignant buffettings of a sea of factions, the fury of which can only be realized by those experienced in the ways of a colonial democracy, it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Buchanan, while pursuing his own course of ameliorating our social and political evils, should come in for his share of that virulent abuse and misrepresentation that is meted out to all our public men in proportion to their prominence. But with the well fortified subject of our sketch it is, indeed, like *biting the file;* and there is no greater treat to the reporter's gallery in our House of Assembly than to witness the manner in which these petty assaults are received and turned. The imperturbable good temper, the quaint and witty retort, followed

by that well known and peculiar hollow sounding and derisive laugh from the chest, which leaves the muscles of the face unmoved, like the mask on the "chorus" of a Greek play, are irresistibly droll, and always throws the house into a fit of uncontrollable laughter at the assailant's expense.

It is, however, in his writings, his public addresses, letters, and pamphlets, that the force and disinterestedness of Mr. Buchanan's mind is best seen; they are not perhaps, models of style, for they are thrown off in great haste from a brain teeming with valuable and practical ideas, and often with too little time to reflect whether all the lower links of his arguments are as self-evident to his hearers or readers as a quarter of a century has made them to his mind; but they are ample to show what such a mind could accomplish if freed from the shackles and cares of an overwhelming mercantile business, and devoted entirely to the instruction of his fellow-men. His retorts upon some of his newspaper assailants are often excellent. On one occasion he replies as follows, to what may be called the *N. Y. Herald* of Canada:

"Even when an unmitigated falsehood is not told by this newspaper, its statements regarding me, and all those whom it *sees its interest* in opposing, have just as much truth in them as to make a good lie," adding the following quotation from Tennyson: "A lie that is all a lie, may be met and fought with outright. A lie that is part a truth, is a harder matter to fight. A lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies."

On another occasion he says; "This newspaper talks of me as having stated that I would prefer failing in large transactions to succeeding in small ones, while all the time well knowing that my remarks were to quite another point, having been made at the opening of the Great Western Railway. Referring to the local enemies of the railway, and to those who had done little or nothing for this great enterprise, I expressed my contempt for *small* men, *faithless* and *unbelieving*, who busy their minds with small matters, in which success is *little* honour, and failure disgraceful; while my course has been to associate my name with great and worthy objects, in which, even in failure, one is associated with greatness, as well as what in his own mind at least is goodness." Much cheering, says the newspaper from which we quote, followed this happy explanation.

And the following, from another hustings speech, is admirably put, but can only be fully appreciated by those acquainted with our Canadian politicians:

"I do not appear before you as an aspirant for your future suffrages, for these I trust a truly British and patriotic local can-

didate will deserve and get, but as a common soldier in the army of the PARTY OF ORDER, formed of those, like myself, of the old Liberal party, who are willing to be called 'conservative-liberals,' and of those who, like many of the best men in the country, whom experience of the province have made 'liberal conservatives.'"

"From these hustings at the nomination, I told you that my experience of the opposition* is, that their leaders will not reply to or allow their elections to rest upon questions as to their principles or policy, seeing that they have not any! They remove the question or issue to the character of their opponents. They have borrowed their tactics from Robespierre and the French revolutionists. The latter, to get quit of their opponents, guillotined their heads; the former (our Clear Grit chiefs) try to guillotine the characters of their opponents by means of their mercenary press." (Hear, hear.)

The following, too, from Mr. Buchanan's speech at the declaration of the poll at Hamilton, in 1857, as placing character and principle beyond the mere accident of success, deserves to be recorded:

"To return to our immediate position this day, I should have stood at the head of a minority, with as proud a mind as I now stand at the head of my vast majority. (Cheers.) Our success is most valuable at this crisis to the province, as well as to Hamilton, in securing us the power of doing much good, and in preventing our opponents being used as the instrument of infinite harm. (Cheers.) But still I shall never, either in private or public matters, consent that my character be dependent on my success; for in that case no success would mean no character. The character we care for is the mere expression of our principles, and of which no want of success can deprive us." (Great cheering.)

It is but too evident that without character, principles, and ability, and these in the highest degree, such success as has followed Mr. Buchanan in his mercantile career, could not have been achieved. As a merchant and political economist, his reputation is at once European and American. Since the death of his widely lamented brother, Peter, than whom no man in any country ever stood higher as a merchant or as a gentleman, Mr. Buchanan is senior partner in the firm of Peter Buchanan & Co., Glasgow; Isaac Buchanan & Co., New York; I. Buchanan, Harris & Co., Montreal; Buchanan, Harris & Co., Hamilton, C. W.; and Adam Hope & Co., London, C. W. His connexion with the trade of

* The supporters of the late Macdonald-Dorion Government.

Canada is now of thirty-three years' standing, the house being established in Montreal, in 1828, and it will be a happy day for Canada when she can boast the existence of a larger class of the same stamp.

And yet there are in our strangely constituted society, men whose sole stock in trade consists only of a few reams of paper and a box of pens, the beginning and end of whose exertions seem entirely devoted to driving such men as Mr. Buchanan from the political arena altogether; a system copied from the adjoining states, and to the success of which their public writers are now attributing all the evils which that unhappy country is suffering from. Had the same kind of politicians succeeded here, precisely the same results would have followed. Impudence and public swindling would have been the order of the day. Worth, truth, and a zealous and persistent course in the path of public duty, would have been disqualifying ingredients in a politician's character, while the possession of ample means would at once mark the owner as one who could neither be trusted in the concoction of a scheme of public plunder, or hushed by the tender of a share of it. Undoubted as has been the success of the moderate policy adopted by Messrs. Macdonald and Cartier for the last few years, it is impossible to overrate the strength of that moral support which the attachment of such men as Isaac Buchanan has brought to them. But it must be admitted that he had little choice.

THE QUESTION OF LABOUR, OR OF OUR OWN PEOPLE'S EMPLOYMENT.

Of the many subjects which seem to have occupied Mr. Buchanan's mind, the great cause of *labour* is that to which he has devoted the greatest amount of thought and effort. He maintains that mere *production*, or the mere existence of food, is not the *first necessary of life*, under a state of civilization. He says that *employment is the first necessary* in our state of society, seeing that it in no degree relieves the poor man to know that all the granaries of the neighbourhood are full of breadstuffs, if he is without the *employment*, which is the only key to these granaries. He holds the question of our home labour to be unspeakably more important than the question of our external trade; the labour being the *necessity*, the trade the *incident*. He has striven that men should really eat and be satisfied with the bread they may earn by the sweat of their brow or of their brain, and not be perpetually offered up as a holocaust at the shrine of mammon, or become a mere part of the machinery which he oils and drives, and be looked upon by his employers with as little interest as the cranks and wheels of the

world's great power loom, in the din of which all uncertain sounds are drowned, together with the moans of the toil-worn. Mr. Buchanan differs from the Free Traders and Political Economists not only as denying that theirs is in truth a system of free exports, while it certainly is a system of free *imports;* but in this, that their heartfelt interest is in the *web*, while his is in the *weaver;* theirs in the *produce*, his in the *producer*.

One of the greatest compliments (according to his own estimation) paid to Mr. Buchanan in Britain, was by the working classes whom he had assisted against the Free Traders, in their successful struggle for the "ten hours' bill," on which occasion he was waited upon by a deputation representing a hundred thousand men, at that time mostly unemployed in London, with their tribute of thanks. A proposal was at the same time made, to purchase, if he would agree to become a party to it, a London evening daily newspaper, for sale, the *Courier*, to advocate their common views, which then they proposed, in his honour, to call the *Currency Reformer*. Mr. Buchanan's reply in declining was similar to the following explanation given to those who offered to procure him a seat in the British House of Commons:

"A hundred *friends of labour* like me could do no good in the House of Commons while the question of the church remains 'the first question in the politics of England,' and is without the smallest apology, put seemingly, *as a matter of course*, before that great subject, *the employment of our own people at home and in the colonies*,' which should even be acknowledged to be of more vital importance than what are called 'constitutional questions,' as the question upon the proper settlement of which depends the safety and permanence of our revered form of government, and every other blessing we, as a nation and empire, enjoy. There can be no chance, I have long been thoroughly satisfied, for the working men in England, or for 'the question of labour,' till after the carrying of some great change in the constitution of the British Parliament, making it possible for the question of 'the people's employment' to become 'the first question in the politics of England,' which at present the church question is, and always has been—the question at the election of the members for the English counties, or two-thirds of the House of Commons, not being what the candidate's views are upon 'employment,' *the people's question*, but whether the candidate's decoction of church views suits the particular neighbourhood."

Nor has Mr. Buchanan hesitated to give his view as to what this *constitutional change* should be. He adds:

"And to save our institutions generally, it is the highest duty

of the patriot to endeavour to suggest the least change that would effect this greatest purpose of benevolence. After the sad experience of America, even the greatest chartist, if an honest man, would no longer desire to see the House of Commons elected by universal suffrage. The great object, too, is rather to draw together the extremes of English society, and between them to form a strong united phalanx to upset that odious middle class monopoly of political power, under whose miserable influence the British Government has abdicated all its paternal functions and come to care no more for its own subjects than for foreigners, industrially—has abdicated, in a word, all its functions except that of a mere police! Some years ago, when ruminating on this all important subject, an idea struck me which, at the time, seemed to my mind rather revolutionary; I now, however, see that it would be the most conservative one which England could adopt, as *popularizing* the House of Lords, and making it, in fact, the people's house. Leaving the House of Commons untouched, as some property qualification is no doubt proper for a house representing the property of the country, the House of Lords might be elected by universal suffrage from among the ennobled class. The restriction or safeguard in the House of Commons being in the *electors;* the restriction or safeguard in the House of Lords would be in the *elected*, just as a probationer of a church becomes a safe man to elect as minister on account of his having been licensed as a preacher by the church-court or bishop; and in such a house there might be some representation of the more remote parts of the British empire, greater than can be introduced into the House of Commons, unless the inhabitants of the colonies were able and willing to bear their share of the national debt of England and public burdens generally."

Mr. Buchanan's views, in 1848, were expressed in these words: "If Peel's plan will give more employment to the people of England, he is right; but if it should give less, they cannot afford this, distressed as they now are, and he will cause a revolution, not from disloyalty, but want of employment or starvation." He never yielded an inch to the arguments of the Free Traders, but (denying, of course, that Lord George Bentinck, or those with whom he agreed, would be a party to raise the price of the people's food by duties), he explained by what he named "the theory of a full market," that it is not true that the consumer would pay the import duty except at a time of scarcity, when no party desired the existence of a duty.

"Suppose," said Mr. Buchanan, "that the price indicative of a full market for wheat is 45s. per quarter, and the import duty 8s.,

as proposed by Lord John Russell, the importer would not get 53s., any more than a slovenly farmer whose wheat takes him 8s. more than it takes his neighbour to grow, would get 8s. more on that account; but on the contrary, the importer would get less than 45s. to the extent his lot of wheat depressed the market, so that it is clear that the foreigner would have to pay the duty, not the consumer."

THE QUESTIONS OF LABOUR AND MONEY ONE QUESTION, THE SOLUTION OF THE ONE BEING THE SOLUTION OF THE OTHER.

With a devotion equally ardent, Mr. Buchanan pursues the question of "money," which he very properly treats as only another branch of the same question—the question of *labour*, or of our own people's employment. In support of this view, he states the undeniable fact, among others, that the "solution of the labour question would be the solution of the money question; and *vice versa*;" and one of his illustrations of the incalculable importance of the money question may here be given:

"Harvey's exposition of the circulation of the blood, to which no physician over forty years of age *dared* to give his assent till after the public had adopted it, has not had results in favour of humanity so momentous as would flow from the public adoption of the correct theory regarding the circulation of money, the legal life blood of each country's internal or independent industry, and recognizing this as the first question in the politics of every people! In the one case, the circulation went on before, as now, without let or hindrance, in spite of defective science; but in the other, that of the body politic, blundering ignorance has tampered with and impeded the circulating medium, to the endangerment of the health, and even the life, of its industry."

In 1846 we find him battling the watch with the Free Traders and hard money men in England. The following is from one of his publications of that day:

"A reduction of prices, the result of *foreign competition*, is just another way of expressing a *want of employment*. For when prices and wages, and freights are reduced one-half, the evil is not only that we find ourselves paying the fundholders and annuitants double the amount of British industry, that we before did, for the money due them each half-year, but under free imports falsely named free trade (*or when the reduction in the price of our labour flows from foreign competition*), we shall be subjected to the infinitely greater calamity, that the industrious classes of this country, in addition to paying the annuitant or man of money, as much labour as formerly,

(seeing that the price in money is only one-half) will have, *out of gold, the basis of our currency*, to furnish the capitalist with at least *half the amount of his claim in hard cash to send abroad in payment of foreign labour*. We shall thus foster and increase that foreign industry, to compete with which, is impossible for us under our national burdens, or (*even though freed from these burdens*) till our population is reduced *below the circumstances* of the foreign serf or slave, for the actual *wants* of the latter must ever remain fewer than those of a people with habits such as ours, and living in so much more rigorous a climate as that of Great Britain."

Mr. Buchanan was always, and still is, hostile to the free trade principles of Sir R. Peel, viewing the principle (or absence of principle) of Free Trade as the contrary principle to that of Empire as well as of patriotism. On this subject, we give extracts from those letters which he published during the sittings of the political Convention which met at Toronto in 1859:

"In her farmers, Canada has a great class, the prosperity of which secures the prosperity of all other classes; so that the *true commercial policy for Canada is to promote the prosperity of the Canadian farmer*. And how this is to be done is the simple political question of the Canadian patriot. Yet, to the shame of British statesmen be it said, a question so momentous to Canada was known to have had no consideration in England, when she, in 1846, diametrically altered her policy, and repealed all the old distinctions between Canadian and American produce in her markets. The direct and immediate effect of this precipitate introduction of free *imports* (for it is not Free Trade), into the mother country was most disastrous to Canada, and was more likely to prove subversive of her loyalty than any thing that could have been anticipated; for it left the Canadian farmer (on the north bank of the St. Lawrence) only the English market for his produce, in which he has to compete (after paying all freights and expenses across the Atlantic) with wheat of countries where labour and money are not worth one-third what those are in Canada; while it gave to the American farmer (on the south bank of the St. Lawrence) this English market to avail of whenever it suited him, in addition to the American market. Happily the British government saw in time the error committed in bringing about a state of things in which it would have been impossible to retain, upon British principles, the Canadas—British principles always involving the idea that the object of Britain in acquiring or retaining territory is to *bless*, not to blight it; and Lord Elgin bribed the Americans by sharing with them our fishery and navigation rights, to give us the reciprocity treaty, which, while it exists, removes the Canadian

farmer's cause of complaint. Now, therefore, the preservation of this reciprocity with the United States is shown to be not only the interest of the farmers, and through them, of all others in Canada, but of the British Government, as without it, Canadians are left in a position to be much benefitted by Canada being annexed to the United States. I speak plainly, viewing him the most loyal man who speaks most plainly at such a crisis.

"And this reciprocity treaty can only eventually be secured and rendered permanent by the British government adopting an enlarged and just imperial policy, which would allow of the *decentralizing* the manufacturing power of the Empire—a principle which would aggrandize the British Empire, and be an incalculable benefit to the working classes in England, Ireland, and Scotland.—To preserve the empire, Britain has to yield the selfish principle of *centralizing*, which has ruined Ireland and India—so far as such countries could be ruined—and cost us the old American colonies. The principle of decentralizing the manufactures of the empire is a principle which would secure for the empire an enormous additional trade and influence. Through the instrumentality of some one or other of her dependencies (which might be called England in America—England in Australia—England in India, &c.), she could secure for all her mechanics, that chose to go to these favoured localities, freedom of trade with countries that could never agree to free trade direct with England, without giving a death-blow to their comparatively comfortable populations. For instance, England could never get free trade with the United States in manufactured goods, but no doubt the United States would be prepared to extend the reciprocity treaty with Canada, thus throwing down all interior custom houses between Canada and the United States, which done, the Englishman, by coming to Canada, and manufacturing his goods at our endless water powers, will be able to save the 25 per cent. charged on the same goods going direct from England to the United States, and hundreds of mill-owners now in uneasy circumstances in England, would, under such an arrangement, immediately transfer to Canada their machinery and hands, to the infinite benefit of the population thus removed, and to the aggrandizement of the Empire. And this is the main thing wanted by the Canadian farmer, *permanently*, as giving him a market on the spot for his roots and spring crops, thus rendering rotation of crops possible, while it would give him also that which is so valuable to him in the *present* (until he gets his rotation of crops established) the superior market for his white wheat furnished in the United States by the reciprocity treaty.

"To the United States, and more especially to the western states, as making the St. Lawrence the great highway of America, free trade and navigation with Canada would give great development—would give, in a word, all the commercial advantages of annexation.

"The natural policy of Canada is seen clearly, therefore, to be the establishment of an American Zollverein, such as exists among the German States. Under this, the United States and Canada would neither of them levy any customs taxes on their interior frontiers, but only at the seaports from Labrador to Mexico—the same duties being levied, and each country getting its share in the proportion of its population.

"Let it be therefore resolved, that for our commercial system, the principle should be adopted by Canada of an American Zollverein, or, in other words, FREE TRADE WITH AMERICA, BUT NOT WITH EUROPE. And this will be a fair compromise between the views of the two classes of friends of the Canadian farmer, one of which holds that our farmer is to be most benefitted by general free trade and direct taxation, and the other by keeping our money in the country through the restriction of importations and indirect taxation.

"This would terminate our present unprincipled position of political parties in Canada. By setting up a policy of Canadian patriotism, we should have, as the opposition to us, whether government or parliamentary opposition, the foreign, or foreign trade party, and that the aims of such a party never has had more than mere personal selfishness in view is clearly enough shown in this, that while in England it is in favour of local manufactures, because *there* the party are manufacturers, here, in Canada, they are against local manufactures, because *here* they are merchants, and in fact represent AN ENGLISH LOCAL FACTION, INSTEAD OF A GREAT BRITISH INTEREST."

PEEL'S OUTRAGE ON THE CONSTITUENCIES.—HIS FREE TRADE IS A MERE DESPOTISM OF CAPITAL, WHICH DECREES FREE PURCHASES BY US OF FOREIGN LABOUR, BUT NOT FREE PURCHASES BY FOREIGNERS OF BRITISH LABOUR.

Mr. Buchanan being in London in 1846, when Peel's violation of the constituencies was consummated, the following were his impressions on the moment, as they still are his feelings on this painful subject:

"The premier has left us in a condition worse than political chaos, as having robbed us of our principles. Even the principle

that self-preservation is the first law of nature has been repudiated; and British politics have been reduced into the two original elements of all national politics—the labour-power and the money-power. The labour-power must come to be represented by social economists, or practical men, or patriots, the character of whose legislation will be that it takes the circumstances of our own society into account; the money-power being represented by political economists or cosmopolitan theorists, who would have this country legislate for the world, while they view political science as a system of pure mathematics, or, at best, one for the creation of wealth, without any regard to its distribution. Indeed, to my mind, it never appeared that the permanently important question was whether it was a right or a wrong thing, *per se*, that Peel did in 1846. His impolicy, however great, appears to me to stand, in relation to his repudiation of moral and constitutional principle, just as a misfortune does to a crime. I myself, for instance, am opposed to established churches, even if these were the best churches possible, viewing partiality to any class of her majesty's subjects an impediment to general confidence in the crown and law of the land; but give me the power to injure the church, or any other vital interest, *by a side wind*, would I, as a minister, or even as a legislator do it? If the constituencies do not wish the church demolished, dare I, their servant, put it down? And if the constituencies do wish it put down, what need is there for me to interfere unduly? It has always seemed to me to be the duty of a minister rather to try to find evidence in favour of a respectable existency; and a state of things does not deserve the name of constitutional or of moral, unless it is one in which a great interest can repose, with even more safety, in the hands of its avowed enemy, seeing that he, as an honourable man, would require the greater evidence for its overthrow, to leave no shadow of a suspicion, even in his own mind, that his personal predilections had influenced his conduct as a public man. The reverse of the picture is a very humbling one. Behold the constituencies of the empire, standing in the position of trustees of the entire people, employing, as agent under the trust, the man of Tamworth, who immediately turns round and repudiates all obligation to abide by the terms of the trust deed, or even to act on any principle whatever! And what are we to think of our contemptible trustees in submitting thus to be bullied? What are we to think of the honor of our constituencies in delegating, by their *ex post facto* assent to Peel's conduct, an omnipotence or arbitrary power to Parliament which they had not to give? My own view has always been that we have in this transaction so gross a violation of our legislative constitution as to amount (whatever may have

been Peel's intention at the time) to a virtual abdication by the present constituencies. Their only possible excuse is, that their circumstances are too desperate, and that, now that without appeal to them the change has been precipitated, it is the safest course to give it a fair trial. But the immediate importance of Peel's unprincipled proceeding is what we have chiefly at present to do with, and that arises from the ACT DONE BEING IN ITSELF VITALLY WRONG, as tending to lessen instead of to increase the employment of our masses, at home, at sea, and in the colonies—thus containing in it the seeds of revolution, both at home and in our foreign dependencies, whether done constitutionally or unconstitutionally."

PAPER MONEY.*

No man is more impressed with the vital importance of a country's having *emblematic* money instead of money *containing in itself intrinsic value*, than Mr. Buchanan; and no man probably ever has turned his mind more to the subject, except, perhaps, that greatest philosopher of money, and most amiable man, *John Taylor*, of London, whose modesty will leave the next generation to know, better than his own age appears to do, how great a mind we have had amongst us. Mr. Buchanan describes him as "the earliest and most able denouncer of Sir Robert Peel's heartless or unprincipled monetary legislation." Mr. Buchanan held his own patriotic views on "money" previous to having heard of Mr. Taylor, whose views are in *theory* much the same, but so far different in *practice*, that, like the Birmingham school, Mr. Taylor declines to yield to the popular prejudice in favour of the yellow metal, and make gold the security of his proposed paper money. Mr. Taylor's proposal, in fact, just amounts to this, that the money of a country should be paper "Tallies" or evidences to be issued of the taxes voted each year by Parliament. Government would simply pay them to its creditors, and take them back from its debtors—so that the security to the public is perfect. While the PRESENT PAPER MONEY IS A REPRESENTATIVE OF A DEBT DUE BY THE ISSUER TO THE HOLDER, THE PAPER MONEY (on the *principle* of which Mr. Buchanan agrees with Mr. Taylor), would be A REPRESENTATIVE OF A DEBT FOR TAXES DUE BY THE HOLDERS, THE PEOPLE, TO THE ISSUER, THE GOVERNMENT. This is what Mr. Buchanan calls "PITT AS OPPOSED TO PEEL MONEY."

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*Mr. Buchanan distinguishes between "paper money" and "paper currency." By paper money he means paper made a legal tender, and by paper currency he means bank notes which we are not bound to take in payment unless we please.

From the foregoing sub-section it will have been gathered that Mr. Buchanan's long held view is that "money" should be A THING OF, AND BELONGING TO, THE PARTICULAR COUNTRY AND ITS INTERNAL TRADE, having no necessary reference to the outside world, and with no peculiar fitness to circulate there, beyond what the laws of other countries may encourage, or its character as "a commodity" (not as "a money"), may lead to. According to Mr. Buchanan, in fact, money is "the *creature* of our local legislation," created for the purpose of facilitating the exchange between man and man of commodities bought and sold in our "home market." MONEY SHOULD THEREFORE (says Mr. Buchanan) BE THE MERE HANDMAID OF LABOUR. One of John Taylor's happy illustrations is that money is the "*measure*" or ell-wand (yard-stick) by which our people's labour is sold. If the law (as Peel's legislation does) declares that cloth can only be sold by yard-sticks made of gold, or any article valuable as a commodity for foreigners to take away, the practically unhappy result is that this is a worse state of things for the labour or industry of the country, than if we had still a state of pure barter. The yard-sticks are taken away in consequence of the necessity for gold of some other country, and business is brought to a stand in our country without anything being wrong among ourselves at all!

"Peel's principle of money," says Mr. Buchanan, "involves "British subjects in all the distresses, without giving them the "advantage of any of the blessings, of every country in the world. "As a destroying angel or agent, it is like death, when suddenly "it strikes down the young and beautiful and brave in the full "and vigorous possession of every faculty and every promise."

And if any apology is required for the great length of this explanation of Mr. Buchanan's opinions on the vital subject of "money," it must be found in the fact that some portion of his enthusiasm can not fail to be imparted to every mind which takes the trouble to peep so far into the vast field of discussion in which he battles with the preconceived prejudices of the public, as to be able to appreciate his perfect sincerity and entire disinterestedness. "In season and out of season," for the last thirty years, he has announced his doctrine that "THE QUESTION OF LABOUR AND THE QUESTION OF MONEY ARE IN REALITY ONE QUESTION," and has invited those around him to prove this for themselves by their taking the trouble to go into the detail of the reflection that "THE SOLUTION OF THE ONE IS THE SOLUTION OF THE OTHER." He has thus prosecuted sleeplessly a reform, which, though contrary to his own interest as a capitalist and his prejudices as a merchant in the foreign trade he believes to be essential to the well-being of

the masses, and to the reasonable *independence in the circumstances* of those who labour, whether they do so with their hands or their heads. Though Mr. Buchanan has always been an efficient opponent of communisms, organizations of labour, and all the silly "isms" which would make it appear that there is a distinction between the interest of fixed property and labour, he has always held and shown that our law makes "money" a foreign commodity, having no interest in common with either; and he hopes and believes that by removing out of the way, (as we require with the knife to remove a tumour from the body physical), the impediments set up by Peel's legislation to the natural course of things, to the healthy circulation of the body politic, we may enable the working classes INDEPENDENTLY TO COIN INTO MONEY THEIR INDUSTRY, TEMPERANCE, AND OTHER QUALITIES AND QUALIFICATIONS.

At the end of this volume we shall give copies of the title page of Mr. Buchanan's late pamphlet "*Britain the Country versus Britain the Empire*,"* and of the two engravings it contained, to illustrate what Mr. Buchanan denominates, in true Saxon phrase, "National unthrift, or the cup of Britain's prosperity as it is," shewing that at present there is a syphon or waste-pipe in our national cup, which prevents prices and wages becoming more than pleases the annuitants and money-mongers; and "National economy, or the cup of Britain's prosperity as it ought to be," shewing that when they have removed the waste-pipe or "tantalus" feature from our national cup, it will only be its overflow (as ought to be the case) that will go to irrigate and vivify other lands and foreign industries.

We may here mention that to Mr. Buchanan it is owing that both attempts failed to establish in Canada a government bank of issue. He does not object to a government bank of issue *per se*, but, on the contrary, considers the coining of paper equally the privilege or prerogative of a whole people, as represented by the crown, as the coining metal, the giving up of which to banks or private individuals can only be justified if more for the benefit of people in particular circumstances. In 1841, when Lord Sydenham introduced his bank of issue, Mr. Buchanan, who, being then member for Toronto, was on the special committee of the Legislative Assembly; and he showed that the proposed measure would reduce the paper money circulation of the province one-half, and render it impossible for the trade and the people generally to pay

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* "*Britain the Country versus Britain the Empire. Our Monetary Distresses. Their Legislative cause and cure.*" Dedicated to his constituents, by Isaac Buchanan, M.P. for Hamilton. Hamilton, C.W., *Spectator* Office, 1860.

more than ten shillings in the pound of their debts, such debts having been contracted under the calculation of there being double the money in the country. And in 1860, when Mr. Galt introduced his bank of issue scheme, Mr. Buchanan showed that in such a society as ours A GOVERNMENT BANK OF ISSUE IS IMPRACTICABLE WITHOUT AN EMBLEMATIC LEGAL TENDER.

"Paper circulation," says he, "that would keep out, must be in process of perpetual distribution by banks *interested in making the issue*, but government or bank notes, the evidences of gold in the treasury or vaults, are wanted as a basis, as, in fact, a legal tender."

In the circumstances of Canada, which has a magnificent system of the safest possible banks chartered by the provincial legislature, with a capital of twenty-four millions of dollars, all paid up, Mr. Buchanan thinks that, for the present at all events, the best substitute for a government bank of issue is to put a second padlock on the vaults of our banks, the key of which to be held by the government, and to authorize the banks to issue as a legal tender, equally with gold, YELLOW NOTES, COUNTERSIGNED BY THE GOVERNMENT, leaving their present notes in their present position of not being a legal tender. No man has considered more anxiously the one grand objection that may be made to this. It may be said, suppose a man to invest a thousand dollars in a mortgage, with three years to run, he NOW gives two hundred sovereigns or a certain weight of gold, amounting to fifty ounces (supposing each sovereign a quarter of an ounce), what would he get back in case of Mr. Buchanan's plan being in operation at the end of the three years on payment of the mortgage? Mr. Buchanan replies, except by special bargain stipulating for the return of a certain weight of gold, the mortgagee would only legally be entitled to *a thousand dollars in the yellow notes of any chartered bank;* and these would procure for the holder two hundred sovereigns or fifty ounces of gold, if our provincial "money" is at the time at par, *i. e.*, if our exports of provincial produce and imports of money combined balance our imports of foreign goods and exports of money combined—the demand for foreign exchange being to such an extent as keeps it at par. If, however, the value of foreign exchange (which is a convertible term for the precious metals) is less than par from excessive exports, he would get just so much more than two hundred sovereigns, while if it is higher in value or rate, he would get just so much less than two hundred sovereigns for what at both periods, is nominally one thousand dollars, and commanding a thousand dollars worth of any commodity in the province.

The following was published when he was in Glasgow in 1848, and in one of his innumerable explanations in Great Britain during the monetary panics in Britain of 1847-8. A great many of the members of both houses of the British Parliament consulted Mr. Buchanan on the dreadful position to which Peel had brought matters previous to Californian and Australian gold being discovered, and the following is the substance of a reply which he made to the late Lord Ashburton (once Chancellor of the Exchequer and who was her Majesty's plenipotentiary to settle the boundary line between the British provinces in America and the United States), in answer to a letter to him from his lordship, asking what, with the gold of the bank of England reducing every day, he would suggest. In this letter Lord Ashburton pays Mr. Buchanan the compliment of acknowledging that he had received great instruction on the subject of money from Mr. Buchanan's writings.

"JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE TO FIXED PROPERTY AND LABOUR, OR, IN OTHER WORDS, SHALL WE HAVE PITT OR PEEL MONEY?"

"Those who affect to scoff at the legislation of Mr. Pitt should recollect that when a foreign war occurs, we must *as a matter of necessity*, at once revert to HIS monetary system; and it were well did the political economists condescend to enlighten us on the difference between the *extirpating* effects — on the country's industry, and banking facilities—of a foreign war, and of a foreign trade, *if both drain us of our precious metals*. Sir Robert Peel's vital error is, that he has based the foreign, as well as the home trade on MONEY; whereas the latter ought to be on the principle of BARTER. But we can *yet* arrange to get back Pitt's principle of money, by repealing Peel's bill of 1819, and, at the same time, retain all the present security for the bank note circulation, by perpetuating the principle of restriction embodied in Peel's bill of 1844. This arrangement must, however, be made *before* the Bank of England loses its gold, otherwise a WANT OF CONFIDENCE will be sure to occur, whose fearful effects cannot be predicted. To UNFIT THE PRICE OF GOLD AS A STANDARD OF VALUE, is really all that *at present* is required to make this country (deep as is now its social wretchedness and misery) at once prosperous and contented, which shows that the wretched position of the British producer and artizan does not arise from a natural but from an artificial or legislative cause. The detail of this operation, which we advocated in the former articles, would be as follows:

"1st. The Bank of England's note—being a legal tender at its

own counter, as well as everywhere else, to the extent of the fourteen millions which it has in the hands of government, and also of the specie in its vaults,—would be redeemed at the PITT, or London market price of gold, instead of at the PEEL, or foreign price of gold. Under no other arrangement can we deprive the foreigner of the undue advantage over our home industry, which he enjoys whenever we have prosperity or remunerating prices, seeing that while he gets a higher price for his commodities, in consequence of the amount of money being increased by paper issues, *he pays no higher price for our gold*, which *therefore* he prefers to take rather than *British labour which is enhanced.*

2nd.—The foregoing would be the RULE, but in order to guard the commerce of the country against the WANT OF CONFIDENCE which has existed since the beginning of last year, WE WOULD NOT PERMIT THE BANK'S SPECIE EVER TO GO BELOW TEN MILLIONS. When it falls to ten millions we would not permit the bank to pay specie even at the market price, until it again gets up to, or beyond eleven millions. In this way—as enabling the Bank of England to keep twenty-four millions of paper always in the hands of the public—we have not the least doubt we can guard our trade from money panics, caused by the state of the foreign exchanges, such as that of 1847, as effectually as Sir Robert Peel by his bill of 1844, secured the holders of bank notes against money panics originating in local derangement, such as that of 1825. Of course our readers are well aware that though we would perpetuate the principle—of *some* restriction—of Sir R. Peel's bills of 1844 and 1845, in a word, we would gradually extend the amount of the issues allowed to the Joint Stock Banks, enabling these to keep pace in some degree with the increase of the country's business which at present they do not; while our plan would enable our Scotch banks to hold Bank of England notes instead of specie.

"But it may be said with *seeming* plausibility, that if the 25s. of Pitt money buys no more commodities than the 20s. of Peel money, the working classes would not be advantaged by the monetary change. We answer that *there will be* a direct advantage to the labouring men, because they could pay our fifty millions of national taxes—not to talk of the local imposts—with four-fifths the number of days' labour under the Pitt plan, than they do under the Peel plan; and besides this, there is the most manifest indirect advantage to the working classes through the greater certainty of employment, and through the gradually increasing wages, arising from the bidders for labour being increased—*which is the only possible cause of any permanent increase of wages*, as many former disciples of communism now happily discover.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the reform wanted is simply the getting quit of a great public wrong. All that is wanted is that we get the free operation of natural causes in expressing the price of gold, and reconciling this to its value in this country.

"The chief direct benefit of our plan may *seem* to be to the holders of property, and *such capital as is not money*, but the working man's wages will be bettered, as we have said, by the increased number of bidders for his services, and by our plan he will be guaranteed against that interference with the constancy of his employment, which now flows from every 'derangement of the foreign exchanges.' The working classes, in their sinking condition, have eagerly caught at such absurdities as organizations of labour, communisms, and associationisms, from which the capital classes were excluded, just as sinking men catch at straws; but *straws* they have found these delusions to be (however well intended), and our labouring masses will no longer permit their reason to be insulted *by the silly doctrine that labour is a separate interest.* The working men now see that the only possible cause of increased wages is increased employment, which can only arise from improving the condition of the employers of labour; and the working men's distresses having led them into a much better knowledge of the money question (which is in reality the question of labour) than is possessed by the middle classes; they see that to increase the number of bidders for their labour, *the only means of raising their wages permanently* such an alteration of our money laws must be made as will permanently REDUCE THE EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF MONEY, so far as this could be done by setting it free from the influence of the foreign exchanges, as when less property and a smaller quantity of commodities come to stand for the same amount of money, it is evident that less of the working man's time and labour will do the same thing. It is evident, in a word, that RAISING THE EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF FIXED PROPERTY AND LABOUR is a CONVERTIBLE TERM for REDUCING THE EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF MONEY. THUS THE INTERESTS OF ALL CLASSES EXCEPT THE OFFICIALS, ANNUITANTS, AND MONEY-MONGERS, ARE SEEN TO BE THE SAME AND INSEPARABLE.

"At present our paper as increasing the amount of money, and in the same ratio increasing the demand, and consequently the price, for labour and commodities appear at *first sight* greatly to alleviate the effect of the bill of 1819, or the fixed Gold Standard, *which has for its object to reduce the price of British commodities and labour by making money dear, this being a convertible term for making the commodity gold cheap nominally, and at the same*

time making British commodities and wages low or worthless in exchangeable value. But this happy and natural influence of paper money is nearly altogether lost to the industry of this country by the malign influence which Sir Robert Peel's monetary legislation causes our foreign trade to exert as the dictator or regulator of prices, and consequently of wages, besides being the *great lessener of employment through lessening the circulating medium*, through removing gold, its basis. The anomaly of Peel's principle or bullionism is this, that while it in name makes gold and money *synonymous* terms, the *low* price of gold makes each ounce thereof an equivalent for a proportionately *greater* quantity of other commodities, and we all know that British commodities (or in other words, British wages), being low, is just another way of stating the purchasing power or *price* of *money*, to be *high*, so that low gold means high money, although THESE ARE SYNONYMOUS TERMS! It is only, therefore, when prices are down to a ruinous level—*which unfortunately they usually are under Peel's system*—that the remark of the '*Economist*' holds true that the foreign trade is now carried on practically in the same way as if we had a barter system, or if there was no paper money. UNDER A BARTER SYSTEM THE FOREIGNER WOULD GET A LOW PRICE FOR HIS COMMODITIES, BUT HE WOULD GET OUR GOLD AT NO LOWER A PRICE THAN AT PRESENT!

"The object of our measure, as currency reformers, is to do away with the influence of the foreign exchanges on the circulating medium, while it will prevent the price of commodities and wages—AS MEASURED BY PAPER, WHICH WILL REPRESENT AND ALWAYS BE CONVERTIBLE INTO GOLD AT ITS BRITISH PRICE,—being as at present *not permitted* to rise above the level of the low foreign price of £3 17s. 10½d. per ounce for standard gold.

"We see clearly that what the trade of the country wants is CONFIDENCE, which is liable to be unhinged in three ways—1st., by the want of perfect convertibility in the local bank notes—the chief object of Sir R. Peel's bill of 1844 being to secure this, and in which he may, all things considered, be said to have succeeded. 2nd. and 3rd., commercial confidence must also be impossible either when the bank is actually being drained of gold, as in 1847, or when there is the anticipation of a drain of our precious metals, as at present; and, as it thus is evident that it is THE ASSURED PRESENCE OF A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF GOLD THAT IS REQUIRED, we therefore propose, as above, to prevent the Bank of England parting with any more

specie when its stock gets down to ten millions. It is obvious that when the foreign exchanges get more against us, than this point indicates, the country's industry is unnecessarily sacrificed, and OUR OBJECT IS TO SAVE THE COUNTRY'S INDUSTRY, even though the moneyed classes should suffer from *the absence of bad times, a high rate of discounts, and low prices and wages!*—which are only different ways of expressing the same thing, the necessary effect of the Peel principle of money. We shall extend this no farther than to repeat two sentences from former articles: 'The remedy for this state of things is, *that we make up our minds to retain gold only as the security of our bank note circulation, doing away with gold as a standard of value.*' And again, '*The true principle of monetary science is only another way of expressing the full employmnt of our national industry free from the disturbance of any foreign or external influence.*' We must, before the opening of our ports in March next, draw this line of demarcation between foreign interests and home or British interests, otherwise—between the operation of the conflicting principles of Peel's currency bill of 1819, which hangs all confidence and bank facilities on gold, and Peel's free import bill of 1846, which gives away our gold to foreigners—the trade and industry of this country must necessarily be ruined, and we shall have the most dreadful social convulsion."

WHY FREE TRADE AND BULLIONISM COMBINED HAVE NOT LONG AGO RUINED ENGLAND.

These effects, which Mr. Buchanan thus anticipated free trade to have on England, he holds were only prevented by the unexpected flow of gold from California and Australia. He denies that free trade has succeeded (to the extent it has in England) from its own merits; but believes as firmly as ever he did that revolution in England, not from disloyalty, but from want of employment, must, but for these discoveries of gold, have been the result of Peel's measures—the first of which, his money bill of 1819, made all confidence and paper money circulation depend upon the presence in England of gold, and the last his free trade bill of 1846—by opening England's ports to importations of foreign goods DUTY FREE, PROVIDED TO THE GREATEST EXTENT LEGISLATION COULD DO THIS, THAT GOLD SHOULD BE SENT AWAY. He some years afterwards writes as follows:

"Should gold continue to come from California and Australia "as it has come, so unexpectedly since 1848, the yellow metal "may become less valuable to Britain, for the time at least, than

" British labour, when of course it will be a benefit rather than an
" injury to export it. But should this flow of gold not continue,
" and Peel's principle of currency be attempted to be sustained, the
" most fearful social convulsions flowing from want of employment,
" could not fail to be the result, as above explained. And no less
" terrible effects would flow from any successful attempt in Parlia-
" ment to perpetuate the principle of Sir R. Peel's money law of
" 1819, by so changing its details as to *lower* our fixed price of gold
" down to the value to which gold may fall abroad ; for we deceive
" ourselves if we suppose that the working classes in Britain still
" remain so ignorant as not to know that the lowering of the price
" of gold is an equivalent term for raising the purchasing power of
" money—or, in other words, for lowering the exchangeable value
" of property, commodities and labour. The working classes have
" been taught by long and most cruel experience, that the principle
" of the money law of 1819 practically denies to British labour the
" reward which the law of supply and demand would naturally
" award to it, by leading to the export of gold, which upsets the
" country's banking facilities, and *contracts the currency whenever*
" *the foreigner prefers taking gold.* This he of course does,
" unless the prices of British manufactures approximate in cheap-
" ness to that of gold—even although that same foreigner did not
" import into this country gold, or other commodity sold at the
" cheap rate, but had availed of a paper or prosperity price for the
" foreign commodities in payment of which the imbecility of our
" law puts it in his power to take gold at a cheap fixed price.
" They now see clearly, that the fact of GOLD BEING AB-
" SURDLY FIXED AT THE SAME LOW RATE WHEN IT
" IS IN THE GREATEST DEMAND AS WHEN IT IS IN
" THE SMALLEST DEMAND FOR EXPORTATION AS A
" COMMODITY necessarily fixes down, as the general rule to
" the same low untaxed and profitless standard the remuneration to
" the producers of British commodities, which have to be sold
" *against gold as a commodity* to foreigners, as well as *into gold*
" *as a money*, to our own people in the same market ! Our official
" and annuitant classes thus participate in the monstrously undue
" advantage which the bill of 1819 gives to the foreigner over the
" British artisan, and this sacrifice of our working classes operates
" a permanent reduction in the price of British products, by so
" prostrating the British producer himself that he ceases to be a
" consumer of other than the merest necessaries, a large proportion
"of which, being eatables, now are (under our irreciprocal free
"trade system) the product of foreign labour, in payment of which
"the foreigner will never take anything but gold till compelled to

"do so by the PRICE OF GOLD IN THIS COUNTRY BEING "AT AN ADVANCE OVER THE PRICE ABROAD, EQUAL "AT LEAST TO THE AMOUNT OF THE ADDITIONAL "TAXATION PAID BY OUR ARTISAN, AND THE FAIR "PROFIT WHICH THE FREE AND UNRESTRICTED "OPERATION OF THE NATURAL REGULATOR OF "PRICES (THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAW OF SUPPLY "AND DEMAND IN HIS PARTICULAR TRADE) WOULD "AWARD HIM."

THE REBELLION OF 1837.

Mr. Buchanan was incidentally thrown in a very active part in the suppression of the Upper Canada rebellion of 1837, and he relates, with his usual raciness, many anecdotes connected with it, but there is no room for them here; we may, however, notice a very characteristic incident. Being at Toronto when the rebellion broke out, it suggested itself to his mind on the following morning that the rebel chief, William Lyon Mackenzie, who had not ventured to enter Toronto on the previous evening, would way-lay the mail in search of information. He had, therefore, recourse to a clever stratagem for preventing the rebels being induced to advance by the letters of alarmists. He wrote two letters, one to an old aunt in Scotland, Mrs. Buchanan, Auchmar cottage, Roseneath, who still retains the letter, (which, next day, was found by the government among Mackenzie's papers that fell into its hands, and forwarded to its destination), and the other to his partner, Mr. Harris, who was westward, on business. In these he wrote in the highest spirits, confidently assuring them that Toronto would, during the afternoon, be in an excellent state of defence, and fully prepared to receive and defeat the rebels. Mr. Buchanan's conjecture was correct; the mail was duly seized—the letters opened and read. Those of certain members of the government were found to be full of despair, but were most flatly contradicted by those of Mr. Buchanan. Which were they to believe? They hesitated, and lost their only opportuuity of success. We have heard Mr. Buchanan say that this was to him a great lesson always to use the means in your power, however desperate a case. And certainly his character is, as Lord George Bentinck used to say of Mr. Buchanan, "*never say die*," under whatever influences it may have been formed.

A FEW HURRIED REMARKS IN CONCLUSION.

Mr. Buchanan left the Niagara frontier soon after the evacuation of Navy Island, and went to England at the end of January, 1838. He did not return till 1839; he then made it clear, as already shown, to the governor-general, Mr. Poulett Thompson, that unless the clergy reserve question was settled, rebellion after rebellion must be the sad experience of Canada. Though not approving of Mr. Thompson's peculiar or domestic politics, Mr. Buchanan fearing another rebellion, unless responsible gover e ment was yielded, carried Toronto, then the metropolis, for th government party in 1841, on its being found that Mr. Baldwin, the solicitor-general, could not get the votes from all classes of the reformers. On the address to the government, in reply to his speech opening this first Parliament, being moved, Mr. Buchanan stood up and objected to its being discussed till the ministry declared themselves in favour of responsible government, pure and simple. This his excellency wished his government to shirk, but after ten days' debate, it was yielded. Mr. Baldwin's prominence in this matter was, two months afterwards, when the resolutions were brought in as a sort of supplement to the constitution of the province. Mr. Buchanan's being in Parliament at this time, gives him the honour to have been a party not only to securing responsible government for the people, but to the carrying through all the greatest reforms of the province, such as the erection of our great municipal machinery, which does more than half the business formerly done by Parliament; the education system, the greatest boast of the province; the control of our provincial trade, formerly wielded by the colonial office; the systematizing the finances of the province and creating a sinking fund; the originating the geological survey, the results of which so astonished foreigners at the world's fair in 1851, and will astonish them still more at the world's fair of 1862, &c. He co-operated with the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, in securing from the Colonial Office the reduction of the duty on Canadian wheat to a merely nominal sum, and, being in England, in 1843, was the last person who gave his testimony at the colonial office before the granting of this, which was then thought a great boon. Lord Stanley (now Earl Derby) had been called away unexpectedly, but he left a written question with Mr. Hope, the under-secretary of the colonies, for Mr. Buchanan, which he seemed to think could not be answered. "How," asked his lordship, "is it that you should be so anxious to get the duty taken off Canadian wheat when you scarcely export any?" Mr. Buchanan's reply was, "that the districts which he represented, the Home, the

Gore and the London districts, all shipped on lake Ontario large quantities of wheat, and they could not be held responsible if much of it did not reach England, but was eaten in Lower Canada or went to the lower ports. The plea of these districts was, that, as taking payment in British manufactures, and not in specie, they were entitled to the English price for their wheat, less the cost of transportation." Mr. Hope indicated that the answer entirely met the objections that had been or could be raised.

Mr. Buchanan, on his return to Canada, in 1843, sided with the great and good Sir Charles Metcalfe in the quarrel which his ministers picked with him. On this subject there has been a great deal of misrepresentation, and we therefore think it well to say that of the forty-two elections in Upper Canada, thirty-eight went in favour of the friends of the Governor-general.

Of all the leading statesmen in England, Mr. Buchanan seems to have conceived the greatest respect for Lord George Bentinck. Their views on patriotism accorded, and he found Lord George more singleminded than others of our statesmen of the present day. He wrote an eloquent obituary on his lordship's death, which appeared in the *Glasgow Examiner*.

Mr. Buchanan married in January, 1843, Agnes, second daughter of Robert Jarvie, Esq., an eminent merchant in Glasgow; and they have a large family. Mrs. Buchanan's amiability and active charities are well known in and about Hamilton. She takes the deepest interest in all her husband's undertakings, and resents with all the warmth of an affectionate and devoted wife the ribald attacks of his political assailants, by throwing herself the more heartily into all his elections. Her success was thus gracefully alluded to from the hustings by her husband's opponent at the last general election: "Gentlemen, the gallantry of our electors has contributed largely to our defeat."

They have a beautiful seat called "*Auchmar*," on the mountain overlooking the city of Hamilton and the blue expanse of water at the head of lake Ontario, one of the healthiest spots in America. Auchmar is situated in *Clairmont Park*, a property laid out by Mr. Buchanan for villas. His children were mostly born there, and Mrs. Buchanan's partiality to Canada encourages an inclination on her husband's part to be an exception to the rule too prevalent with our wealthy mercantile men, of retiring to spend their means in the mother country, leaving their children to enter upon the battle of life unaided by the vantage ground which in the colony the standing and experience of the parents would have given them. The only other surviving member of his father's family is Jane, his youngest daughter, wife of Major Douglas, who resides at Adamton, Ayrshire, Scotland.

In conclusion, we have to admit that this is rather a slight glance at Mr. Buchanan's character than a full sketch of his life. To write a history of his thirty years' life of ceaseless activity, with more than half of his time devoted to the business of others and of the public, would be to write a history of Upper Canada. It would be to do more in Mr. Buchanan's case—it would be to write a history of that more practical philanthropy which the peculiar state of a new society calls into operation.

The hospitalities of the Canadian are as proverbial as were those of the Scottish Auchmar. In a word, we need only in regard to pioneers of a young country, like Mr. Buchanan, exclaim:

> "Si monumentum quœris,—
> Circumspice."

Indeed, if we take away the things in which such men have had a hand, Upper Canada will have very little history remaining.—*Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, &c.* Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co. 1862.

IX.

LABOUR'S POLITICAL ECONOMY; OR THE TARIFF QUESTION CONSIDERED BY HORACE GREELY. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE REPORT OF THE PUBLIC MEETING OF DELEGATES, HELD IN TORONTO ON THE 14TH APRIL, 1858.

(Published by the "*Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry.*")

The following Essay, from the pen of Hon. Horace Greely, expresses, as well as can be expressed, the principles advocated by the "Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry" lately established in this city.* The design of this Association is to encourage the growth of manufacturing enterprises amongst us, as the best means of securing permanent employment for all classes of our population, and thereby improving not only the general trade of the country, but creating for the farmer a steady home market not only for his wheat, but for those bulky and perishable articles which cannot be carried to a distant market, and for the want of which, in the present depressed condition of the grain market, the farmers of Canada are now suffering so severely. The design of

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* Toronto, C.W.

the Association is neither to increase taxation nor to foster by protection any branch of trade for which we have no natural facilities or advantages, but only by a discriminating tariff to place the manufacturers of Canada in as good a position as that of other countries with which we trade. In all articles of agriculture, for example, the Canadian farmer is placed on an equal footing with the United States farmer, but not so the Canadian mechanic. On all such manufactures as he could send to the United States, he is shut out by a duty of from 24 to 30 per cent., while we admit the manufactures of the United States to a considerable extent *free of duty*, some at 5 per cent., and the great bulk of their manufactures at 15 per cent.

The result of such a policy has been to drive the mechanics out of the country, and thus lose to Canada all the advantages arising from the expenditure of their earnings amongst us.

1. *Direct and Indirect Taxation.*

All Governments require Revenue—ours among the rest. Two modes of raising Revenue are available: 1. That of Direct Taxation; 2. That of Indirect or Voluntary Taxation. The Federal Government has twice resorted to Direct Taxation; first under old John Adams in 1798–9, because of the inadequacy of our Revenue from Imports, owing to our portentous difficulties with France; and again under Madison, when our Revenue from Imports was ruined and our Expenditure quadrupled by the War of 1812. In either case, though the necessity was urgent and undeniable, the Direct Taxes were slowly and with difficulty collected at a heavy expense, and were exceedingly unpopular. They contributed signally to the discontent which effected the defeat of Adams and the overthrow of his party. They were repealed as speedily as possible by Jefferson and his supporters, and again under Madison at the first moment that they could be dispensed with. Since then (nearly forty years) no serious effort has been made to re-impose them. Now and then a theorist has dilated on the superior equity of Direct to Indirect Taxation; and once or twice a proposal to re-impose the former has been made in Congress; but the mover always took good care to do it when his party was a minority, and thus shielded from all responsibility. Whenever it recovered the ascendency, the proposition to levy Direct Taxes came up missing, and so remained. It may be considered practically settled, therefore, that the Revenue needed to pay the debts and defray the current expenses of the Federal Government will long continue to be raised by Indirect Taxation, and mainly by Duties on Imports,

no matter which party may for the time be in power. No party is now committed to or earnestly proposes any other mode; and the plausible suggestion that Direct Taxation, because it bears more palpably on the community, would secure greater economy in the Public Expenditures, is confuted by the fact that the revenues of our great cities, and especially of *this* city, though mainly raised by Direct Taxation, are expended quite as foolishly and wastefully as those of the Federal Government ever have been.

2. *The Question Stated.*

And now the question arises—On what *principle* shall Duties on Imports be assessed? Since nobody now proposes, or has ever seriously urged, a uniform assessment of so much per cent. on the value of all articles imported since even the present Tariff, framed by the avowed adversaries of Protection, levies one hundred per cent. on certain articles, and thence down to thirty, twenty-five, twenty, fifteen, five, to nothing at all on others, what rule shall govern the discriminations made? What *end shall they look to?* What shall determine whether Tea, for example, shall be placed in the class of Free articles, or subjected to a duty of ten, twenty, or thirty per cent.?

We who stand for Protection meet this question frankly and clearly. We all agree in saying, "Impose *higher* rates of duty on those Foreign Products which come in competition in our markets with the products of our Home Industry, with *lower* duties (or none at all, according to the varying wants of the Treasury,) on those which *do not* thus compete with the products of our own Labour." Thus Tea and Coffee, now free, have been subjected to duties for Revenue purely, in which case the proper rate is the *lowest* that will afford the needed income. But to a different class of Imports, we would apply a different criterion. If it were demonstrated, for example, that a reduction of the duty on Shirts, Pantaloons, &c., to *five* per cent., would increase the aggregate of Revenue therefrom by transferring to Europe almost the entire manufacture of garments for American wear, we should strenuously oppose such reduction, on the ground of its inevitable effect in depriving our own Tailors, Seamstresses, &c., of employment and bread. We might urge, indeed, that such change would prove disastrous in the long run, if regarded merely as a Revenue measure, by depriving large classes of our people of the ability to purchase and enjoy Foreign Products; but we should oppose it because of its disastrous influence on the comfort, independence, and thrift of those fellow-countrymen, apart from its tendency to divest them of ability to

contribute to the Revenue. In other words, we hold that the welfare of the People and the full employment and fair reward of their Labour are matters of public concern, which no Government has any right to disregard. And we hold that such rates of duty should be levied on Foreign Products which come in competition with one or another department of our National Industry as shall suffice to preserve that department from overthrow and destruction by reason of the cheaper labour, riper experience, or more concentrated capital of its foreign rivals. And if it be still in its infancy, we hold that such a duty should be imposed on the Foreign product as will encourage and secure the proper development of the American production. This is the doctrine of Protection ; the opposite, which insists that the Government, in imposing duties, should consider only the wants of its own Treasury, and the easiest means of supplying them, is known as Free Trade.

3. *Limitations.*

"But are there no limitations to the policy of Protection? Would you have our Government undertake to foster the production of *every* article we may need or want within our boundaries?" Certainly not. We advocate the Home Production of all articles, and such only, *as can be produced on our own soil with as little Labour as elsewhere*—or, more strictly, as would be required to produce them elsewhere, bring them to us, and carry to a foreign market home produce wherewith to pay for them. Coffee and Tea, for example, it is generally supposed, would not thrive and produce on our soil as they will in China, Java, and Brazil ; and, under this presumption, no attempt has ever been made to foster their growth here by Protection. But Iron, Steel, Wool, Cloths, Hardware, &c., are known to be producible with as little labour in this country as anywhere else ; and we therefore contend that they *ought* to be produced here to the extent of the Home demand for them respectively, and that a wise and beneficent Public Policy would foster and promote such production. And though fifty days' work might be required, while American Iron-making was yet in its infancy, to produce here a ton of Iron which might be made by thirty days' labour in England, it would still be wise and politic to protect and encourage the home production of Iron, if it were evident, as it is, that this disparity was caused solely by the lack of experience and concentration of means here, and their existence on the other side of the Atlantic.

4. *Fog Dispelled.*

To declaim against a "*high* Tariff," as the matter in dispute, is slippery and ambiguous. The Tariff of 1842 had no higher rate of duty than that on Wines and Spirits in the Tariff of 1846. What we, who stand for Protection, demand, is simply that such rates be imposed as will secure a gradual and certain approximation toward the Home Production of whatever we need, where Nature has interposed no obstacle of soil or climate to such production. If those who now oppose Protection on Iron, for instance, as unnecessary, will take hold and make at home, under the present duty, so much Iron as the country requires, we will cheerfully agree that no higher duty on Iron is needed. So of other products now imported. There are furnaces and factories in abundance for sale at less than their cost ; and the enemies of Protection have only to prove that they believe what they say when they affirm that Protection is needless and Manufacturers thrifty without it, by buying these factories and furnaces, setting them at work, building more if requisite, and thus supplying the country with Metals, Wares, and Fabrics, and we will heartily agree with them, not, indeed, that Protection is intrinsically wrong, but that our country has outgrown the need of it—as it some day must and will outgrow it. There are many branches of Industry which now need far lower duties to shield them from destruction than would have been requisite years ago ; and some have, by the aid of Protection, wholly outgrown the necessity for Protection. If American Iron-making could enjoy adequate, assured and thorough Protection for ten years, we believe it would thenceforth defy Foreign competition under a low Revenue duty.

5. *Exports and Imports.*

No greater fallacy can be imagined than that which measures the prosperity or industry of a Nation by the extent or the increase of its Foreign Commerce. If our country were unable to grow Grain, it would inevitably export and import far more than it does now, since it must produce and export *something* wherewith to pay for its bread. So if it were now buying nearly all its Cloths, Wares, Hats, and Boots, from Europe, as in its Colonial infancy, it would of course have more commerce, and perhaps more shipping than at present. If it were now sending all its Flour to Europe and buying thence its Bread, its Foreign Commerce would be enormously greater than now, but at a ruinous cost and loss to the great body of its people. If our Grain crop were utterly cut off for the present year, our Foreign Commerce would necessarily be greatly extended.

Those Nations and sections which show the largest relative Exports and Imports, have rarely been distinguished for the thrift, independence and comfort of their people.

6. *The Balance of Trade.*

Nobody has ever contended that the naked fact that our Imports were officially valued higher than our Exports proves our Foreign Trade a losing one. It is quite true that some articles which cost comparatively little may be sold for a great deal—Ice, for example. Yet it cannot be seriously doubted that when our Imports, under a system of *ad valorem* duties which impels Importers to swear down the value of their goods to the lowest possible notch, exceed by thirty millions per annum the declared value of our Exports, which are generally subject to specific duties or none in the ports to which they are sent, there must be a balance against us in our dealings with Europe.

But the fact that *there is* such a balance is put beyond doubt by the rates of Exchange, the movement of Specie and Stocks, and the negociation of Loans. If we were paying Europe in our Products (including California Gold) for the Goods we are buying of her, we should not be sending Stocks to London for sale at the rate of millions per month, and sending agents thither to negociate the sale of Railroad Bonds, State Bonds, County or City Bonds, and every possible manufacture of paper which implies payment with interest by-and-by for Foreign Products eaten, drank, and worn out by our people to-day. The fact is undeniable that, as a people, we *are* running rapidly and heavily in debt to Europe, and mortgaging the earnings of our children to pay it off. And the excuse that we are building Railroads, &c., does not avail us. Europe is also building Railroads; Great Britain is chequered with them; but she does not owe their cost to the capitalists of other countries, because her people produce more than they consume, sell more than they buy, as ours do not. We have Labour enough standing idle from month to month, and anxiously looking for employment to make all the Iron, Cloth, Wares, &c., for which we are running giddily in debt to Foreign Capitalists; yet our Free Trade policy tends to keep that Labour idle, and run our country deeper and deeper in debt for the Fabrics we ought to produce. Can this be right?

7. *Trade and Labour—First Principles.*

The Political Economy of Trade is very simple and easy. Buy where you can cheapest, and sell where you can dearest, is its fun-

damental maxim; the whole system radiates from this. "Take care of yourselves and let others do as they can," is its natural and necessary counterpart. Nay, this Economy insists that the best you *can* do for your neighbour and for mankind is to do whatever your individual interest shall prompt. That I do not misunderstand and may not be plausibly accused of misstating the scope of the Free Trade doctrine, so far as it applies to the action of states and communities, I will show by the following extract from "*McCulloch's Principles of Political Economy*:"

"Admitting, however, that the total abolition of the prohibitive system might force a few thousand workmen to abandon their present occupations, it is material to observe that *equivalent* new ones would, in consequence, be open to receive them; and that the *total aggregate demand for their services would not be in any degree diminished.* Suppose that, under a system of Free Trade, we imported a part of the silks and linens we now manufacture at home; it is quite clear, inasmuch as neither the French nor Germans would send us their commodities gratis, that we should have to give them an equal amount of British commodities in exchange; so that such of our artificers as had been engaged in the silk and linen manufactures, and were thrown out of them, would, in future, obtain employment in the production of the articles that must be exported as equivalents to the foreigner. We may, by giving additional freedom to commerce, change the species of labour in demand, but we *cannot lessen its quantity.*"

Here, in the essay of one of the ablest and most admired doctors of the Free Trade school, you see the ground fairly marked out, and the consequences of depressing and destroying a particular branch of Home Industry enunciated. True, says the doctor; you throw many out of employment in that particular branch, but you thereby inevitably create a corresponding demand for their labour in some other capacity. The cotton-spinner, the wool-carder, the carpet-weaver, may no longer have work in the vocations to which they were bred and in which they are skilled; but then there will be so much the more work in growing wheat, picking cotton, or salting pork. I do not see the advantage of the change to Labour even affirmed in this statement, though it is not difficult to imagine that Trade may experience a fallacious and transitory improvement. But, while the merchant may just as easily ship or sell one article as another, the labourer cannot with like facility change from casting iron to growing corn, from weaving broadcloth to chopping timber, and so on. To compel him to give up his accustomed employment and seek some other is generally to doom him to months of unwilling idleness, followed by years of relatively ineffective toil. The

overthrow of an important branch of National Industry is therefore a serious calamity to a great portion of the Labouring Class—a blow which will be felt for years.

8. *Cheap Goods and Starving Labourers.*

But, thus far, I have conceded the main point assumed by M'Culloch and his school, that the destruction of a Branch of Home Industry by the influx of rival Foreign fabrics is necessarily followed by a corresponding extension of some other branch or branches, giving employment to an equal amount of labour, and rendering the depression of industry only temporary. That this is a mistake, a few moments' reflection will establish. It assumes that the consumption of a given article is not diminished by the transfer of its production from the consumer's neighbourhood to a distant shore, and that wherever a community receives its supply of cloths or wares from abroad, it necessarily follows that some staple or staples of equal value will be taken of it by the supplying nation in return. To prove that the fact is not so, I cite the memorable instance of the Dacca weavers of India, as stated in Parliament by the distinguished Free Trader, Dr. Bowring:—

"I hold, Sir, in my hand, the correspondence which has taken place between the Governor General of India and the East India Company, on the subject of the Dacca hand-loom weavers. It is a melancholy story of misery so far as they are concerned, and as striking an evidence of the wonderful progress of manufacturing industry in this country. Some years ago, the East India Company annually received of the produce of the looms of India the amount of from six to eight millions of pieces of cotton goods. The demand gradually fell to somewhat more than one million, and has now nearly ceased altogether. In 1800, the United States took from India nearly eight hundred thousand pieces of cottons; in 1830, not four thousand. In 1800, one million of pieces were shipped to Portugal; in 1830, only twenty thousand. Terrible are the accounts of the wretchedness of the poor India weavers, reduced to absolute starvation. And what was the sole cause? The presence of the cheaper English manufacture—the production by the power-loom of the article which these unhappy Hindoos had been used for ages to make by their unimproved and hand-directed shuttles. Sir, it was impossible that they could go on weaving what no one would wear or buy. Numbers of them died of hunger; the remainder were, for the most part transferred to other occupations, principally agricultural. Not to have changed their trade was inevitable starvation. And at this moment, Sir, the Dacca district is supplied

with yarn and cotton cloth from the power-looms of England. The language of the Governor General is:—

" ' European skill and machinery have superseded the produce of India. The court declare, that they are at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in cotton manufactures in both Bengal and Madras, because, through the intervention of power looms, the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and price. Cotton piece-goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus forever lost. The Dacca muslins, celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated, from the same cause. And the present suffering, to numerous classes in India, is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of commerce.' "

Here, you see, are Mr. M'Culloch's conditions made ready to his hand. 1. The people of India were formerly supplied with cotton fabrics from the hand-looms of their own Dacca weavers. 2. They are now supplied with such fabrics much cheaper (that is, at lower money prices) from the power-looms of England. 3. India being a dependency of Great Britain, the goods of the latter enter the former substantially free of duty, and have completely supplanted and ruined the native manufacture. 4. But though this has now existed some thirty years or more, the supplanted Hindoo spinners and weavers *do not* (at least, they certainly *did* not, and their case is not yet materially improved) find employment in new branches of industry created or expanded to provide the means of payment for the British fabrics imported in lieu of their own. 5. That in consequence, 'Terrible are the accounts of the wretchedness of the poor Indian weavers, reduced to the verge of starvation.' [Yes, and many of them beyond it.] And 6. That the evil was by no means confined to the weavers, but that the present suffering of ' numerous classes ' (those whom the Free Traders say Protection would *tax* for the benefit of the weaver) " is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of Commerce."

Here is the Free Traders' theory confronted by a Free Trader's notorious and undeniable facts. Can anything farther be needed to demonstrate the fallacy of the former, so far as it assumes unrestricted competition to be favourable to the interest of Labour?

9. *A Grave Error and its Causes.*

Political Economy is among the latest born of the Sciences. Mainly intent on the horrid game of War, with its various reverses and only less ruinous successes, it is but yesterday that the rulers of the world discovered that they had any duty to perform toward

Industry, other than to interrupt its processes by their insane contentions, to devastate its fields, and ultimately to consume its fruits. And, when the truth did penetrate their scarcely pervious skulls, it came distorted and perverted by the resistance it had met, by selfish and sinister influences, so that it had parted with all its vitality, and was blended with and hardly distinguishable from error. When it began to be dimly discerned that Government had a legitimate duty to perform towards Industry—that the latter might be cherished, improved, extended by the action of the former—legislators at once jumped to the conclusion that all possible legislation upon and interference with Industry must be beneficial. A Frederick the Great finds by experience that the introduction of new arts and industrial processes into his dominions increases the activity, thrift, and prosperity of his People; forthwith he rushes (as Macaulay and the Free Trade economists represent him) into the prohibition of *everything* but coin from abroad, and the production of everything at home, without considering the diversities of soil and climate, or the practicability of her prosecuting to advantage the business so summarily established. The consequence is, of course, a mischievous diversion of Labour from some useful and productive to profitless and unfruitful avocations. But this is not the worst. Some monarch finds himself unable to minister adequately to the extravagance of some new favourite or mistress; so he creates in her favour a Monopoly of the supply and sale of Salt, Coffee, or whatever else is not already monopolized, and styles it a "regulation of trade," to prevent ruinous fluctuations, competitions, and excesses! Thus private ends are subserved under the pretence of public good, and the comforts of the people abridged or withheld to pander to the vices and sustain the lavish prodigality of princes and paramours.

From a contemplation of these abuses, pierced and uncovered by the expanding intelligence of the Eighteenth Century, the Political Economy of the Schools was evolved. In its origin a protest against existing abuses, it shared the common lot of all re-actions, in passing impetuously to an extreme the opposite of the error it went forth to combat. From a scrutiny and criticism of the gross abuses of the power of Government over Industry, it was impelled to the conclusion that no such power properly existed or could be beneficially exercised. Thus the Science became, in the hands of the latest professors of the 'enlightened' school, a simple and sweeping negation—a demand for incessant and universal abolishing—a suicidal science, demonstrating that to do nothing is the acme of governmental wisdom, and King Log the profoundest and greatest of monarchs.

These conclusions would have staggered the founders of the school; and yet it is difficult to resist the evidence offered to show that they are legitimately deduced by their disciples from the premises those founders themselves have laid down.

10. *Basis of Protection.*

There are reasons for hoping that the reaction against a sinister and false regulation of Industry has spent its force, and that the error which denies that any regulation can be beneficent, equally with the fraud which has cloaked schemes of personal aggrandisement under the pretence of guiding Industry aright, will yet cease to exert a controlling influence over the affairs of Nations. Experience, the great corrector of delusive theories, has long since settled this point, that any attempt to grow Coffee in Greenland, or dig Coal from the White Mountains, must prove abortive; that same Experience, it seems most obvious, has by this time established that it *is* wise, it is well, for each nation to draw from its own soil every desirable and necessary product which that soil is as well calculated to produce as any other, and to fabricate within itself all articles of utility or comfort which it may ultimately produce as advantageously—that is, with as little labour—as they can be steadily produced elsewhere. To do this may require fostering legislation at first, to shield the infant branches of Industry against the formidable competition of their adult and muscular rivals, which would otherwise strangle them in the cradle; it may require efficient and steady Protection in after years, to counteract the effect of different standards of money values, and different rates of wages for labour—nay, of the disturbing rivalries and ruinous excesses of mere foreign competition, which often leads to underselling at the door of a rival (especially if that rival be shut out from retaliation by duties on the other side) when living prices are maintained at home. A protected branch of industry—cloth-making, for instance—might thus overthrow an unprotected rival interest in another nation without selling its products at an average price lower than that of the latter. Having its own Home Market secured to it, and unlimited power given it to disturb and derange the markets necessarily relied on by its rival, it would inevitably cripple and destroy that rival, as the mailed and practiced swordsman cuts down in the field of combat the unarmed and defenceless adversary whom fate or fatuity has thrown within his reach.

11. *Protection and Prices.*

Those who profess an inability to see how Protection can benefit the producer if it does not raise the average price of his product, contradict not merely the distates of a uniform experience, but the clearest deductions of reason. The artisan who makes pianofortes, say at three hundred dollars each, having a capricious demand for some twenty or thirty per year, and liable at any time to be thrown out of business by the importation of a cargo of pianofortes—will he produce them cheaper or dearer, think you, if the foreign rivalry is cut off, and he is thence enabled to find a steady market for some twelve instruments per month? Admit that his natural tendency will be to cling to the old price, and thereby secure larger profits—this will be speedily corrected by a home competition, which will increase until the profits are reduced to the average profits of business. It will not be in the power of the Home as it is of the Foreign rival interests to depress his usual prices without depressing their own—to destroy his market yet preserve and even extend theirs—to crush him by means of cheaper labour than he can obtain. If vanquished now, it will be because his capacity is unequal to that of his rivals—not that circumstances inevitably predict and prepare his overthrow. No intelligent man can doubt that Newspapers, for example, are cheaper in this country than they would be if Foreign journals could rival and supplant them here, as Foreign cloths may rival and supplant in our markets the corresponding products of our own country. The rule will very generally hold good, that those articles of home production which cannot be rivalled by importation, are and will be relatively cheaper than those of a different character.

12. *Theory and Practice.*

And here it may be well to speak more directly of the discrepancy between Theory and Practice, which is so often affirmed in connection with our general subject. There are many who think the theory of Free Trade the correct, or at any rate the more plausible one, but who yet maintain, because they know by experience, that it fails practically of securing the good it promises. Hence they rush to the conclusion that a policy may be faultless in theory yet pernicious in practice, than which no idea can be more erroneous and pernicious. A good theory never yet failed to vindicate itself in practical operation—never can fail to do so. A theory can only fail because it is defective, unsound—lacks some of the elements which should have entered into its composition. In other words, the practical working is bad only because the theory is no better.

13. *Cheapness—Real and Nominal.*

Let us consider, for illustration, the fundamental maxim of Free Trade, "Buy where you can buy cheapest." This sounds well and looks plausible. But let us hold it up to the light! What *is* "cheapest?" Is it the smallest sum in coin? No—very far from it; and here is where the theory gives way. We do not as a nation, produce coin—do not practically pay in coin. We pay for products in products, and the real question first to be resolved is, Whence can we obtain the desired fabrics for the smaller aggregate of our products—from the Foreign or the Home manufacturer? Take Woollen Cloths, for instance: we require of them, say One Hundred Millions' worth per annum. Now the point to be considered is not where we could buy most cloths for One Hundred Millions in money, for that we have not to pay; but where our surplus product of Pork, Lumber, Dairy Produce, Sheep, Wool, &c., &c., will buy the required Cloth most advantageously. The nominal or Money price paid for it may be Eighty Millions or One Hundred and Twenty Millions, and yet the larger sum be easier paid than the smaller,—that is, with a smaller amount of our Produce. The relative Money prices do not determine the real question of cheapness at all—they may serve, if implicitly relied on, to blind us to the merits of that question. In the absence of all regulation, the relative Money price will of course determine whether the cloths *shall* be imported or produced at home, but not whether they *should* be.

But this not all. We may obtain a desired product to-day (and fitfully) cheaper abroad, and yet pay more for it in the average than if we produced it steadily at home. The question of the cheapness is not determined by a single transaction, but by many.*

And again: We can not buy to advantage abroad that which, being bought abroad, leaves whole classes of our people to famish at home. For instance, suppose one hundred millions of garments are made by the women of this country yearly, at an average price of twenty-five cents each, and these could be bought abroad for two-thirds of that sum: Would it be wise so to buy them? Free Trade asserts that it would—that all the labour so thrown out of employment would be promptly absorbed in other and more productive occupations. But sad experience, common sense, humanity, say Not so. The truth is very different from this. The industry thus thrown out of its time-worn channels would find or wear others slowly and with great difficulty; meantime the hapless makers, no longer enabled to support themselves by labour, must be supported

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* *Madison's Messages*, 1811–'15–'16.

in idleness. By indirect if not by public charity they must somehow be subsisted; and our citizens will have bought their garments some twenty per cent. lower from abroad, but will be compelled to pay another price for them in charities and poor-rates. Such is the effect of "Buying where we can buy cheapest," in a low, short sighted, miserly Free Trade view of cheapness.

14. *Self-Interest—Public and Private.*

But why, it is asked, should not a nation purchase of others as freely as individuals of the same nation are permitted to trade with each other? Fairly as this question will seem to be put, there is a fatal fallacy lurking beneath its use of the term "nation." A nation *should* always buy where it can (in the long run) "buy cheapest," or most advantageously; where that may be is a question for the nation, through its legal organism, to decide. The query mistakenly assumes that the immediate, apparent interest of each individual purchaser is always identical with the interest of the community, which common sense as well as experience refutes. The lawyer or clergyman in Illinois may obtain his coat of the desired quality cheaper (for less money) from Paris than it can be fabricated in Illinois, yet it by no means follows, that it is the interest of Illinois to purchase her coats or cloths from Europe—quite the contrary is the fact. Nay, it would be easy to show that the real, permanent interest of the lawyer or clergyman himself—certainly of his class—is subserved by legislation which encourages and protects the home producer of those articles, not only because they improve in quality and are reduced in price under such a policy, but because the sources of his own prosperity and income are expanded or dried up as the industry of his own region is employed, its capacities developed, and its sphere of production enlarged and diversified.

15. *The Plough and the Loom should be Neighbours.*

Let us illustrate this truth more fully: The State of Illinois, for example, is primarily grain-growing, producing a surplus of five millions of bushels of Wheat and Indian Corn annually, worth in New York four millions of dollars, and requiring in return ten millions of yards of Cloths of various kinds and qualities, costing in New York a like sum. In the absence of all legislation, she purchases and consumes mainly English cloths, which can be transmitted from Leeds to Chicago in a month, at a cost, including the insurance and interest, of not more than five per cent., and there undersell any Illinois fabricator of cloths equal in quality and finish. Is

it the real, permanent interest of Illinois (disregarding the apparent momentary interest of this or that class of persons in Illinois,) to persist in Free Trade, or, on the other hand, to concur in such legislation as will insure the production of her Cloths mainly at home ? Here is opened the whole question between Free Trade and Protection.

The advocate of Free Trade insists that the solution of the problem lies plain on the surface. The British broadcloth is offered in abundance for three dollars per yard ; the American is charged twenty per cent. higher, and can not be afforded for three dollars. The true course is obvious—" Buy where you can buy cheapest." But the advocate of Protection answers that the real, intrinsic cheapness is not determined by the market price of the rival fabrics in coin—specie not being the chief staple of Illinois, nor produced there at all—*but where may the required Cloth be bought with the smallest amount of her Grain ?* Is not this true ? What avails it to Illinois that she may have Cloth from England twenty per cent. cheaper, if she is, by purchasing her supply there, constrained to sell her Grain at half price or less ? Let us see, then, what is the inevitable fact:

That we can not buy, perpetually, without paying—that in paying for a single article, we must regard, not how much the payment is *called*, but how much it *is*, (that is, the amount of Products absorbed in paying for, or of the Labour expended in producing it)—we assume to be obvious or sufficiently demonstrated. Let us now consider what will be the inevitable cost to Illinois—the *real* cost—of one million yards of broadcloths obtained from England, as compared with the cost of the same cloth produced at home.

The average value of Wheat throughout the world is not far from one dollar per bushel, varying largely, of course, in different localities ; in the heart of a grain-growing region, away from manufactures or navigation, it must fall greatly below that standard ; in other districts, were consumption considerably exceeds production, rendering a resort to importation necessary, the price rises above the average standard. The price at a given point is determined by its proximity to a market for its surplus, or a surplus for its market. Great Britain does not produce as much as will feed her own population ; hence her average price must be governed by the rate at which she can supply her deficiency from abroad ; Illinois produces in excess, and the price there must be governed by the rate at which she can dispose of her surplus, including the cost of its transportation to an adequate market. In other words (all regulation being thrown aside), the price which England must pay must be the price at the most convenient foreign marts of adequate supply,

adding the cost of transportation; while the grain of Illinois will be worth to her its price in the ultimate market of its surplus, less the cost of sending it there.

Now, the grain-growing plains of Poland and Southern Russia, with capabilities of production never yet half explored,—even with Labour cheaper than it ever can or should be in this country—are producing Wheat in the interior at fifty cents a bushel or lower, so that it is ordinarily obtained at Dantzic on the Baltic for ninety cents per bushel, and at Odessa on the Black Sea for eighty, very nearly. With a Free Trade in grain, Britain can be abundantly supplied from Europe alone at a cost not exceeding one dollar and ten cents per bushel; with a competition from America, the average price in her ports would more probably range from one dollar to one dollar and six cents. What, then, is the prospect for Illinois, buying her cloths from Great Britain, and compelled to sell *somewhere* her grain to pay for them?

That she could not sell elsewhere her surplus to such extent as would be necessary, is obvious. The ability of the Eastern States to purchase the produce of her fertile prairies depends on the activity and stability of their manufactures—depends, in short, on the market for their manufactures in the Great West. The markets to which we can resort, in the absence of the English, are limited indeed. In point of fact, the rule will hold substantially good, though trivial exceptions are presented, that IN ORDER TO PURCHASE AND PAY FOR THE MANUFACTURES OF GREAT BRITAIN, ILLINOIS MUST SELL TO THAT COUNTRY THE GREAT BULK OF HER SURPLUS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS.

The rates at which she must *sell* this surplus, we have already seen; the cost of transporting it is easily computed. Seventy-five cents per bushel is considerably below the average cost of transporting wheat from the prairies of Illinois to England; but that may be assumed as a fair average for the next ten years, in view of the improvements being made in the means of transportation. There is then left to the Illinois farmer—to Illinois—thirty cents per bushel as the net proceeds of her surplus wheat, or one million five hundred thousand dollars for the five millions of bushels—purchasing, at three dollars per yard, five hundred thousand yards of broadcloth. This would be the net product under Free Trade.

Now the same inevitable law which depresses the price of wheat in Illinois so far below that prevailing in England, so long as the one is wholly Agricultural, the other predominantly Manufacturing, will as surely raise the price in Illinois SO SOON AND SO FAST AS A SUFFICIENT MARKET FOR HER SURPLUS IS

BROUGHT NEARER TO HER DOORS. Let that surplus be arrested by an adequate market in New England, and its price will rise to fifty cents a bushel; let the supply of her manufactured products be drawn by Illinois from points West of the Alleghanies, and it will rise to seventy-five cents; and, whenever they are mainly produced on her own territory, the price will have advanced to one dollar per bushel. In other words, the net produce of her grain to Illinois will be the average price throughout the world, less the cost of transporting it to the point at which an adequate market for her surplus is attained. There may be casual and special exceptions, but this is the fundamental law.

Now it is evident that, though Illinois may buy her cloths for fewer *dollars* from England, she can buy them with fewer *bushels* of Grain from our own manufactories, and fewer still when the progress of improvement, under a steady and careful Protection to our Industry, shall have established most branches of manufacture on her own soil. She may pay twenty-five per cent. higher nominal prices for her fabrics, and yet obtain them at one-half the actual cost at which she formerly obtained them from abroad. In other words by bringing the producers of Cloth from England to America, and placing them side by side with the producers of Grain, she has effected an enormous SAVING OF LABOUR—of that labour, namely, which was before employed in transporting Grain and Cloth from continent to continent. One hundred thousand grain-growers and cloth-makers produce just as much now as they did with four thousand miles of land and water between them, while they no longer require the services of another hundred thousand persons as boatmen, sailors, shippers, forwarders, &c., to interchange their respective products. These now become producers themselves. By thus diminishing vastly the number of non-producers and adding to that of producers, the aggregate of production is immensely increased, increasing in like measure the dividends of capital and the rewards of labour.

16. *The Object of Protection.*

Such is the process by which wise Protection increases the prosperity of a country, quite apart from its effect in discouraging ruinous fluctuations and competition, whereby thousands of producers are frequently thrown out of employment, and thence out of bread. It is this multiplying and diversifying of the departments of Home Industry, bringing the farmer, the artisan, the manufacturer, into immediate contact with each other, and enabling them to interchange their products without the intervention of several non-

producers, which is justly regarded as the great end of an enlightened and paternal policy. To guard against the changes, fluctuations, depressions, which an unbounded competition and rivalry are sure to induce, is also well worthy of effort; but the primary aim of Protection is to secure a *real* cheapness of production and supply, instead of the nominal, indefinite, deceptive cheapness which Free Trade obtains by looking to the money price only of the staples purchased.

17. *The Need of Protection.*

But why, it is asked, have we need of any legislation on the subject, if the Home Trade and Home Production be so much more beneficial than Foreign? The answer to this question is made obvious by the foregoing illustrations. The *individual* farmer, lawyer, teacher, of Illinois might, with Free Trade, obtain the Foreign fabrics cheaper then the Domestic, escaping, or seeming to escape, the consequent reduction in the price of Domestic staples which we have seen to be the result of a resort to distant countries for the great bulk of desirable fabrics; but *the community* could not escape it. On the other hand, the individual might perceive clearly the true policy to be pursued by all; but how could he effect its adoption except through the action of the Government? The farmer, producing a thousand bushels of Grain, might see clearly that the *general* encouragement of Home Manufactures would build up a Home Market for Grain at a more adequate price; but *his* buying Domestic fabrics instead of Foreign, while importation remained unrestrictep, and the majority purchased abroad, would answer no purpose whatever. It would only condemn him to sell his products for a still smaller return than the meagre one which Free Trade vouchsafed him.

On this point it seems obvious that the inculcations of our leading Political Economists must be revised—the solecisms which they embody have grown too glaring and vital to be longer endured. The distinction between real and merely nominal or money cheapness in marts of supply must be acknowledged and respected, or the flagrant contrarieties of Fact and Theory will impel the practical world to distrust and ultimately to discard the theory and its authors.

18. *Laissez Faire—Let us alone.*

But not less mistaken and short-sighted than the First Commandment of the Free Trade Decalogue—"Buy where you can cheapest"—is the kindred precept, "*Laissez faire*"—"Let us alone." That those who are profiting, amassing wealth and rolling

in luxury, from the proceeds of some craft or vocation gainful to them but perilous and fraught with evil to the common weal, should strive to lift this maxim from the mire of selfishness and heartless indifference to others' woes to the dignity of Statesmanship, is not remarkable; but that any one seriously claiming to think and labour for National or Social well-being, should propound and defend it, this is as amazing as lamentable. Regarded in the light of morality, it cannot stand a moment: it is identical in spirit with the sullen insolence of Cain—'Am I my brother's keeper?' If it be, indeed, a sound maxim, and the self-interest of each individual—himself being the judge—be necessarily identical with the common interest, then it is difficult to determine why Governments should exist at all—why constraint should in any case be put on the action of any rational being. But it needs not that this doctrine of '*Laissez faire*' should be traced to its ultimate results, to show that it is inconsistent with any true idea of the interests of Society or the duties of Government. The Genius of the Nineteenth Century—the expanding Benevolence and all-embracing Sympathy of our age—emphatically repudiate and condemn it. Everywhere is man awaking to a truer and deeper regard for the welfare and worth of his brother. Everywhere it is beginning to be felt that a bare *opportunity* to live unmolested if he can find and appropriate the means of subsistence—as some savages are reported to cast their new-born children into the water, that they may save alive the sturdy who can swim, and leave the weak to perish—is not all that the community owes to its feebler and less fortunate members. It can not have needed the horrible deductions of Malthus, who, admiringly following out the doctrine of '*Laissez faire*' to its natural result, declares that the earth can not afford an adequate subsistence to all human offspring, and that those who can not find food without the aid of the community should be left to starve!—to convince this generation of the radical unsoundness of the premises from which such revolting conclusions can be drawn. Our standard Political Economists may theorize in this direction as dogmatically as they will, modestly pronouncing their own views liberal and enlightened, and all others narrow and absurd; but though they appear to win the suffrages of the subtle Intellect, the great Heart of Humanity refuses to be thus guided—nay, insists on impelling the entire social machinery in an exactly opposite direction. The wide and wider diffusion of a public provision for General Education and for the support of the destitute Poor—inefficient as each may thus far have been, is of itself a striking instance of the triumph of a more benignant principle over that of '*Laissez faire*.' The enquiries, so vigorously and beneficently

prosecuted in our day, into the Moral and Physical, Intellectual and Social condition of the depressed Labouring Classes of Great Britain especially—of her Factory Operatives, Colliers, Miners, Silk Weavers, &c., &c., and the beneficent results which have followed them, abundantly prove that, for Governments no less than Communities, any consistent following of the 'Let us alone' principle, is not merely a criminal direlection from duty—it is henceforth utterly impossible. Governments must be impelled by a profound and wakeful regard for the common interests of the People over whom they exercise authority, or they will not be tolerated. It is not enough that they repress violence and outrage as speedily as they can; this affords no real security, even to those exposed to wrong-doing: they must search out the *causes* of evil, the influences which impel to its perpetration, and labour zealously to effect their removal. They might re-enact the bloody code of Draco, and cover the whole land with fruitful gibbets, yet, with a people destitute of Morality and Bread—nay, destitute of the former alone—they could not prevent the iteration of every crime which a depraved imagination might suggest. That theory of Government which affirms the power to punish, yet in effect denies the right to prevent evil, will be found as defective in its Economical inculcations as in its relations to the Moral and Intellectual wants of Mankind.

19. *The Right of Labour.*

The great principle that the Labourer has a Right of Property in that which constitutes his only means of subsistence, is one which can not be too broadly affirmed nor too earnestly insisted on. 'A man's trade is his estate;' and with what justice shall one-fourth of the community be deprived of their means of subsistence in order that the larger number may fare a little more advantageously? The cavil at the abuse of this principle to obstruct the adoption of all labour-saving machinery, etc., does not touch the vitality of the principle itself. All Property, in a just constituted state, is held subject to the right of Eminent Domain residing in the State itself;—when the public good requires that it should be taken for public uses, the individual right must give way. But suppose it were practicable to introduce to-morrow the products of foreign needle-work, for instance, at such prices as to supplant utterly garments made by our own countrywomen, and thereby deprive them entirely of this resource for a livelihood—would it be *morally right* to do this? Admit that the direct cost of the fabrics required would be considerably less, should we be justified in reducing a

numerous and worthy class, already so meagerly rewarded, to absolute wretchedness and pauperism. It does not seem that an affirmative answer can deliberately proceed from any generous heart.

20. *Loss of Employment not Compensated.*

I am not forgetting that Free Trade asserts that the necessary consequence of such rejection of the Domestic in favour of a cheaper Foreign production would be to benefit our whole People, the displaced workwomen included !—that these would, by inevitable consequence, be absorbed in other and more productive employments. I am only remembering that facts, bold as the Andes and numerous as forest leaves, confront and refute this assumption. To say nothing of the many instances in our own country's experience, where the throwing out of employment of a whole class of our citizens, owing to the overwhelming influx of Foreign fabrics rivalling theirs, has been followed not by an increase but a diminished demand and reward for labour in other avocations, I need but refer to the notorious instance already cited — that of the destruction of the Hand-loom Manufactures of India through the introduction of the cheaper product of the English power-looms. Not only were the Hand-loom Weavers themselves reduced to beggary and starvation by the change—no demand whatever for labour arising to take place of that which had been destroyed—but *other classes* were inevitably involved in their calamity, while none in India realized any perceptible benefit unless, it were a very few ' merchant princes,' who fed and fattened on the misery and starvation of the millions of their doomed countrymen.

21. *Political Action Indispensable.*

And here, as everywhere, it is observable that no *individual* action could have arrested the mighty evil. If every person intelligent enough to perceive the consequences of encouraging the Foreign instead of the Domestic fabric, had early and resolutely resolved never to use any but the latter, and had scrupulously persevered in the course so resolved on, what would it have effected? Nothing. It would have been but a drop in the bucket. But an independent Government of India, with intelligence to understand and virtue to discharge its duties to the people under its protecting care, would have promptly met the Foreign fabric with an import duty sufficient to prevent its general introduction, at the same time prompting, if needful, and lending every aid to the exertions of its

own manufacturers to imitate the labour-saving machinery and processes by which the foreigner was enabled to undersell the home producer of cotton fabrics on the very soil to which the cotton-plant was indigenous, and from which the fibre was gathered for the English market. Such a Government would have perceived that, in the very nature of things, it could not be permanently advantageous to the great working mass of either people that the Cotton should be collected and transported from the plains of India, about twice the diameter of the Globe, to England, there fabricated into cloths, and thence, at some two years' end, be found diffused again over those very plains of India, to clothe its original producers. Obviously, here is an enormous waste of time and labour, to no end of general beneficence—a waste which would be avoided by planting and fostering to perfection the manufacture of the Cotton on the soil where it grew and among the People who produced and must consume it. This policy would be prosecuted in no spirit of envy or hostility to the English manufacture—very far from it—but in perfect conformity to the dictates of universal as well as national well-being. The cost of these two immense voyages, and the commercial complications which they involve, though falling unequally on the Agricultural and manufacturing community respectively, yet fall in some measure on the latter as well as the former; they inevitably diminish the intrinsic reward of labour on either side, and increase the mischances which affect the steadiness of demand for that labour and intercept that reward. Protection, as we have seen in considering the argument of cheapness, must increase the actual reward of both classes of producers, by diminishing the number of non-producers and the amount of their substraction, as such, from the aggregate produced. Yet this is the policy stigmatized by the self-styled and enlightened Political Economists as narrow and partial!—as looking only to local and regardless of general good!

22. *Moral Influences of Protection.*

The moral effects of Protection, as resulting in a more intimate relation and a mere symmetrical proportion between the various departments of Industry, cannot be too strongly insisted on. Capital, under the present system of Society, has a natural tendency to centralization; and the manufacture of all light and costly fabrics, especially if their cheap fabrication involves the employment of considerable capital, is subject to a similar law. With universal Free Trade, those countries which are now foremost in manufactures, especially if they at the same time possess (as is

the case) a preponderance in Capital also, will retain and extend that ascendency for an indefinite period. They will seem to afford the finer fabrics cheaper than they can be elsewhere produced; they will at any rate crush with ease all daring attempts to rival them in the production. That this seeming cheapness will be wholly deceptive, we have already seen, but that is not to our present purpose. The tendency of Free Trade is to confine Agriculture and Manufactures to different spheres; to make of one country or section, a Cotton plantation; of another a Wheat field; of a third a vast Sugar estate; of a fourth an immense Manufactory, &c., &c. One inevitable effect of this is to render the labourer more dependent on the capitalist or employer, than he otherwise would be; to make the subsistence of whole classes depend on the caprices of trade—the endurance of foreign prosperity and the steadiness of foreign tastes. The number of hirelings must be vastly greater under this policy, than that which brings the farmer and manufacturer, the artisan, into immediate vicinage and daily contact with each other, and enables them to interchange their products in good part without invoking the agency of any third party, and generally without being taxed on whatever they consume, to defray the expense of vast transportation and of the infinite complications of trade. A country or extensive district whose product is mainly exported, can rarely or never boast a substantial, intelligent and virtuous Yeomanry: the condition of the labourer is too precarious and dependent—his average reward too meager. It may have wealthy Capitalists and Merchants, but never a numerous middle class, nor a flourishing, increasing proportion of small but independent proprietors. The fluctuations of supply and demand soon reduce all but the few to the dead level of indigence and a precarious dependence on wages for a subsistence, unless prevented by absolute and undisguised slavery.

23. *Its Intellectual Bearings.*

But not alone in its influence on the pecuniary condition and physical comfort of the mass is the state of things produced by Free Trade conducive to their Social degradation. The external influences by which they are visibly surrounded are likewise adverse to their intellectual development and Moral culture. The Industry of a People is, to a far greater extent than has been imagined, an integral and important part of its Education. The child whose infancy is spent amidst the activity of a diversified Industry, who sees the various processes of Agriculture, Manufactures, Arts, in progress all around him, will be drawn out to a clearer and larger

maturity of intellect—a greater fulness of being—will be more certain to discover and adopt his own proper function in life—his sphere of highest possible usefulness—than one whose early years are passed in familiarity with the narrower range of exertion which any one branch of industry can afford. Foreign as this consideration may be to the usual range of Economic Science, it is too vitally important to be disregarded.

24. *Capital, Labour, and Wages.*

I can not assent to the vital proposition, so generally assumed as self-evident by the Free Trade Economists, that the ability to give employment to Labour is always in proportion to the amount of Capital, and that the increase of Capital as compared with Population necessarily leads to an increase of Wages. I will not deny that such *ought to be* the result in a perfect state of Society; that it *is* the result is plainly contradicted by glaring facts. The French Revolution diminished greatly the aggregate of Property in France as compared with its Population, yet the average rewards of Labour were enhanced thereby. The amount of Capital as compared to Population is less in America than England, yet the rewards of Labour are here higher. On the contrary, there are many instances where the Wealth of a People has increased, yet the conditions and rewards of its Labourers, with the demand for Labour, have receded. Political Economy has yet to take to itself a broader field than that of discovering the means whereby the aggregate Wealth of a nation may be increased; it must consider also how its Labour may be most fully and equally rewarded, and by what means the largest proportion of the aggregate increase of wealth and comforts may be secured to those who have produced them.

25. *Conclusion.*

I am not unaware that at present the current of opinion on this subject sets, or seems to set, against me—that the dead fish all float that way. I realize that the great majority of Authors and Professors who treat of the Political Economy are Free Traders—that their writings are admired and commended as liberal, beneficent, and of immutable soundness, while ours of the contrary part are derided as narrow, partial, and impelled by a transient or selfish expediency. I perceive that the paramount tendency of our time is toward Adventure and Speculation—that the great mass of the educated and intellectual are making haste to be rich, and generally by buying and selling other men's labour or its fruits

rather than by labouring assiduously themselves. Commerce and Importation amass fortunes, and enrich the great journals with lucrative advertising, and found professorships, and fashion the public sentiment of the comfortable class with regard to Labour, its position and requirements. I see that the very progress hitherto made in the Useful Arts under the shelter of the Protective Duties, the progress still making by virtue of the impulse thus given, may render the existence of decided and stringent Protection less vitally, obviously necessary than it was in the infancy of our Country and her Industry. Yet I see, too, that we who stand for Protection read, study, and endeavour to understand both sides of the question—are familiar with our adversaries' arguments, have considered them, and think we see why and wherein they are mistaken and inconclusive, while they habitually treat our arguments with studied contempt or with a radical misconception which argues gross ignorance or inattention. I can not doubt that this country is now losing many millions per annum for want of a more efficient and systematic Protection of its Industry, though some articles are really, others partially protected by it, and that our Labour is receiving in the average at least one-eighth less than it would be under a thoroughly Protective Tariff, while hundreds of thousands stand idle and earn nothing whom that Tariff would amply employ and adequately reward. So believing, I can not but hope that time, and discussion, and contemplation, and the cooling down of party asperities, and the progress of events, will work a silent but thorough revolution in our National Councils, and that the adequate and comprehensive Protection of Industry will again be regarded by legislators and people as among the most urgent, essential, and beneficent duties of the Federal Government.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC MEETING OF DELEGATES FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF CANADA, HELD IN THE ST. LAWRENCE HALL, TORONTO, ON WEDNESDAY, THE 14TH OF APRIL, 1858; AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE "ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF CANADIAN INDUSTRY."

The present movement in favour of such a re-adjustment of the Tariff as will afford greater encouragement to Home manufactures, was inaugurated in Upper Canada at a numerous meeting of gentlemen favourable to the object, held at the Rooms of the Board of Arts and Manufactures, in Toronto, on the 24th ult. At that meeting resolutions were passed appointing a Committee to make the necessary arrangement for a General Meeting of Merchants, Manufacturers, and others interested, to be held in Toronto, on the

14th of April, inst. In accordance with these resolutions, the Committee placed themselves in communication with the Tariff Reform Association of Montreal, which has been actively engaged for the last two years in urging the necessity of carrying out the changes here proposed. Circulars were also sent to the principal Manufacturers in all parts of Canada, inviting their co-operation, and a scale of duties submitted for their consideration at the general meeting.

Arrangements were made with the Grand Trunk Railway to convey delegates to and from the meeting, for one fare, with the view of insuring a large attendance from distant parts of the country. Previous to the General Meeting, a preliminary meeting of Delegates was held at the Rooms of the Board of Arts and Manufactures, where the schedules of duties recommended by the Montreal and Toronto Committees were discussed, and the classification of articles embodied in the following Report agreed upon, to be submitted to the meeting.

The General Meeting was largely attended by gentlemen from all parts of the country. Among those present, were Messrs. I. Buchanan, M.P.P.; W. B. Jarvis, Toronto; W. Rodden, Montreal; E. Atwater, Montreal; J. L. Mathewson, Montreal; M. Anderson, London; D. C. Gunn, Hamilton; J. Cummings, Hamilton; D. Smart, Port Hope; D. Crawford, Toronto; T. Brunskill, Toronto; J. M. Williams, Hamilton; W. F. Harris, Montreal; G. Sheppard, Toronto; D. McLeod, Port Hope; R. Hay, Toronto; T. F. Miller, Montreal; R. McKinnon, Caledonia; B. Clark, Hamilton; Rice Lewis, Toronto; J. Buntin, Toronto; C. Brown, Montreal; J. G. Bowes, Toronto; G. P. M. Ball, Louth; J. Helms, Jun., Port Hope; D. F. Jones, Gananoque; John Shaw, Kingston; W. Barber, Georgetown; J. Hilton, Montreal; J. Gartshore, Dundas; A. McNaughten, Newcastle; C. Brent, Port Hope; J. E. Pell, Toronto; C. Garth, Montreal; W. Parkyn, Montreal; C. W. Bangs, Ottawa; Jas. Hickie, Kingston; R. B. Colton, Brockville; R. Colman, Lyn; Jas. Crombie, Galt; A. Drummond, Belleville; J. Keeler, Colborne; A. Buntin, Montreal; John Rankin, Dundas; G. Towner, Merrickville; H. O. Burritt, Ottawa; C. O. Benedict, Niagara; J. C. Pennock, Colborne; R. Patterson, Belleville; M. Bowell, Belleville; James Brown, Belleville; R. Featherstone, Kingston; W. Weir, Toronto; B. Lyman, Montreal; C. Rogers, Port Hope; H. Crae, Port Hope; S. Pellar, Oshawa, J. Jessup, Oshawa; J. Fewster, Oshawa; W. H. Orr, Oshawa: John Treleven, Oshawa; H. A. Massay, Newcastle, &c., &c., &c.

Mr. W. B. Jarvis was called to the Chair, and Mr. W. Weir appointed to act as Secretary.

The Chairman explained the objects of the Meeting, after which the following resolutions were put and carried :—

Moved by Mr. Isaac Buchanan, M.P.P.; seconded by Mr. E. Atwater, of Montreal :

Resolved, That this meeting, composed of merchants, manufacturers, and other friends of Canadian industry, from all parts of the Province, whilst acknowledging the advantages bestowed on the inhabitants of Canada, through the enlightened policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament, permitting Her Majesty's subjects in this portion of the British Dominions to deal with every matter touching their material welfare, cannot shut their eyes to the fact that Canadian legislation hitherto has failed to lay any solid foundation for permanent prosperity in the country.

Moved by Mr. Thomas Brunskill; seconded by Mr. G. P. M. Ball, of Louth :

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the prevailing depression of the trade of the Province is greatly owing to the present tariff being based on erroneous principles, admitting as it does, at low rates of duty, the manufactures of other countries that can be made by a class of labour now in Canada, unfitted for agricultural pursuits, and charging high rates on articles that cannot be produced in the country, thereby preventing the development of the natural resources of the colony, as well as injuring Canada as a field for immigration.

Moved by Mr. W. Rodden, of Montreal; seconded by Mr. D. C. Gunn, of Hamilton :

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, if the Tariff now in force were re-adjusted, and the accompanying Postulates adopted as the principles upon which a scale of duties should be arranged, every class of the community would be materially benefitted by the change, without any reduction in the Revenue arising therefrom ; whilst its immediate effects would be to dissipate the despondency perceptible in every quarter, create a feeling of encouragement to Capitalists on the spot; draw the attention of foreigners to our magnificent resources for Manufacturing, and to the certain improved demand for all kinds of goods made within our boundaries ; cause a spirit of enterprise to spring up among our artisans, and give fresh vigour to our Agricultural and Labouring population, besides instilling additional confidence into the minds of those holding and seeking after our Public Securities—the List of Articles and Duties herewith submitted, being intended as a guide to the General Committee, to be appointed for carrying out of the objects of this Meeting.

POSTULATES.

1. All raw material upon which there is but a small amount of labour expended prior to its importation, and leaving the larger proportion of labour to be performed in Canada, it is considered should be admitted free, or at a duty not to exceed 2½ per cent.

2. All articles entering largely into consumption in this country, and which Canada cannot produce, such as Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Molasses, &c., should not be charged with a high rate of duty, but should be admitted free, or at the lowest possible rate consistent with the requirements of the Revenue.

3. Merchandise in the Dry Goods, Hardware, and Crockery Trades, being articles of luxury or for use, and not likely for some time to be manufactured in this country, and of which some are used to form parts of the goods and wares manufactured in Canada, should be chargeable with a medium rate of duty of about 15 per cent., as at present, or not to exceed 20 per cent., but at the rate of about 10 per cent. below what may be charged on articles coming directly into competition with our own manufactured productions.

4. All manufactures in Wood, Iron, Tin, Brass, Copper, Leather, India Rubber, &c., competing with our industrial products, as more fully specified in the proposed list of articles and duties, now submitted and adopted, should be charged a duty of about 25 per cent., excepting:

* Books, Drawings, &c., which should be charged with a duty of 10 to 15 per cent.

Cottons and Woollens, Cordage, Lines, and Twines, 20 per cent.

Clothing and Wearing Apparel, 30 per cent.

Moved by Mr. D. Smart, of Port Hope; seconded by Mr. John Shaw, of Kingston:

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be embodied in a Petition, to be presented to the different Branches of the Legislature, praying that the subjects referred to therein, be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to the changes proposed in the Tariff taking effect during the present Session.

Moved by Mr. J. E. Pell, of Toronto; seconded by Mr. Murray Anderson, of London:

Resolved, That a General Committee be appointed to carry out the views of this meeting, and that they be instructed to place themselves in communication with the Inspector-General, and the members of both Branches of the Legislature who are favourable to the encouragement of Home Manufactures, with the view of obtaining a speedy remedy for the grievances under which every department of home industry now suffers. The Committee to be composed as follows—five to form a quorum:

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* The Executive Committee has received a memorial against the proposed duty on Books, &c., which will be carefully considered.

Messrs. I. Buchanan. M.P.P.
W. B. Jarvis, Toronto.
W. Rodden, Montreal.
W. Weir, Toronto.
E. Atwater, Montreal.
J. L. Mathewson, Montreal.
M. Anderson, London.
D. C. Gunn, Hamilton.
J. Cummings, Hamilton.
D. Smart, Port Hope.
D. Crawford, Toronto.
T. Brunskill, Toronto.
J. M. Williams, Hamilton.
W. F. Harris, Montreal.
W. Barber, Georgetown.
J. Hilton, Montreal.
J. Gartshore, Dundas.
A. McNaughten, Newcastle.
C. Brent, Port Hope.
J. E. Pell, Toronto.
C. Garth, Montreal,
W. Parkyn, "
C. W. Bangs, Ottawa.
Jas. Hickie, Kingston.
R. B. Colton, Brockville.
R. Colman, Lyn.
Jas. Crombie, Galt.

Messrs. G. Sheppard, Toronto.
D. McLeod, Port Hope.
R. Hay, Toronto.
T. F. Miller, Montreal.
R. McKinnon, Caledonia.
B. Clark, Hamilton.
E. Leonard, London.
J. Buntin, Toronto.
C. Brown, Montreal.
J. G. Bowes, Toronto.
G. P. M. Ball, Louth.
J. Helms, Jun., Port Hope.
D. F. Jones, Gananoque.
John Shaw, Kingston,
A Drummond, Belleville.
J. Keeler, Colborne.
A. Buntin, Montreal.
John Rankin, Dundas.
G. Towner, Merrickville.
H. O. Burritt, Ottawa.
C. O. Benedict, Niagara.
J. C. Pennock, Castleton.
R. Patterson, Belleville.
M. Bowell, Belleville.
James Brown, Belleville.
R. Featherstone, Kingston.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada in Parliament assembled:

The memorial of the undersigned merchants, manufacturers, and others from the various sections of the said Province, assembled in public meeting at Toronto,

Respectfully Sheweth:

That your memorialists desire to call the attention of your Honourable House to the depression which all branches of manufactures and commerce now suffer in the Province, and to the necessity that exists for a consideration of the causes to which this depression is wholly or in part attributable.

That, in the opinion of your memorialists, the difficulties now experienced by all classes of the community, are, in a large degree, the consequence of the unfair competition to which the present tariff of the Province exposes its various branches of industry; and that with a view to the promotion of general prosperity, a re-adjust-

ment of the scale of duties levied upon imports has become an absolute necessity.

That the existing tariff is based upon erroneous principles, inasmuch as it admits, at low rates of duty, the manufactures of other countries, which are thus brought into collision with a class of labour now in Canada not fitted for agricultural pursuits; and charges high rates on articles that cannot be produced within our boundaries.

That apart from the prevailing depression, the present Provincial tariff operates disadvantageously by preventing the influx of capital, which, under due encouragement, would be introduced and applied for the development of our natural resources; and, moreover, to limit the scope of industry as to offer impediments in the way of skill, and largely lessen the attractiveness of Canada as a field for immigration.

That a re-adjustment of the tariff, if governed by principles in themselves just, would materially benefit every class of the community, without in any manner crippling the Customs revenue.

That in the judgment of your memorialists such a re-adjustment should recognize as distinctive principles, the admission, duty free, or at low rates of duty, of raw materials for manufacture not produced in the Province; the admission, free of duty, or at low rates, of articles entering largely into general consumption, and not competing with the natural products of Canada; and the levying of higher duties upon articles entering into competition with articles manufactured, or which, with due encouragement, may be manufactured by our people.

That your memorialists, representing diversified industrial and mercantile interests, and having ample opportunities of ascertaining the wants and convictions of the classes with whom they co-operate, urge upon your Hon. House the expediency, in the change of the tariff sought, of proceeding upon the following positions as guiding points in the work of tariff reform:—

1. All raw material upon which there is but a small amount of labour expended prior to its importation, and leaving the larger proportion of labour to be performed in Canada, it is considered should be admitted free, or at a duty not to exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

2. Articles entering largely into consumption in this country, and which Canada cannot produce, such as Tea, Coffee, raw Sugar, Molasses, &c., should not be charged with a high rate of duty, but should be admitted free, or at the lowest possible rate consistent with the requirements of the Revenue.

3. Merchandise in the Dry Goods, Hardware and Crockery Trades, being articles of luxury or for use, and not likely for some

time to be manufactured in this country, and of which some are used to form parts of the goods and wares manufactured in Canada, should be chargeable with a medium rate of duty of about 15 per cent. as at present, or not to exceed 20 per cent., but at the rate of about 10 per cent. below what may be charged on articles coming directly into competition with our own manufactured products.

4. All manufactures in Wood, Iron, Tin, Brass, Copper, Leather, India Rubber, &c., competing with our industrial products, as more fully specified in the proposed list of articles and duties, now submitted and adopted, should be charged a duty of about 25 per cent., excepting—

Books, Drawings, &c., which should be charged with a duty of 10 to 15 per cent.

Cottons and Woollens, Cordage, Lines, and Twines, with a duty of 20 per cent.

Clothing and Wearing Apparel, with a duty of 30 per cent.

That your memorialists, believing that the immediate effect of a revision of the tariff according to the scale now suggested, will be to mitigate the despondency perceptible in every quarter, to create a feeling of confidence in the minds of resident capitalists, to attract the attention of foreigners to our magnificent manufacturing resources, to stimulate enterprise among our mechanics and artisans, and impart fresh vigour to our agricultural population.

That your memorialists, in conclusion, respectfully pray that your Hon. House will be pleased to give prompt consideration to the whole subject, and adopt without delay such changes as may be found essential to the promotion of the great public interests that are involved, and as to your wisdom may seem meet.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

Signed in behalf of the Meeting.

W. B. JARVIS, Chairman.
ISAAC BUCHANAN.
W. RODDEN.
THOS. BRUNSKILL.
D. C. GUNN.

W. WEIR,
Secretary.

PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN THE PRESENT TARIFF.

CLASSIFICATION OF ARTICLES FOR DUTY.

1st. All Goods, Wares and Merchandise not hereinafter enumerated it is proposed should remain upon the free, 2½, 5 or 15 per cent. lists as at present arranged, in the tariff now in force.

2nd. LIST OF ARTICLES PROPOSED TO BE REMOVED FROM THE LISTS OF GOODS NOW ADMITTED FREE, AT 2½ OR 5 PER CENT. DUTY.

Anchors under 8 cwt.
Alabaster and other Busts,
Boat Hawsers,
Books of all kinds,
Book-Binders' Implements and Tools,
Boiler Plates, punched,
Cables of iron, or Chains made of iron under ¾ in. diameter,
Cordage, lines and twines of all kinds,
Cotton Wick,
Connecting Rods, Frames and Pedestals, Cranks and Straps for Engines,
Copy Books,
Dead Eyes,
Deck Plugs,
Drawings, Engravings, and Prints
Dressed Furs,
Iron Wheels and Axles,
Machinery, all kinds,
Paper, all kinds,
Plough Moulds,
Plaster Casts,
Printers' Ink, Implements, Types and Lithograph Presses,
Roman Cement,
Ropes, Hawsers, and Rigging,
Sheaves,
Sails,
Ship's Blocks,
Spikes,
Telegraph Insulators,
Trunks,
Varnish,
Veneers,
Wheels and Axles.

3rd. LIST OF ARTICLES PROPOSED TO BE PLACED UPON THE FREE LIST, OR AT A DUTY NOT TO EXCEED 2½ PER CENT.

Acids,
Bolting cloths,
Braids for making bonnets and hats,
Brass and Copper Tubes, drawn,
Cork tree or bark of, unmanufactured,
Ebony unmanufactured,
Elephant's teeth, do. and Ivory,
Emery,
Glass, broken,
Gold beaters' Brine-mould and Skins,
Hair, all kinds, unmanufactured,
Iron wire,
Iron pipes or tubes for steam, gas, or water, not cast,
Iron unmanufactured,
Leopard and other skins, raw,
Litharge,
Manilla grass,
Mahogany in the log,
Mercury or quicksilver,
Mohair, unmanufactured,
Moss for beds,
Ratans unmanufactured,
Shafts, wrought iron, 10 inches in diameter and over,
Sea-weed and all other vegetable substances, used for beds and mattrasses
Seedlac,
Sal. Soda,
Soap stocks and stuff,
Stockenette,
Tin, granulated or grain,
Topancion or grass for brush-makers
Willow for making baskets,
Wire of all kinds,
Wire wove, if over 50 inches wide.

4th. LIST OF ARTICLES PROPOSED TO BE PLACED ON THE 25 PER CENT. LIST OF DUTIES.

Adzes,
Agricultural Machines,
Ale,
Anchors under 8 cwt.,
Augers,
Axes,
Axletrees and Boxes,
Baskets,
Belting of Leather or India Rubber,
Bedsteads of Wood or Iron,
Bed Screws,
Beer,
Bellows,
Bell Metal Manufactured,
Bells,
Bottles (Glass), and Vials,
Blacking,
Blacksmiths' Hammers and Sledges,
Blocks for Ships or Vessels,
Boards planed or wrought,
Boiler Plates cut, punched or turned into shape for use,
Boilers or parts thereof,
Bolts, with or without nuts or washers,
Bonnets,
Boots and shoes,
Blank Books, all kinds,
Brass Couplings & Joints of any metal,
Brackets and Pendants for Gas of Tin, Copper or Brass,
Bricks,
Brushes, of all kinds,
Brick Making Machines,
Buck and Leather Mitts, Gloves, and Moccasins,
Cabinet Wares,
Candles of every kind,
Caps " "
Carriages, and Carriage Springs,
Carved work in any material,
Casks, Empty,
Castings of Iron or Brass,
Cement, Roman,
Chairs,
Chandeliers,
Chisels,
Clothes Pins,
Clocks,
Coaches,
Coal Hods,
Cocks, Brass or other,
Collars of Linen, Cotton or Paper,
Combs,
Comfits, Preserved,
Confectionery,
Connecting Rods,
Corn Breakers or Shellers,
Cooking Stoves and Apparatus,
Copper Work,
Corks and manufactures of Cork,
Cranks, wrought or cast-Iron,
Cut Nails, Tacks, Brads, and Sprigs.
Dead-Eyes,
Deck Plugs,
Demijohns,
Drawer-Nobs of Wood,
Doors of Wood or Iron and Gates,
Drawing Knives,
Dust Pans,
Earthenware,
Edge Tools,
Envelopes,
Engines, or parts thereof,
Farming Utensils,
Fanning Machines,
Filters,
Fire Engines,
Flat or Smoothing Irons,
Forge Hammers,
Frames or Pedestals of Engines,
Furniture, Household, Wood or Iron,
Furs and Skins when dressed,
Fur, Manufactures of,
Furnaces,
Gates,
Glass, Coloured,
Glass, Silvered,
Glue,
Gouges,
Gold Leaf,
Gunpowder, all kinds,
Hair, Manufact'd, or worked in any way,
Hames of Wood,
Harness, all kinds,
Hangers, wrought or cast iron,
Hatchets,
Hats,
Harmoniums,
Harrows,
Heating Apparatus,
Hay Knives and Presses,
Hobby Horses,
Hods,
Hoes,
Hinges, Handles, and Bolts of wrought or cast Iron,
Handles of Wood for Tools or Implements,

India-Rubber, Manufactures of,
Ink of any kind,
Iron Castings,
Iron Plough Moulds or Shares,
Iron Screws,
Iron Vessels,
Iron Weights,
Jack Screws,
Kettles, Iron Copper or Brass,
Lead, Manufactures of,
Leather, " "
Looking-Glasses, framed or not,
Locomotives,
Locks of cast-Iron,
Machinery of every description,
Malleable Iron Castings,
Mallets of Wood,
Mantel Pieces of Iron, Marble, Slate and Wood,
Marble Manufactures,
Manufactures of Wood,
Mattrasses,
Mills for Bark or coarse Grain,
Millinery,
Mill Irons Wrought or Cast,
Mill Saws,
Mineral Water,
Mops,
Mouldings, Plain or Ornamented,
Oil, when pressed, refined, or bleached,
Organs,
Patent Medicines,
Pit Saws,
Paper, Labels, Boxes, Music Ruled, Printed, and Cards,
Pianofortes,
Pickles,
Pitch Forks, for Hay and Manure.
Pipes of Cast Iron, Clay, Smoking, Wood and Lead,
Planes and Plane Irons of all kinds,
Ploughs,
Porter,
Prepared Rigging,
Pumps, all kinds,
Putty,
Rakes, Iron, Steel, or Wood,
Railing and Fencing of Iron, cast or wrought,
Reaping Machines,
Railway Chains, wrought or cast,
Railway Cars of all kinds,
Riddles or Sieves of Wire,
Rivets, Brass, Iron, or Copper
Refrigerators,
Robes made up,
Saddles and Bridles,
Saddle Trees,
Safes, all kinds,
Saws, Mill, long and circular, cross cut, Pit and Billet,
Scagliola Work,
Scale Beams and Scales,
Scythes,
Sewing Machines,
Ships' Blocks,
Shafts, Cast Iron,
Shafts, wrought-Iron under 10 in. diam.
Sails made up,
Sheaves,
Shirts,
Shoes of all kinds,
Shovels and Spades,
Sieves of Wire,
Sleighs,
Soaps of all kinds,
Socket Chisels,
Spars,
Spikes,
Spokes,
Springs,
Steam or Sailing Vessels of any kind,
Steam Guages or Whistles,
Stones Wrought,
Stoves and Heating Apparatus,
Tables, Wood or Iron,
Thrashing Machines and Horse Powers,
Traps, Steel, Iron, Wire or Wood,
Trunks,
Varnish, all kinds,
Valves of Brass and other metals,
Waggon and Cart Boxes,
Water Wheels of Iron,
Washers,
Weighing Machines,
Weights, Copper, Lead or Brass,
Wheels and Axles for Locomotives and Cars,
Whips, all kinds,
Wooden Wares,
Zinc, Manufactured.

5th. LIST OF ARTICLES PROPOSED TO BE CHARGED AT THE FOLLOWING RATES.

10 TO 15 PER CENT.

Books, Drawings, Engravings and Etchings,
Lithographs, Music,
Paintings and Prints,

20 PER CENT.

Cotton Manufactures, all except Yarn and Warp,
Woollen Manufactures, all kinds,
Cordage,
Lines and Twines,
Hawsers,
Ropes and Rigging,

30 PER CENT.

Clothing and Wearing Apparel made up or partly made up, of any material.

6th. Teas, Raw Sugars, Coffee, and Molasses, to be reduced to the lowest point the revenue will admit of.

7th. Other articles now paying specific duties, such as Spirits, Cordials, Wines, Tobacco,* &c., &c., might remain as at present, or the duty thereon be increased if necessary.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE NAMED IN THE FOREGOING RESOLUTIONS:

At a Meeting of the General Committee held on the 15th April inst., the following gentleman were appointed an Executive Committee :—Isaac Buchanan, M.P.P.; W. Rodden, Montreal; John Shaw, Kingston; Murray Anderson, London; H. O. Burritt, Ottawa; Robert Hay, Toronto; W. B. Jarvis, Toronto; Thomas Brunskill, Toronto; George Sheppard, Toronto; John E. Pell, Toronto.

It was then moved by Mr. W. Rodden, seconded by Mr. Chas. Garth, and

Resolved, That in the absence of any representative from Quebec, it is out of the power of this Committee to name a gentleman of that city as one of the Executive Committee, therefore the

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* It is recommended in view of the large importation of manufactured Tobacco, and the numerous class of persons in the country acquainted with this branch of industry, to raise the duties on this article with a view to encourage its home manufacture, and thereby furnish employment to a large class of coloured persons who at present find great difficulty in securing profitable and steady employment.

Secretary be authorized to add the name of a gentleman from that city to the Executive Committee, as soon as those interested in this movement shall meet and elect such a representative to act as one of the said Executive Committee.

Moved by Mr. Isaac Buchanan, M.P.P., seconded by Mr. J. L. Mathewson, of Montreal, and

Resolved, That this organization of the friends of Home Industry adopt the general name of the "*Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry*," each member to pay in advance an annual subscription of five dollars.

Mr. W. B. Jarvis was unanimously elected President of the Association, and Mr. W. Weir was appointed Secretary.

A resolution was then adopted instructing the Secretary to issue a circular requesting every City, Town, and Village to organize a society to forward the objects of this Association, and that the Chairmen of such societies be *ex-officio* members of the Association, and that each local society be desired to contribute to the funds of the central committee to support the organization.

INTERVIEW WITH THE INSPECTOR GENERAL.

On the 16th inst., a deputation from the Executive Committee waited by appointment on the Inspector General at the Council Office. The deputation consisted of the following members of the Executive Committee, I. Buchanan, M.P.P.; W. B. Jarvis, W. Rodden, J. E. Pell, and Thos. Brunskill, accompanied by the following gentlemen :—

Hon. Chas. Wilson, M.L.C.	W. Mattice, M.P.P.	C. Garth.
D. A. McDonald, M.P.P.	John Cameron, M.P.P.	W. Weir.
S. Bellingham, M.P.P.	J. H. Pope, M.P.P.	W. Parkyn.
T. M. Daly, M.P.P.	John White, M.P.P.	T. F. Miller.
J. M. Ferres, M.P.P.	J. G. Bowes.	D. C. Gunn, &c., &c.
John Carling, M.P.P.	E. Atwater.	
T. D. McGee, M.P.P.	J. L. Mathewson.	

With the Inspector General were the Premier, and the Hon. Geo. E. Cartier.

Messrs. Jarvis and Rodden having explained the object of the interview, the Inspector General replied, that the Government was disposed to carry out the views of the deputation as far as consistent with the general interests of the country, and the requirements of the Revenue, and that measures would be submitted during the present session, which, if they did not meet their views in all cases, would, he believed, be generally satisfactory.

Several gentlemen present entered into explanations respecting the requirements of their particular branches of trade, and urged

upon the Inspector General, and the other Members of the Government present, the necessity for immediate legislation on this important question. In answer to a question from Mr. McGee, whether the modifications in the tariff to be introduced were likely to meet the views of the gentlemen present, the Inspector General replied, that the tariff would certainly be adjusted with the view of so equalizing the duties, as to place all branches of trade on a more equal footing, and encouraging our home industry.

It is impossible in this place to enter upon a discussion of the measures recommended in this report—they will at once commend themselves to all who are disposed to give them due consideration. It is to be regretted that much misapprehension exists, and much misrepresentation is resorted to, to defeat the objects we have in view. The friends of the movement, it is hoped, will exert themselves in disseminating correct information in their respective neighbourhoods. We ask no increase of taxation, but a change in the mode of levying duties. We desire to admit Tea, Sugar, and Coffee free, as we cannot produce them, and to increase the duty on articles competing with our own industry, thus encouraging the growth of manufactures amongst us, and thereby promoting the best interests of every class in the community.

W. Weir, *Secretary.*

Toronto, 24th April, 1858.

It is particularly requested that parties who have any suggestions to offer, communicate (*post paid*) with the Secretary.

X.

BRITAIN THE EMPIRE AND BRITAIN THE COUNTRY.

"————*Tentanda via est, qua me quoque possim,*
" *Tolere humo.*"—VIRGIL.

" Canada, too, must independently attempt something, must strike out some path, or method, by which she may raise herself from the ground, by which she may rise into celebrity, by which she may soar aloft."

DEDICATED TO HIS CONSTITUENTS,

BY

ISAAC BUCHANAN:

THE OBJECT BEING TO MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR PROVINCIAL POLICY SHOULD BE SIMPLY " A HOME MARKET FOR THE CANADIAN FARMER —THE EMPLOYMENT OF ITS OWN PEOPLE BEING THE FIRST OBJECT OF EVERY COLONY AS WELL AS COUNTRY.

DEDICATION TO HIS CONSTITUENTS, AND A RETIRING ADDRESS, IN WHICH THE WHOLE INTEREST OF THE PROVINCE, AS WELL AS OF THE CITY OF HAMILTON, ARE DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH.

NATIONAL VITALITIES ; OR, BRITAIN THE COUNTRY *VERSUS* BRITAIN THE EMPIRE : THE VITAL POLITICS FOR THE HUSTINGS—A HOME MARKET FOR THE FARMER—A SHORT VIEW OF PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE VITAL, BECAUSE PATRIOTIC, IN EVERY COUNTRY, INDEPENDENTLY OF WHETHER IT IS CALLED A COUNTRY OR A COLONY.

I desire to show what are *National Vitalities in other countries*, by way of showing that countries enjoy an independent prosperity or not, just as they adopt or repudiate the two patriotic principles contended for in this Memorial to my Constituents.

1st. That the fundamental object of a nation is *the independent employment of its own population*—every possible means to this end being used.

2nd. To avoid direct taxation, and all other local disadvantages, which tend to drive away its population, which is its chief wealth, to other countries—the same discontent which leads to emigration, making many bad subjects at home.

"THE SACRIFICE OF THE NATIONAL VITALITIES OF BRITAIN THE EMPIRE."

The late Sir Robert Peel has left us in a condition worse than political chaos, as having robbed us of our principles. EVEN THE PRINCIPLE THAT SELF-PRESERVATION IS THE FIRST LAW OF NATURE HAS BEEN REPUDIATED; and British politics have been reduced into the two original elements of all national politics—the labour-power and the money-power. The labour-power must come to be represented by social economists, or practical men, or patriots, the character of whose legislation will be that it takes the circumstances of our own society into account; the money-power being represented by political economists or cosmopolitan theorists, who would have this country legislate for the world, while they view political science as a system of pure mathematics, or, at best, one for the creation of wealth, without any regard to its distribution. Indeed, to my mind, it never appeared that the permanently important question was, whether it was a right or a wrong thing, *per se*, that Peel did in 1846. His impolicy, however great, appears to me to stand, in relation to his repudiation of moral and constitutional principle, in his outrage on the constituencies (which had placed the power in his hands in 1845 for the very opposite purpose) and otherwise, just as a misfortune does to a crime. * * * * * * *

But the immediate importance of Peel's unprincipled proceeding is what we have chiefly at present to do with, and that arises from the ACT DONE BEING IN ITSELF VITALLY WRONG, as tending to lessen instead of to increase the employment of our masses, at home, at sea, and in the colonies—THUS CONTAINING IN IT THE SEEDS OF REVOLUTION, BOTH AT HOME AND IN OUR FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES, WHETHER DONE CONSTITUTIONALLY OR UNCONSTITUTIONALLY.

I.

THE NECESSITY OF NOT ALLOWING THE IMPORTS OF A COUNTRY TO EXCEED THE EXPORTS, OR IN SHORT, OF KEEPING CONTINUALLY IN SIGHT THE *BALANCE* OF TRADE.

I of course know, says Mr. Buchanan, how much has been said and will continue to be said as to the *theory* of the *Balance of Trade* being long ago exploded. I however, do not talk of the *theory* but the *practice;* and no one can fail at least to feel it to be a great and incontrovertible fact that TO THE EXTENT SPECIE IS

EXPORTED INSTEAD OF AMERICAN PRODUCE, THERE IS OBVIOUSLY A DIMINUTION OF THE DEMAND BY THE FOREIGN TRADE FOR THE PRODUCE OF OUR SOIL AND FORESTS FOR EXPORTATION, AS WELL AS A DIMINUTION OF OUR INTERNAL CIRCULATION, WHOSE BASIS HAS TO THAT EXTENT BEEN SHIPPED AWAY.

THE TWO OBJECTS WHICH I HOPE TO ASSIST BY THIS PUBLICATION, ARE THE VITAL INTERESTS OF EVERY CONSTITUENCY IN THE PROVINCE, AS WELL AS HAMILTON.

These two vital objects are :—*Primarily*,—Through securing full and continuous *employment* for our Provincial population, to create a permanent home market for our Canadian Farmer, *thus keeping the money in the country*, and as means to that end, *to retain our present Customs' duties, and to adopt a system of Provincial Paper Money*, (even if ignorance or timidity should require it to be *secured* by the precious metals.) We must, in fact, adopt and firmly stick to, independently of any English interference whatsoever, the Patriotic Resolution—*That while we in Canada have no wish further to increase our Customs' duties, and while we look to doing away entirely those on Tea, Sugar, and all articles which we do not grow or manufacture, our Provincial policy is not to incur debt for anything we can avoid, and we shall never consent to reduce—otherwise than as a matter of* RECIPROCITY WITH THE UNITED STATES—*the duties on articles which we can grow or manufacture :—Secondarily*, —to put a stop to emigration from the Province, and to encourage immigration.

The foregoing will no doubt be THE VITAL POLITICS AT THE COMING HUSTINGS.

II.

WITH NATIONS AS WITH INDIVIDUALS, IT IS PRACTICALLY THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY, IF NOT BETWEEN HONESTY AND DISHONESTY, TO PAY IN TRADE OR IN COMMODITIES OF WHICH THEY ARE POSSESSED, INSTEAD OF TO PROMISE TO PAY IN HARD CASH, WHICH THEY HAVE NOT AND CANNOT GET.

" All the facts presented by the history of the UNITED STATES," says Carey, " may be adduced in proof of the assertion, that *the country which maintains a policy tending to promote the export of raw materials must have against it a balance of trade requiring the export of the precious metals, and must dispense with their services as measures of value.*"

III.

I HAVE, IN SEASON AND OUT OF SEASON, BEEN ENFORCING FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, AND ESPECIALLY SINCE THE CANADIAN REBELLION OF 1837, UNDER THE STRONG AND INCREASING CONVICTION THAT THE ONLY WAY TO SAVE CANADA TO BRITAIN IS TO SHOW THAT THOUGH A COLONY, SHE HAS ALL THE ADVANTAGES OF A COUNTRY, INDEPENDENTLY LOOKING TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF ITS OWN POPULATION AS THE FIRST QUESTION OF ITS POLITICS.

IV.

MONEY, AS SHOWN ELSEWHERE, OUGHT NOT TO BE A THING LIABLE TO BE SHIPPED AWAY.

It ought to be a thing valuable in our own country, (and which will here buy gold for export, as it will buy coal or iron, at its market price) but not valuable any where else, the object being not only *keep it here*, but *not* to do away with or lessen the interested motive to its continual *circulation at home*.

V.

CANADIANS ARE NO LONGER BLIND TO THE FACT THAT A PATRIOTIC POLICY FOR CANADA CAN BEST BE ATTAINED, AND, INDEED, CAN ONLY BE ATTAINED, BY FIRMLY ADHERING, UNDER EVERY POSSIBLE CIRCUMSTANCE, WHATEVER BE THE RESULT, TO AN INDEPENDENT POLICY IN REGARD TO THE VITAL SUBJECT OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF CANADIANS, AT THE SAME TIME INVITING ALL BRITISH SUBJECTS WHO THINK THAT CANADA HAS SECURED FOR HER POPULATION PECULIAR ADVANTAGES, TO COME HERE AND SHARE THEM WITH US—BECOMING CANADIANS.

VI.

CANADA MUST HAVE A CANADIAN PRICE FOR GOLD AND SILVER, EQUIVALENT TO THE VALUE OF THESE IN CANADA, NOT IN ENGLAND.

And the true way to establish this, is not to fix it *arbitrarily* as is done in England, but allow it to be regulated by the law of supply and demand, the same as all other commodities. *This same thing was proposed by the Directors of the Bank of England, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in* 1819. My strong conviction

of this may be seen in my having in the following speech in December, 1857, proposed that paper should be a Legal tender, EVEN IF THIS COULD ONLY BE EFFECTED BY A SOVEREIGN BEING HELD BY THE BANKS OR GOVERNMENT AGAINST EVERY NOTE THUS ISSUED AS A LEGAL TENDER, OR TO BE HELD BY THE BANKS INSTEAD OF GOLD.

VII.

THE SOLUTION OF THE MONEY QUESTION, AND *VICE VERSA*, A SETTLEMENT OF THE LABOUR QUESTION

VIII.

THE FIRST QUESTION IN THE POLITICS OF CANADA IS THE SECURING OF AN ADDITIONAL OR HOME DEMAND, FOR THE PRODUCE OF THE CANADIAN FARMER.

Our permanent policy would give the Canadian Farmer an additional market, which practically means (although it also means much more) an additional price for his productions. It is not easy to estimate the extent of this advantage, without looking to the effect which additional bidders have at an Auction Sale, in improving the price as well as increasing the amount which actually finds a market.

IX.

LET THE CANADAS BE TAUGHT BY THE SAD EXPERIENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND BY THE MISERABLE INDUSTRIAL UNCERTAINTY EVEN TO THIS DAY IN THAT COUNTRY, THAT A TARIFF ALONE, UNACCOMPANIED BY A PATRIOTIC MONEY LAW, IS NOT SUFFICIENT.

The circumstances of Canada and of the United States, especially as a matter of National Industry, are the same, or very similar. It is to the experience therefore of the United States, as an older *new country*, that Canada must look. And I feel that I cannot close this practical explanation better, than by giving here the details of the unhappy results of the Americans' tampering with their Tariff, (scarcely ever having a sufficiently protective one,) and having no *protection to their national labour by a patriotic Money Law.*

X.

THE AMERICAN TARIFF IS A MORE PROTECTIVE ONE THAN THAT OF CANADA, AND THIS HAS PREVENTED THINGS IN THE UNITED STATES BEING WORSE THAN THEY ARE. THE PICTURE, HOWEVER, WHICH THEY THEMSELVES DRAW OF THEIR INDUSTRIAL POSITION, IS FAR FROM FLATTERING, AND IT NEVER CAN BE ANY BETTER UNDER A HARD MONEY SYSTEM.

XI.

EMINENTLY ARTIFICIAL POSITION OF ENGLAND HERSELF, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HER HARD MONEY SYSTEM, WHICH DEGRADES ALL LABOUR, BRITISH AND COLONIAL.

What then are the NATIONAL VITALITIES necessary for England? As I shall explain in detail hereafter, the *one thing needful in legislation* for her is—SUCH A REVOLUTION IN THE PRINCIPLE OF HER MONEY LAW, AS WILL BASE HER CURRENCY ON HER HOME TRADE OR INTERNAL TRANSACTIONS, instead of on the Foreign Exchanges—in a word ON BRITISH LABOUR, INSTEAD OF FOREIGN GOLD. But the melancholy truth is that, so far as practical patriotism is concerned, England's present miserable statesmen appear like the tenants of a great political grave-yard, who have said to everything vile, thou art my brother—among them there seeming to be no essential difference, but only different degrees of defacement—the spirit of patriotism, or true British feeling, having apparently fled alike from nearly all the influential statesmen of all our parties—one wrapping himself round with personal and class selfishness—feeling that he and his friends are right, and caring nothing though all their neighbours be in helpless and hopeless misery—another, from all that appears to us—loving his place, another priding himself on his hoards of gold, and another his ecclesiastical machinery, which he sacrilegiously calls "The Church," better than he loves his allegiance, his country, and his faith!

In the extremity of England's case, in fact, seems her only hope, just as, in the darkest hour of night, there is an evidence of the approaching dawn,—

"Our forefathers," says Neibuhr, "who sought comfort in proverbs, used to say—When the people's tale of bricks is doubled, Moses is at hand!"

Like Egypt, England also has pyramids of national glory and pride, in her enormous public debt, and in the accumulations of her millionaires, whose colossal greatness IS A TRUE MEASURE

OF THE DEPENDENCE AND SUFFERINGS OF HER MASSES? Peel's Money Bill of 1819, as giving the neck of the country's labour and property to the feet of the Money Power, truly has been and is the badge of worse than Egyptian miseries (for at worst these were imposed only on a population enslaved by the Egyptians,) to England's working classes, and men of fixed property, while his measure of 1846 will be found to be *doubling of the tale of bricks and the withdrawal of the straw*, as the withdrawal of Banking facilities, the moment specie comes to be wanted, as in 1847, for our excessive imports of foreign labour.

It matters not that you may be possessed of qualities or properties which gold cannot buy: you find that these will not buy gold. And gold is made the one thing needful in this world, by the unpatriotic principle of England's money law, which both the United States and Canada have been foolish enough to copy. The great aim of this volume, and of all my former writings, has simply been to get people to THINK on this, to them, most vital point. On the occasion of the enactment of the bill of 1819, Peel's father is related to have said to him, "Robert, Robert, you've doubled your fortune and ruined your country."

XII.

THE OBVIOUS WAY TO RELIEVE ENGLAND FROM HER HARD MONEY SYSTEM IS BY THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATURE MAKING THE BANK OF ENGLAND'S NOTES A LEGAL TENDER TO THE EXTENT OF THE FOURTEEN MILLIONS OF POUNDS WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OWES THE BANK, AND TO THE FARTHER EXTENT OF FOURTEEN MILLIONS, THE AMOUNT BELOW WHICH THE BANK'S STOCK OF SPECIE SHOULD NEVER FALL.

This arrangement, as the only way of doing justice to *labour*, by putting it on a par with *money*, is THE ONLY WAY TO SET AT DEFIANCE ALL BRITAIN'S ENEMIES, EXTERNAL AS WELL AS INTERNAL, the only calculation of the former being on the deleterious existence of the latter—the Political Economists, Free Traders or hard money men—A GENERATION HATED, AS KNOWN NEVER TO HAVE HAD ANY SYMPATHY AT ANY TIME WITH BRITAIN'S SUFFERING MASSES. As a *detail*, when writing on the subject, in England, I used to insist that the Bank of England's capital should be doubled *i. e.*,—raised to twenty-eight millions,—the public holding one half (seeing that after all it is the security of the Government on which the Bank exists) and selling consols to furnish the required capital

of fourteen millions. In this way the public would be saved a large sum in the management of the country's Finance. And, to preserve the Bank from politics, the whole management might remain, as now, with the private stockholders.

The greatest mystery of the age, among the European financiers (says the *Boston Traveller*) is the drain of silver from Europe to Asia, and the disappearance from France and from England of all the immense amount of the gold of Australia and California, which has been carried to those countries. This drain of bullion from the great marts of trade in Europe has continued so long, and takes so great an amount, with as yet no diminution in the flow, that serious fears have been entertained of its deranging the business of Europe, and involving the nations in revolutionary troubles; these being, there, usually the attendants upon financial distress, which, in densely-peopled countries, acts most disastrously upon the condition of the mass of the people. The unexpected and simultaneous discovery, at this late period, of extensive deposits of gold, in the isolated countries lying midway between the civilization of Europe and the barbarism of Asia, as well as the unavailing efforts of the great commercial nations to retain this gold, and its disappearance from the marts of traffic, and diffusion throughout the world, in a manner which can neither be traced nor satisfactorily explained, are doubtless acts in a great drama which is now being performed in the world's history; but neither the magnitude of its power, the extent of its duration, nor the nature of its *finale*, is yet within the ken of human vision.

In corroboration of this the most recent evidence is always the strongest, showing clearly that it may be a question if the evils of the trade of the East to England are to the working classes (and all to whom the going wrong of the money market is destruction) not greater than the benefits, magnificent as are its appearance to the uninitiated, and much as selfish individuals and classes crack it up. Under our hard cash (specie paying) system the India and China Trade certainly involve England at all times in the greatest uncertainty and on occasions, which latterly recur with more and more frequency, the most heart-breaking calamities. And what a fearful responsibility rests with those who have the power to do away with both these results, by simply rendering England independent of the trade in the precious metals which can be done in a moment by making the Bank of England notes a legal tender to the extent the Bank holds gold. So great is the drain of the precious metals to the East under our present suicidal system that England is not more secure against money panics than before the late great discoveries of gold in California and Australia.

If any thing could have made Peel's system work it would have been the large and continuous supplies of gold from unexpected quarters in addition to those known to him; but the secret is told in the following extract from the money article of the *Times* of 13th Nov., 1862.

"Owing to the Indian absorption the present drain of bullion has been of a more extensive and protracted character than any that has been witnessed since the panic of 1857. With two slight exceptions, it has now gone on uninterruptedly for fourteen weeks, until a total diminution has been sustained of £3,022,633, which may probably be further extended by the return to be published to-morrow evening. The last previous outflow of any consequence was in 1860, when there was a falling off during eight consecutive weeks, and an aggregate reduction almost precisely similar to that just witnessed, which led to an advance of the rate of discount from 4 to 6 per cent. In the period which preceded the panic of 1857, the drain was uninterrupted for eighteen weeks, or four weeks longer than has yet been witnessed in the present instance, and the total reduction sustained was £4,576,980, while the rate of discount was carried from 5½ to 10 per cent." [The writer then shows wherein the present demand for the precious metals differs from that of 1860 and 1857, and concludes his observations by remarking, that] "there would apparently be no great reason to expect any further or rapid upward movement in the terms of the Bank *if there were any symptom of a probable pause in the remittances now being made to the East.* Reckoning the £500,000 of bills drawn by the India Council, we seem at present to be transmitting to India at the rate of about three millions sterling per month, and pending the uncertainty as to the point to which these operations will extend, all calculations regarding the future of the money-market must be vague. Enough, however, will be apparent to every observer to indicate a necessity for the exercise of caution."

To the same point is an article in the number of the *Westminster Review*, for January 1864.

"In spite of our troubles in India, and a state of chronic warfare in China, the increase of our trade with the East during the last ten years has been enormous. This, too, may be looked upon as only the beginning of a commerce that must grow to proportions which cannot be estimated. The most important feature, too, of Eastern trade, is the manner in which it absorbs the precious metals. This is a peculiarity so intimately bound up with the social condition of the East that it is likely to last as long as their ignorance and mutual mistrust. Until a system of credit can grow

up among them like that which in Europe dispenses with the use of gold and silver for almost all things but retail transactions and the payment of labour, the East must ever remain a perfect sink for the precious metals. What amount of money would be sufficient to saturate the hoarding propensities of these hundreds of millions of men, who believe in nothing but the little store they know of under some hearthstone or other favourite hiding place? There is no practical limit to the demand of the East for the precious metals, except the industry that they can develop in its acquisition, and that industry is susceptible of indefinite development."

This view is supported by the following extract from a work just published by Dr. Nassau Lees, on the Drain of Silver to the East: —"Will," he says, "the drain of silver to the East continue? After what has been stated above, it is hardly necessary to state that a demand for an increased supply of the precious metals *will* continue; and not only continue for a very long time, but, judging from that future progress of the country which present events foreshadow, the demand will yet be enormous. The experience of America gives us some data on which to found an estimate of what the demands of an intelligent and enterprising people rapidly forming themselves into a great nation, on the precious metals of the world *may* be; and though it cannot be asserted that the circumstances and prospects of India are precisely similar, they are nevertheless such as fully to warrant the above conclusion. Indeed, since 1857, it may be said that India has entered on a career of progress the limits to which no living man can define. Regarding the amount of gold and silver afloat as currency in the various countries of the civilized world there are very conflicting opinions; but estimating the amount of gold and silver calculating as coin in Great Britain—the country in which, perhaps, the greatest economy of the precious metals consistent with the maintenance of proper safeguards is observed—at 80,000,000*l.** and the population at 30,000,000, and estimating the currency of Indiain 1857 at an equal amount†—an estimate I venture to think high—and the population at 180,000,000 it requires but very little calculation to show that India is capable of yet absorbing silver to the amount of 4,000,000,000

* It has been estimated by various authorities at seventy, seventy-five and even ninety millions, and that of France at one hundred and forty millions sterling.

† Mr. Wilson estimated the quantity of coin in circulation in India, in 1860, at 100,000,000*l.*; and though this estimate was based upon very uncertain data —viz., the aggregate of the amounts coined in the preceding twenty-five years —it may not be far wrong.

roupees or 400,000,000*l.* in addition to this amount, for the purposes of currency alone. Nor must it be forgotten that India is able to support a population many millions more numerous than she at present possesses; nor, on the other hand, that England has many means of economizing the use of coin which, in consequence of her immense extent of area, will be denied to India, if not for ever, for many years to come. If, then, it be admitted that there is even a shadow of truth in these estimates, it may not be unreasonable to conclude that there is a possibility—distant it may be, yet still a possibility—of the requirements of India for currency purposes approaching the enormous sum of 500,000,000*l.* in silver coin."

"It is not any fall in the value of silver which has brought about the drain of this metal to the East, but simply the nature of the Indian and Chinese demand for our manufactures, which is very small compared with ours for their productions, but which is immense for silver, which represents to them everything desirable in their conceptions of luxury, comfort, and security."

It seems the most unaccountable fatality that leads the English public to support, or even to tolerate, a system, the cause of such terrible distress after the plainest evidence on this point has from time to time been adduced. It was shown by the evidence before the currency Committee of the Governor of the Bank of England, the precarious position of the Bank of England, on 12th Nov., 1857; that she had on that day only £580,751 of money in hand of which she could legally make use, while she held deposits of £22,500,000; that of the deposits £5,500,000 belonged to London Bankers; and that if only one million pounds of this sum had been demanded, the Bank of England must have stopped. And a Mr. Smith, partner of Beckett & Co., the great Bankers, Leeds, stated, before same Committee of the House of Commons, "that only one mercantile house failed in Leeds at the time of the panic; and yet" he adds "if the treasury letter had not been issued on 12th November, the entire commercial body of that district must have gone to the wall."

XIII.

THE LABOURING MASSES ARE NO LONGER OPEN TO BE HUMBUGGED BY THE SILLY DOCTRINE THAT LABOUR IS A SEPARATE INTEREST. THE WORKING MEN NOW SEE THAT THE ONLY POSSIBLE CAUSE OF INCREASED WAGES, IS INCREASED EMPLOYMENT, WHICH CAN ONLY ARISE FROM IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE EMPLOYERS OF LABOUR, AS CONTRADISTINGUISHED FROM THE EMPLOYERS OF MONEY, SIR J. GRAHAM'S *DRONES OF THE HIVE.*

Mr. Cobden, not to be inconsistent with Political Economy, denies that the price of gold is fixed at all in England! but the working men's distresses having led them into a much better knowledge of the Money Question than is possessed by the middle classes, they now know that the price of gold *is* fixed, seeing that any one can go to the mint and get coin for gold bullion at the rate of £3 17s 10½d per ounce. Mr. Cobden replies that this is merely the government putting their stamp on the sovereign, to attest its fineness and weight, the same as a *bushel measure* for wheat is stamped or regulated by authority. It is clear, however, that the one case is not parallel to the other, as the wheat is only measured, not *priced*, by law. For the gold when stamped, as containing 5 dwts and 3 grains, called a sovereign, you can demand 20s worth of any other commodity, and with it you can liquidate any debt not more than 20s. Law may thus fix the *price* of wheat or gold, although no legislation can supplant the operation of the natural law of supply and demand, which determines all *values*. And if wheat were fixed in price by law, its variations (arising from its being plentiful or scarce) would be driven to express themselves in the increased or decreased price of money. This is exactly what now occurs with gold. THE REDUCTION OF THE STOCK OF GOLD IS, IN A WORD, NOW DISCOVERED BY THE WORKING MEN, TO BE EXPRESSED BY THE RISE IN THE PRICE OR EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF MONEY, AND THE CONSEQUENT RUIN OF THE PROPERTY OTHER THAN MONEY, NO LESS THAN THE INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY. From having long been alive to this, I have always laboured to lead the people at home to turn their minds to a subject so vital to them and their children. I have long seen what the working classes now begin to see, that as a patriotic economist, in a word, *I am an economist of labour and not of price.* I wish to reduce, not to raise, the amount of labour the poor man has to give for a shilling; and I aver that with high prices (as measured in the precious metals) there will be

increased employment. I, in fact, hold that increased remuneration to labour can only arise from increased employment; and that so certainly must high prices flow from increased employment that if the Peel-Cobden, or *irreciprocal*, free trade could possibly fulfil the false promises its advocates have made, the necessary consequence would just be the blowing to the winds of their unpatriotic and inhuman theory of "cheapness!" As a patriotic economist I say, that WHAT IS TRUE ECONOMY, TO THOSE WHO HAVE MONEY TO DISPOSE OF, IS THE VERY REVERSE TO THOSE WHO HAVE LABOUR TO DISPOSE OF.

XIV.

POLITICAL ECONOMY, OR A FREE TRADE AND HARD MONEY SYSTEM, THE CONTRARY PRINCIPLE TO THAT OF EMPIRE, OR EVEN OF COUNTRY.

I have always seen, and explained, that Political Economy is not sympathized with, and that Free Trade in England was *not* asked for nor carried, by the working classes, who, it is pretended, are the parties benefitted! But, as my time and space are so limited, I shall dispatch this point, by quoting the subsequent admission of one of the most influential Free Trade writers, Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymer.

"It is remarkable (writes Elliott) that Free Trade has been carried by the Middle Classes, not only without the assistance of the Working Classes but in spite of their opposition."

I am well aware that it can be said that the working classes gave an *ex post facto* assent, by electing a Free Trade Parliament, but I reply, that they were in too *artificial* a position to do anything, but give Free Trade, when consummated, (even although it was only free Imports,) a fair trial. It may also be said, that the trial has been *successful*. To this I emphatically reply, that nothing but the providential discovery of California, gave us the ghost of a chance of preventing the precipitate opening of the ports being so *fatally unsuccessful*, as to cause a Revolution in 1848 in England, not from want of loyalty, but from *want of employment;* and that even this great breakwater would not have availed, had not that Providence, which has so often, so specially, interposed to prevent England's overthrow, introduced in Australia another furnisher of immense *unanticipated* supplies of British gold.

I have also known and explained that the Political Economists, without exception, all dreaded Democratic Legislation as sure to be

Patriotic, which is a convertible term with *Protectionist*. In my answer to the Metropolitan Trades in England, dated 7th May, 1850, I shewed this by the following and many other quotations from the Political Economists:

"In Mr. Senior's *Mercantile Theory of Wealth* we have the following evidence of the Political Economists being aware that protection to native industry is popular, and *would be the rule* under universal suffrage:—'If the unhappy prejudices that now exist on this subject should continue, and if the *extension of representative government should increase the power of public opinion*, over the policy of nations, I fear that commerce may not long be enabled to retain even that degree of freedom that she now enjoys.' 'I have perfect reliance on the knowledge and good intentions of our present Ministers—but very little on the knowledge possessed by the country at large.' And if Ministers are unsupported by the country at large—if each class, in turn, is to be permitted a complete or a partial monopoly, and bribed by this sacrifice of the general and permanent interest [Query?—the *interest* of the annuitants and tax-eaters, whom Sir James Graham calls 'the *drones* of the hive,' I. B.] of the public to its own partial and immediate advantage, to allow others to clamour for the power to exercise a similar oppression—if Ministers are not aided by the public voice in their struggles against individual rapacity—we shall tread backwards with greater rapidity, the few steps which we have so laboriously gained. In a representative government, where each individual may proclaim, in their uttermost exaggeration, his sufferings and his fears, where the power arbitrarily to do good is chained by the same fetters which restrain the power arbitrarily to do evil—where, in short, *public opinion is omnipotent*, and is, on these subjects, so ill-informed, and therefore so easily misunderstood,—there appears at first sight, no limit to the extent to which individual interest, popular prejudice, and national jealousy, might next carry the system of exclusion."

XV.

SIR R. PEEL OVERLOOKED THE GREAT FACT OF OUR HAVING COLONIES WHEN HE PROPOSED FREE TRADE—FREE TRADE AND COLONIES BEING THINGS INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER.

RAPID ALIENATION OF THE COLONISTS OR DEADENING OF THE EXTREMITIES OF THE EMPIRE.

"The *petit maitre* statesmen of the present day, are throwing up those noble countries, called the British Colonies, with the same

nonchalance as they departed from the noble maxims called British principles. TO THE COUNTRIES AND THE PRINCIPLES ALLUDED TO, THERE IS THE SAME MORAL CERTAINTY OF A GLORIOUS RESURRECTION; BUT WHETHER THIS SHALL OCCUR BEFORE OR AFTER THESE HAVE BEEN DRIVEN, WITH STARVING FAMILIES AND WITH HEAVY HEARTS, TO TAKE REFUGE UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG, DEPENDS ON HOW LONG THE NATIONAL DELUSION SHALL CONTINUE THAT HOLDS UP SUCH MEN AS PEEL, GLADSTONE, AND LORD GREY."

Perhaps no where,—wrote Mr. Buchanan in England, at the Free Trade Era,—has the truth as to the misgovernment of the Colonies been more fearlessly stated than in the late numbers of *Tait's* Edinburgh Magazine:

"The influence," says *Tait*, "that retains the British people together must be strong, to resist in years of successive and violent temptations to separate. THE DESIGN OF CASTING OFF THE COLONIES IS NOW OPENLY AVOWED BY THE SUBORDINATES OF THE GOVERNMENT; but if ever their superiors propose a bill for that purpose in Parliament, they will learn that they have completely miscalculated the temper of the people. The Ministry will not follow that plain path.

* * * * * * *

The colonies are in danger. The empire is parting. We are in the progress downwards, and commence our second millenium, as Anglo-Saxons, with bad prospects, unless our policy be decisively and rapidly changed."

The Colonial Office making itself the medium of the renewed insults of Sheffield, is just a renewal of its insulting course towards the Colonies.

XVI.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE NATIONAL VITALITIES OF BRITAIN THE EMPIRE—NO NATIONAL BENEFIT TO BRITAIN THE COUNTRY, BUT ONLY TO ILLEGITIMATE CLASSES OF MIDDLE-MEN—THE TRUE REMEDIES BEING THE DECENTRALIZATION OF BRITISH MANUFACTURES, AND THE RESTORATION OF BRITISH PATRIOTISM AND PARTY GOVERNMENT, BY MINISTRIES AND OPPOSITIONS, THE EMBODIMENTS OF DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLES—NOT MERE CONSPIRACIES OF MEN—MEN BANDED TOGETHER NOT BY ANY COMMON PRINCIPLE, BUT BY A COMMON WANT OF ALL PRINCIPLE IN THE PATRIOTIC SENSE.

To me it has long been clear that, whether wilfully or not, Peel

and Grey have, between them, as nearly as possible, broken up the British Empire. At all the different stages of the Free Trade Mania, I have seen its certain results; firstly, in our ceasing to be an Empire; and secondly, in OUR BEING INVOLVED IN REVOLUTION, FROM WANT OF EMPLOYMENT, IN BRITAIN; and I have not flinched from what I consider the duty of declaring that Peel and Grey, with Cobden and others, are in the opinion of the Colonists, MERE POLITICAL CUT-THROATS.

The Sacrifice of Britain the Empire! How much is involved in this, the colonists can already tell, but not better than the working classes in England will hereafter be able from their own bitter experience to tell. It is the omnipotence of Parliament over the omnipotence of principle. It is the revolting tyranny of a *class-interest* which has become omnipotent at the seat of the Empire, and from the intermeddling of these Political Economists, whom we neither fear nor respect, the colonists must be relieved, if the Empire is to retain her colonies. But strange to say, the Colonial Office at *their* instigation, has not refused to remonstrate with the Canadian Government lately, in a spirit not a whit better than that which caused the revolt of the old colonies, just when it was beginning to be hoped that England was about to join all the world in exclaiming, in regard to her *so-called* Free Trade, "O, Freedom, what crimes have been committed in thy name!"—or, as Lord Byron otherwise expresses it:

> "But France got drunk with blood to vomit crime,
> And fatal have her Saturnalia been
> To Freedom's cause, in every age and clime."

Now, however, that things have been brought to this, England will practically find out that Canada has long ago determined no longer to lay herself open to the bitter but *just* taunt of a celebrated American writer—a taunt which was more applicable to the British American Colonies when made, ten years ago, than it is now:

"THE MAN WHO, IN CANADA, SHOULD UNDERTAKE TO ESTABLISH A WORK OF ALMOST ANY DESCRIPTION, WOULD INEVITABLY BE RUINED BY THE PERPETUAL FLUCTUATIONS OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM. But a few months since the prices of cotton cloths were high. Now, the mills are closed, and a single town exhibits twelve hundred houses unoccupied. The cotton manufacturer of Canada would be ruined. Three years since, the price of iron was low, because Peers would permit few railroads to be made. Now, it is high, because they have permitted of roads innumerable.

A month hence, railroad building may stop, and then the world would be flooded with iron, and the Colonial manufacturer would be ruined. Against such revulsions, the product of a system that is to the last degree unsound, the people of the British Provinces have no protection. The Ministers of England are omnipotent; the Parliament of England is omnipotent; and the Bank of England is omnipotent."

In this, the sacred cause of our families, and against the theoretical, cut-throat *freedom* attempted to be imposed on us by England's political economists, every good man and every patriot in Canada will be found joined hand in hand—

"*Clann nan Gaidheil'n gualibh a cheile.*"

"Sons of Highlanders, shoulder to shoulder and back to back."

For the last six years, the farmer of Canada has been entirely supported by American money, which he gets under *the Reciprocity Treaty with the U. S.* Is this, I would ask, a position for a British Colony to be in? Parties out of America reading this, may ask—why the United States market for wheat is better than the Canadian? I answer, because there is a manufacturing population there. And no more practically loyal politics therefore, were ever held than mine, viz: to attract a manufacturing population, and, as a consequence, that same market for the farmer of Canada amongst ourselves, which we value as the peculiar advantage which the United States have over Canada. But for American money however (*which in* 1846 *we had no reason to expect, even if there were now every certainty of the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty—the channel through which it flows to us,*) we should have found ourselves as a Colony, in the disastrous circumstances, political and otherwise, which Lord Cathcart, our then Governor-General, pointed out in his well-known Despatch, of 28th January, 1846, to the British Ministry, when it was insanely bent on its Free Trade Heresy.

XVII.

THE CANADIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY—A PLEA FOR ITS EXTENSION.

XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

AN AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN NOT ONLY THE TRUE POLICY FOR THE WORKING CLASSES OF CANADA BUT FOR THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY ALSO.

The principle of decentralizing the manufactures of the Empire is A PRINCIPLE WHICH WOULD SECURE FOR THE EMPIRE AN ENORMOUS ADDITIONAL TRADE AND INFLUENCE. Through the instrumentality of some one or other of her dependencies (which might be called England in America, England in Australia, England in India, &c., &c.,) she could secure Free Trade for all her mechanics that chose to go to those favoured localities, with countries that could never agree to Free Trade direct with England, without giving a death blow to their comparatively comfortable populations. For instance, England could never get Free Trade with the United States in manufactured goods, but no doubt the United States would be prepared to extend the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, thus throwing down all interior Custom Houses between Canada and the United States; which done, the Englishman, by coming to Canada, and manufacturing his goods at our endless water power, will be able to save the 40 per cent. charged on the same goods going direct from England to the United States, a custom's duty to which the Americans are *patriotically* about to add ten per cent.; and hundreds of mill-owners now in uneasy circumstances in England, would, under such an arrangement, immediately transfer to Canada their machinery and hands to the infinite benefit of the population thus removed, and the aggrandizement of the Empire.

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The Money Power of England *versus* the Labour Power of England, and of the world—her hard money system being the deepest conspiracy the world ever saw against industry—dear money and cheap prices and wages convertible terms—so that every Philanthropist must sympathize with the late speaker in Hyde Park, who said, "If Political Economy is against us, then we are against Political Economy."

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Is the Government of Canada, like the Government of England, to be allowed to abdicate all its functions except that of a mere Police? An exposure of the following Sophisms of the Political Economists, viz., that Government should let things alone, *laissez faire*, *laissez passer;* that a return to the Protective Policy will never be; that to raise the Wages of Labour is to impair the Fund out of which Wages are paid.

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G.

Extracts from the works of the celebrated French economist, Jean Baptiste Say, explaining the disastrous consequences and mistaken policy of Peel's Money Bill of 1819.

Cours complet d'Economie Politique Pratique. Chap. xvi., pp. 61-69, vol. iii., 1828.

I.

A History of England's Early Legal Tender Money, showing the origin of Exchequer Bills.—By Jonathan Duncan, on the Currency.

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Some remarks on the national debt—a national debt owned by a people themselves, need not be an evil—it being the hard money system that has alone made it so in England.

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Q.

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X.

PEEL, GLADSTONE, COBDEN *et hoc genus omne.* Peel overlooked the fact of our having Colonies, when he proposed Free Trade---Free Trade and Colonies being things incompatible with each other. Peel's vital error of giving no consideration to the Colonies in 1846, redeemed temporarily by Lord Elgin, having succeeded in getting the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. Mr. Gladstone's withdrawal of the remaining differential duties in favour of Canadian timber in 1860. Mr. Gladstone's Anglo-Gallican Budget---and Mr. Cobden outwitted by Louis Napoleon, who well knows that the absence of defences around her national employment, and not the absence of Defences around her coast, is England's weak point.

Y.

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Z.

The increase of the Exports and Imports of England, caused by Free Trade, no criterion of its having a beneficial influence on England. The increase only proves the triumph of two class interests of middle-men---viz., The Foreign merchant, and those who manufacture for Foreign markets.

THE FOLLOWING IS EVIDENCE OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS KNOWING THAT DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION WOULD BE PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION, AND WE HAVE PLENTY OF EVIDENCE THAT THE ORIGINAL ECONOMISTS IN FRANCE WERE ALSO WELL AWARE OF THIS.

"The foregoing observations on the general aim of the *Economical System*, refer solely (as must appear evident to those who have perused them with attention) to the doctrines it contains on the article of *Political Economy*. The THEORY OF GOVERNMENT which it inculcates is of the most dangerous tendency; RECOMMENDING, IN STRONG AND UNQUALIFIED TERMS, AN UNMIXED DESPOTISM, AND REPROBATING ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHECKS on the Sovereign authority. Many English writers indeed, with an almost incredible ignorance of the works which they have presumed to censure, have spoken of them as if they encouraged POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF A VERY DIFFERENT COMPLEXION; but the truth is that the disciples of QUESNAI (without a single exception) carried their ZEAL FOR THE POWER OF THE MONARCH, and what they called the UNITY OF LEGISLATION, to so extravagant a length, as TO TREAT WITH CONTEMPT THOSE MIXED ESTABLISHMENTS WHICH ALLOW ANY SHARE WHATEVER OF LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE. On the one hand, the evidence of this system appeared to its partisans so complete and irresistible, that they flattered themselves monarchs would soon see, with an intuitive conviction, the identity of their own interests with those of the nations they are called to govern; and, on the other hand, they contended THAT IT IS ONLY UNDER THE STRONG AND STEADY GOVERNMENT OF A RACE OF HEREDITARY PRINCES, UNDISTRACTED BY THE PREJUDICES AND LOCAL INTERESTS WHICH WARP THE DELIBERATIONS OF POPULAR ASSEMBLIES, that a gradual and systematic approach can be made to the perfection of law and policy. The very first of QUESNAI'S maxims states, as a fundamental principle, that SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, UNRESTRAINED BY ANY CONSTITUTIONAL CHECKS OR BALANCES, SHOULD BE LODGED IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE PERSON; and the same doctrine is maintained by all his followers: by none of them more explicitly than by MERCIER DE LA RIVIERE, whose Treatise on 'THE NATURAL AND ESSENTIAL ORDER OF POLITICAL SOCIETIES,' might have been expected to attract some notice in this country, from the praise which Mr. Smith has bestowed on the perspicuity of his style, and the distinctness of his arrangement." This is a note in page 197

of *Dugald Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, (1837 edition); and if we want confirmation of the views here explained, we find them in Mon. Dupont's work, *Sur l' Origine et Progrès d'un Nouvelle Science:* this writer states—in the following words—HEREDITARY MONARCHY as actually necessary to the good government of a country; strange doctrine this, when we remember the sort of Hereditary Monarchies they have on the continent. "*Monarchie héréditaire*, pour que tous les intérêts présents et futurs du dépositaire de l'autorité souveraine, soient, intimement liés avec ceux de la société par le partage proportionnel du *produit net*."

The following from Hunt's *New York Merchants' Magazine* will show how different the republican views in America are from the above.

"The Protective System originated with the mother country, and was interwoven even with our Colonial existence. When, therefore, we separated from Great Britain, we adopted the same policy, and turned that system, which England had employed for her special benefit, to our own account. This system has grown up with us, and is essential to our very independence as a nation. We might as well dispense with our fleets and our armies, recal our foreign ministers and consuls, annul all treaties with foreign powers, and repeal all laws in relation to navigation and commerce, as yield the principle of protection to our own industry against the policy of other nations. We might, in fact, as well give up our national existence, as yield the great principle on which that existence is founded, and without which our independence could not be maintained. Labour is the great source of wealth and prosperity; and that system of policy which stimulates industry, and gives to the labourer the reward of his toil, is best adapted to the wants of the country.

"The protective system is purely democratic in its tendency. It fosters industry, and enables the poor man, who has no capital but his own labour, no surplus but what is found in his own sinews, to require a competency to support and educate his family. It is designed not for the few but for the many; and though it will be productive of the common good, its peculiar blessings will fall upon the labouring classes. But there is a sort of looseness in the phrase "Free Trade," which renders this discussion embarrassing. The advocates of this doctrine do not tell us with sufficient precision what they mean by the phrase. If they mean that we should take off all restrictions from commerce, whether other nations do or not, it is one thing; but if they mean that we should do it towards those nations which will reciprocate the favour, it is quite another thing. But the phrase must imply a trade which is mutually beneficial, or

it must not. If it does not imply a trade that is mutually unrestricted and mutually beneficial, that is a good reason for rejecting it. I have not made sufficient proficiency in the science of political non-resistance to advocate a system of trade which enriches other nations by impoverishing us. I cannot consent to open our ports duty free to those nations which throw every embarrassment in the way of our commerce. My political creed does not require me to love other nations better than my own. But if free trade implies a trade mutually advantageous, I am willing to adopt it; but this can never be done by taking off all commercial restrictions. If the trade is to be mutually beneficial, it must not only imply a reciprocity in commercial relations but a SIMILARITY IN CONDITION. Let the pleasing but delusive doctrines of free trade obtain in our land—let that policy under which we have grown up and prospered be abandoned, and let us open our ports to the fabrics of those nations whose hardy labourers can obtain but a shilling a-day, and board themselves, and it requires no spirit of prophecy to predict the embarrassment and distress which would ensue. Being dependent upon other nations for many of the comforts of life, and at the same time deprived of a market for our produce, we should be compelled to toil for a mere pittance, and should, like Tantaius in the fable, perish in the midst of agricultural plenty.

"We will give a brief statement of the price of wages, as gathered from that report:—Average prices per week of the handloom weavers in Europe, including the weavers of silk, cotton, linen and woollen, in all their varieties, exclusive of board—Great Britain, 8s per week; France, 7s do.; Switzerland, 5s 7d do.; Belgium, 6s do.; Austria, 3s do.; Saxony, 2s 1d.—These are the average prices given for adult male labourers, female labour being from 30 to 80 per cent. less. Here is a picture of foreign labour in 1840. But, low as these prices are, it appears by a report to Parliament in 1841, that the prices had fallen at least 10 to 12 per cent. from the preceding year. The wealth of a nation consists principally in the labour of its citizens; and as a general thing, there can be no surer test of national prosperity than the price that labour will command. Above all, we are in favour of the protective system, because it promotes the interests of the labourers of the country. This, after all, is the interest which requires most protection. The poor man, the labourer, who has no capital but his ability to toil—to such a one a prostration of business is absolute ruin.

"We say, in conclusion, that Congress not only possesses the power to lay protective duties, but the good of the country demands the exercise of this power. So thought the 'father of his

country'—so thought the patriots and sages of the revolution. And shall the mere theorists of this day, with their refined closet dreams, lead us from the paths which our fathers have trod, and which experience has shown us to be paths of wisdom and prosperity? Every feeling of national honour, every dictate of patriotism, every interest in the country, cries out against it."

THE NECESSITY OF AN AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN BECOMING APPARENT FOR THE SAFETY OF THE HOME OR BRITISH POPULATION.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR THE WORKING CLASSES?

(*From the Annan Observer of 4th February.*)

Parliament meets to-day, and great things may depend on its first proceeding. A change of Ministry is not an improbable event. The firmness of the Premier and the position of Denmark render it indeed highly probable. Who are to succeed the present men? Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli? Great and deserved as their fame is in wars of words, are they the men for the present emergency? Have they a policy—a policy that will at once commend itself to the masses of half-starved working men in the manufacturing districts, now far advanced in their second, and many in their third year of pauperism and parish relief, with prospects of worse coming better? Have they a policy to benefit even the agricultural laborers, and keep them from flooding out of England and Scotland as they are doing out of Ireland? If they have, let them declare it; if they have not let them stand aside. In that case they can do good neither to the indoor workers or the outdoor workers, nor to the country at large. They may consider themselves bound in honor, by pledges given more than six years since, to abstain from following their better judgment. If so, let their conscientious scruples be respected; but let them make way for men not unhappily pledged as they are. Surely if such men are rightly sought for they will be found.

Old Toryism is palsied—hopelessly so. Whigism is much the same—hopefully so. Radicalism waits only the capture of the Dannewerke, and the apotheosis from Downing street of Lord Palmerston to bring forth "reforms" in litters—base whelps of Birmingham, Rochdale, or Manchester kennels—abolition of primogeniture, abolition of entails, abolition of the law of hypothec, abolition first of church rates, then of church. As for peerage and royalty, such as they are, treat them according to circumstances—the one may be made as harmless as the other. Before all other yells, however, let there be a great extension of the franchise, if that be thought compatible with the supremacy of the powers that really be, and rule those that only seem to be; otherwise a smaller extension of the franchise; but in either case an extension specially directed against present landed interests—an extension professedly liberating the people, but in reality binding them with tighter and more subtile chains.

Reform, extension of the franchise, &c., &c., captivating phrases, but impotent to procure the big loaf which Free Trade promised to get, but failed in getting. Yet they will be listened to again, if real benefits are not offered to the people in their stead.

Thanks to Free Trade, old Toryism, or even old Conservatism, is now impossible. True Conservatism must outbid Radicalism—must offer to honest industry palpable benefits instead of plausible but lying promises.

What has true Conservative statesmanship got to offer to the workmen who are willing to work? One thing—which is worth ten times all the nostrums that Radicalism ever has offered or can offer, were they all realized and made the law of the land—viz., the opening of the British colonies as fields of all kinds of honest industry. And that is the sole policy by which the workmen, agricultural and manufacturing, can be peaceably elevated from their present notoriously downtrodden state. Radical statesmen won't offer that. They can't. It goes against their Confession of Faith in what has been called "the gospel of enlightened selfishness." It would make what they call their hands really free, which is the very last thing they would like to see. Ay, but will it not make the agricultural workman really free too? And how will landlords and farmers like that? It will make these workmen free too, and some—let us hope not all, or even a majority—of the landlords and farmers may think such liberty excessive, and quietly argue that it is not desirable for the sake of the working people themselves;—as the masters, manufacturers, and the merchants, and the bankers, and moneyed men, or the bulk of them, together with all their organs of the press, will loudly and fiercely argue that it would ruin the

poor operatives, whom they have pitied so much and praised so much for their noble patience, and consoled so much with hopes of the good times coming. Coming!—these have been coming any time these two years—and yet are they not as far off as they seemed two years ago?—nay, farther, for is it not now nothing but Surat! Surat! Surat!—nothing but the detested Surat!—and not enough of that for the operatives to work at and prevent sinking themselves deeper in debt?

BUT IS NOT THE FIELD OF THE BRITISH COLONIES REALLY OPEN BOTH TO MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL WORKMEN? If not, where is the obstacle? The obstacle has always had a fine name; formerly it was called Protection, now it is called Free Trade; but under the former name it was, and under the present name it is, a stringent monopoly. And it was to strengthen this monopoly, to extend and entail the divorcement of manufactures from agriculture in the colonies, and to render more sure and expeditious the transference of land in British from the territorial classes to the moneyed and manufacturing millionaires, that the permanent and universal-peace-insuring and the big-loaf-procuring policy of Free Trade was invented, to bring upon the operatives and the people at large the strong delusion in which they believe, and under which they, in two senses, lie.

In conclusion for the present, Conservation in England, to succeed to place and hold it, needs to encourage Conservatism in the colonies,—needs to encourage the mariage of agriculture with manufactures there—which can be done only in one way—the way by which alone such marriage has anywhere been consummated—viz., by protection to manufactures—colonial protection. And that, to be effective, must be large.

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ERRATA:

On page 152, in argument of Article IX, seventh line, instead of "loyalty" read *disloyalty*.

On page 217, fourteenth line, instead of "1837" read "1847."

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NATIONAL UNTHRIFT;

OR,

The Cup of British Prosperity

AS IT UNFORTUNATELY IS.

"Actum est de Republica"—"The Empire is in Danger."



NATIONAL ECONOMY;

OR,

The Cup of British Prosperity

AS IT OUGHT TO BE!

"Res Secundæ"—"The Empire out of Danger."



DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE FIRST illustration shows the cup of Britain's prosperity to be a TANTALUS' CUP and the same thing is equally true of the United States and Canada, except so far as this is modified by their more patriotic Tariffs. Put into it, what you will, our prosperity cannot possibly rise above a certain point, at which it escapes by a WASTE-PIPE. The moment that prosperity raises the price of British labour over the low-fixed price of gold, (about £4 the ounce) away goes the gold, THE CAUSE OF THIS PROSPERITY, AS being the CHEAPEST ARTICLE IN THE EXPORT MARKET! and even when not annoyed by an export of gold, on account of the higher prices of goods—(which is surely bad enough, for it is surely a most inhuman system under which PROSPERITY IS THE NECESSARY MOTHER OR CAUSE OF ADVERSITY) Britain encounters the still greater evil of having her internal and colonial prosperity interfered with by continual drains by Foreign loans, and by India (India having always been the GRAVE OF BRITISH TREASURE), for which there is no immediate return to the country. It is obvious that to the extent that Gold goes abroad in payment of goods, the demand for the Country's labor, AND CONSEQUENTLY THE PRICE THEREOF, is lessened. And if it is an injurious thing for the Country's labor that Gold should go abroad in payment of SOMETHING which is, or may be, a comparative advantage to the mass of the people, how much worse that it should be given away for NOTHING, which in any way benefits British Industry.

But—as is shown in the SECOND illustration—there should be no WASTE-PIPE in the cup of Britain's prosperity, and India and Foreign countries should not have it open to them to introduce their syphons into our national cup, but ONLY IN THE DEPOSITORIES OF ITS OVERFLOW. To leave it open to them to do as at present, is to leave it open to Foreign producers to prey upon the nation's vitals. It is to take our children's bread and to cast it to the dogs. Our gold should be retained AS MONEY, or as a basis or security of money, for the purpose of our own people generally, till it completely fills and overflows our own national cup, and then, and not till then, should it become available as an exportable commodity, for MONEY IS A THING CREATED FOR THE INTERNAL TRADE ALONE, and should only be so used. This can only be done by the use by us of an EMBLAMATIC or paper money, which will be of no use beyond our own country; and in these pages various modes of establishing this have been pointed out—one of which may be better suited to one state of circumstances and another to a different state of circumstances. There is evidently, however, no necessity to wait till a more economical system than the present be proposed. The boon of paper money to the masses, to business, and to Banks, can be attained, and the independence of the country's prosperity can be attained, even although by our new system NO DIRECT GAIN IS MEANTIME MADE; *i. e.*, although paper money is not made for the

present a legal tender to a greater extent than the mere amount of the gold in the vaults of the issuer, the banks or governments, specially held for the security of such paper money.

The object of these Illustrations, and the following explanations, is simply to endeavor to get Members of Parliament, as well as their constituents, to ask themselves whether it was the intention of the country in establishing Banks, and in establishing a paper circulation to make these the mere handmaids of the Foreign Trade! There was a day in the Province when those Banks and that circulation did not exist. And was it then the intention of the people, in applying for these to the Legislature, that the result should only be to increase Foreign Trade, or, more properly, to increase the importation of Foreign labor, thus BEGGARING THE PROVINCE? So far from this being the people's object, it was the result which of all others it was the interest of the province to avoid. It is clear, then, that though they have been the best possible Institutions, and their paper circulation the most undoubtedly safe to the holder, the Banks have not realized the higher object which it is the interest of the Province, as well as their own interest, they should subserve. They have been little more than Exchange Brokers, and they could not possibly have been any thing else. For what purpose then, it may be asked, was the establishment of Banks and of a paper circulating medium demanded by the people? The purpose of the people in increased circulation, could only be INCREASED EMPLOYMENT TO CANADIANS. They had been told that THE MORE MONEY, THERE WOULD BE THE MORE DEMAND FOR CANADIAN LABOR, and (as a necessary consequence of more BIDDERS) a greater price for it. It was, however, concealed from them that this law of supply and demand had already IN FACT been violated in the admission of the principle of the money law of Canada, in existence before the Banks were created, so that FIRTSLY, the Canadian Banks' notes cannot safely be advanced, except to parties who can sooner or later produce something convertible into Foreign Exchange—and, SECONDLY, the increased demand (that apparently greater blessing to the producer) IS NOT ALLOWED TO SHED ITS BENIGN INFLUENCE IN RAISING THE PRICES EVEN OF COMMODITIES FITTED FOR EXPORTATION; for the Foreign or Export Merchant, always having it in his power to exchange his Bank notes for gold near the price it will fetch abroad, will not of course take wheat or other Canadian exportable commodity at any higher price; and indeed from this price has to be deducted a margin to save him from the contingencies of markets, besides the freights and charges to the foreign market. THIS PERPETUAL INCLINATION TO THE BAREST RAW MATERIAL PRICES FOR OUR EXPORTS IS, as I have fully explained in the following pages, A VERY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION FOR THE CANADIAN FARMER, and the more so as while this is the highest price he will get, THERE IS NO CERTAINTY THAT HE WILL EVEN GET THIS PRICE FOR HIS PRODUCE, unless he goes to the trouble of himself sending it to the foreign market.—[From "*Britain the Country* versus *Britain the Empire*, by *Isaac Buchanan, Esq., M.P., Hamilton.*]

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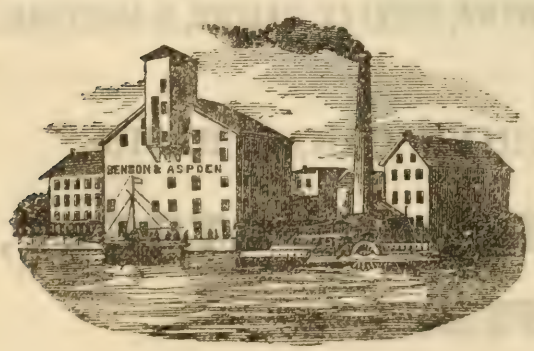
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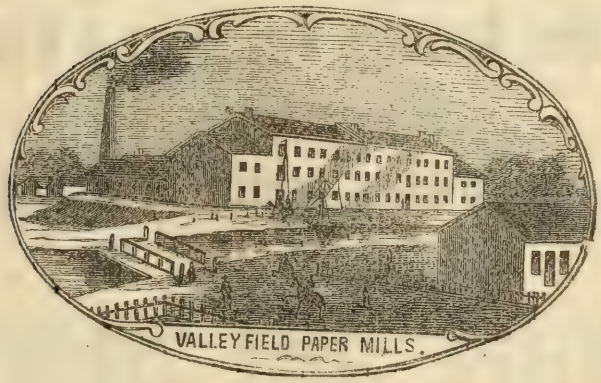
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From the Montreal Gazette of October 23, 1863.

Mr. Lovell's School Books.

We find in the Halifax *Morning Journal* of October 12th the short article which we subjoin. We are glad to notice the statements contained in it. They prove that the labors of our enterprising Montreal publisher are appreciated as they deserve to be in the Sister Provinces:

"On Thursday last, Mr. McGRATH, the intelligent Agent "of Lovell, the great publisher of Montreal, Canada, ap- "peared before the Provincial Teachers' Association, then in "session at Windsor, for the purpose of explaining the ad- "vantages possessed by the series of Lovell's School Books "over those now in use in the Provinces; which he did in so "clear, concise, and able a manner, that a vote of thanks to "him was proposed and passed by the assembled Teachers. "A Committee has been appointed to prepare a list of school "books for general use, to be submitted to Rev. Dr. Forrester, "Superintendent of Education, for approval; to be again "approved of by the Legislature; and from a cursory "examination of Lovell's Series, we hope to see a large portion "of it officially authorized for general use in the schools of "our Province."

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HAVING long felt the necessity existing for a SERIES OF EDUCATIONAL WORKS, prepared and expressly adapted for our COLONIAL SCHOOLS, the Publisher was induced to attempt the supply of this want. His efforts thus far have been crowned with success; his books having been most generally welcomed in the Schools, and most favorably noticed by the Press, of British North America.

LOVELL'S GENERAL GEOGRAPHY has met with entire success, having been already introduced into almost every School throughout British North America. The General Geography, however, being considered too far advanced for *young beginners*, a new and elementary work has been prepared, entitled, EASY LESSONS IN GENERAL GEOGRAPHY. This book is intended as introductory to the General Geography; and a reference to the accompanying "Opinions" will show how fully it meets the object aimed at.

He takes great pleasure in calling attention to the following list of the SCHOOL BOOKS already issued by him; and to which he will add, from time to time, such new works as may be of use to the youth of the Provinces.

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2. EASY LESSONS IN GENERAL GEOGRAPHY, with Maps and Illustrations; being introductory to Lovell's General Geography. By J. George Hodgins, LL.B., F.R.G.S.
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I have much pleasure in saying that I conceive it to be compiled with much care and judgment; at the same time the admirable engravings and maps add greatly to its value, and make it in my opinion the best school Geography I have ever met with.—*T. Sterry Hunt, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.*

As regards the manner in which the different subjects have been treated, I consider it all that can be desired.—*Archibald Hall, M.D., L.R.C.S.E.*

The editorial department has been carried out with a talent and perseverance worthy of the highest encomiums, and has left nothing to be desired. As an educational book of the first class, I feel confident that it will supersede any work on the same subject at present in use.—*Charles Smallwood, M.D., LL.D.*

I believe that the Geography will prove a boon to the country, and will have a most happy effect in training the youth of the British provinces to right views of the great extent of their country, and of the variety of its resources, and will largely contribute to the development of a national sentiment.—*Alexander Morris, M.P.P.*

I trust that the enterprise and zeal which you have shown in thus providing a work more particularly adapted to the Canadian stand-point, though by no means confined to it, will meet with the success that it merits.—*Colonel Wilmot.*

Mr. Hodgins and you have, in this volume, made a very valuable addition to our series of school books, and I have no doubt that your enterprise will be appreciated by every friend of education.—*Benjamin Workman, M.D.*

A mon avis il devra surpasser l'attente tant dans son ensemble que dans ses détails, de ceux qui désiraient voir remplir la lacune qui existait pour la langue anglaise au moins, dans les livres à l'usage des écoles.—*Etienne Parent, Assistant Provincial Secretary East.*

J'y ai admiré l'ordre et l'arrangement des matières comme de leurs lucides et classiques dispositions, qui accusent de savantes recherches et d'heureuses combinaisons.—*Joseph G. Barthe.*

Je ne hasarde rien, en disant qu'il n'y a pas, en géographie de volume qui pour un prix aussi modique, offre la réunion d'un aussi grand nombre de actions pratiques.—*P. R. Lafrenaye.*

I think your Geography better adapted for schools than any one I have seen used in the province, and just you may succeed in getting it generally introduced.—*Andrew Robertson.*

The sections relating to the North American provinces are peculiarly valuable, on account of their furnishing, in a condensed form, authentic particulars heretofore not to be found in any school Geography.—*Alpheus Todd, Librarian to the Legislative Assembly.*

I cannot wish you better success than your excellent work so richly merits; and I trust the people of Canada, at least, will show their appreciation of it by a general adoption.—*Dunbar Ross.*

It was high time we should have a school Geography which would give due prominence to our own and the other colonies, as yours does.—*Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, M.P.P.*

It is just what I have been hoping to see in Canada for many years; and I hope its general adoption in the schools of both sections of the province will remunerate you for your outlay in getting it up.—*John S. Hanborn.*

It seems to me to be a very excellent school book, and just what we wanted to make us independent as to the American Geographies.—*G. W. Wicksteed, Law Clerk, Legislative Assembly.*

A great improvement upon the books on the same subject now generally used in this province.—*Frederick Griffin, Q.C.*

Destined very shortly to supersede most of the Geographies now in use in British North America.—*T. A. Gibson, First Assistant Master, High School, Montreal.*

Such a work has long been needed in this country.—*Professor Hicks, McGill Normal School.*

It is an excellent work, and I have no doubt will soon supersede all other Geographies in the schools of Canada.—*Charles Nichols, L.R.C.P., Principal of Collegiate School.*

Its general plan is good.—*Dr. Lawson, Queen's College, Kingston.*

Having looked over the American part of Lovell's General Geography, I consider it better adapted for our colonial schools than any Geography now in use.—*John Connor, Principal Niagara Common School.*

I am delighted to find that such a work is in an advanced state, and, to show my entire approbation of the work, I shall be ready on its publication, if authorized by the Board of Council of Education, to take at least 30 copies, thus supplying each boy in the Grammar School under my charge with a copy.—*H. N. Phillips, Principal, Niagara Senior County Grammar School.*

I feel sure its use in our schools will be acceptable to the teachers, and beneficial to the pupils.—*John Simpson, M.P.P.*

I have no hesitation in saying that the work must come into general use in our Schools.—*William Tassie, M.A., Principal of the Galt Grammar School.*

The prominence given to *our own country* is a feature that specially commends it for use in Canadian schools.—*Rotus Parmalee, Inspector of Schools in the Eastern Townships.*

It represents immense labour loyally bestowed, and high aims patriotically advanced. We must cherish and appreciate a work which has been so carefully adapted to our tastes, and suited to our wants.—*Fennings Taylor, Clerk Assistant, Legislative Council.*

The whole work is marked by learning, ability, and taste.—*Archibald Macallum, Principal of the Hamilton Central School.*

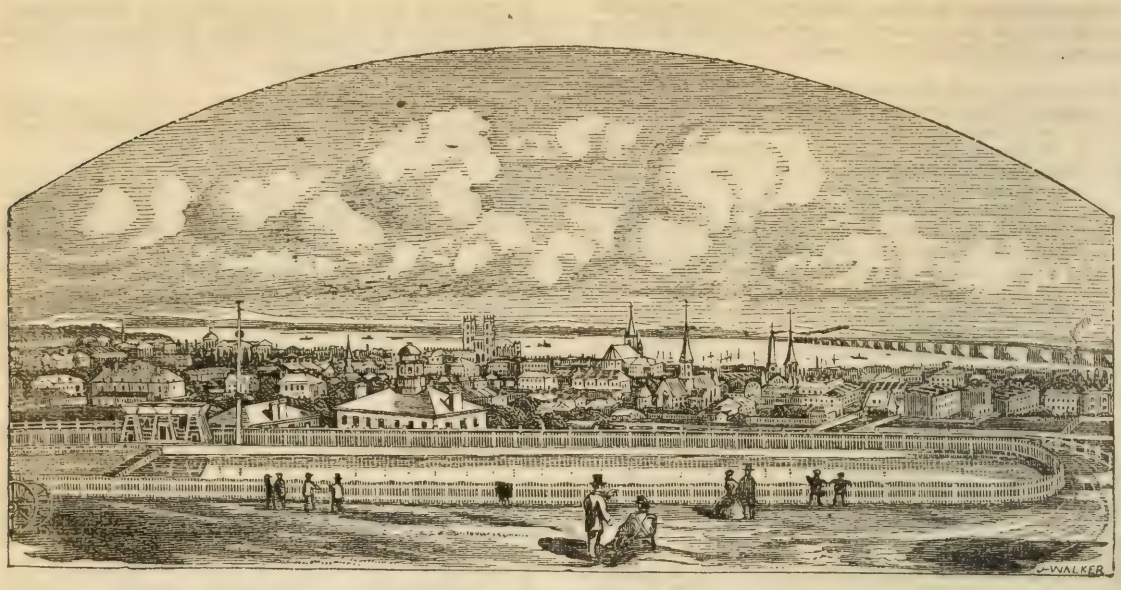
I have great pleasure in assuring you that in my humble judgment, your General Geography appears to be so judicious in its arrangements and order, so lucid in its definitions and descriptions,—combining copiousness of information with brevity and simplicity, yet clearness and even elegance of expression,—that I cannot for a moment doubt that the work in question will prove of the greatest utility in our schools.—*R. S. M. Bouchette.*

I have no hesitation in saying that I think the work an excellent one, both in plan and execution, and well fitted to supply a place which I have understood to be void among school books.—*Thomas M. Taylor.*

I have much pleasure in stating that I have never seen a work better adapted for the use of educational intitutions.—*Richard Nettle, Superintendent of Fisheries for Lower Canada.*

I feel much interested in its appearance, and I accord to it my unqualified approbation.—*John Smith, Head Master of the High School, St. John, C. E.*

That your General Geography, with maps and illustrations, will have the tendency to advance the important objects which it proposes is unquestionable. It is intelligent, practical, and highly interesting.—*Thos. Worthington.*



CITY OF MONTREAL.

Extracts from Opinions of the Canadian Press on Lovell's General Geography.

We have now a Geography whence our young people will acquire a correct idea of the country they live in, and which will assert in the face of the world our right to consideration and respect.—*Montreal Herald.*

We think Mr. Hodgins has succeeded in compiling a Geography, which is not only a great improvement on all that have been hitherto in use in our schools, but is as nearly perfect as is possible in a Geography for *general* use.—*Montreal Gazette.*

There is, with respect to every portion of the Globe, a mass of information, collected in a form so compressed and yet so full, as really seems incomprehensible.—*Montreal Transcript.*

This is the most important work which has yet issued from the Canadian Press, as it is the best.—*Commercial Advertiser, Montreal.*

This is a very valuable work, which we warmly commend to the notice of teachers and all persons engaged in the task of education.—*True Witness, Montreal.*

C'est, croyons-nous, la Géographie la plus complète que nous ayons eue jusqu'ici; nous nous permettrons donc de la recommander fortement aux maisons d'éducation.—*L'Ordre, Montréal.*

Merely to say that Mr. Hodgins, the able and accomplished author of the volume, has executed his work well, is, we think, but paying him a poor compliment. He has undertaken and discharged a duty which we think few could have achieved with equal success.—*British American Journal, Montreal.*

This work supplies a want long felt in our schools. As a manual of Geography it seems to leave nothing further to be desired.—*Echo, Montreal.*

We think the rising generation in these provinces should have a geographical text-book for themselves, giving a true history and correct description compatible with their political and social importance, and such a text-book we have in that now before us.—*Canada Temperance Advocate, Montreal.*

We have no hesitation in pronouncing it, in every respect, the *best* Geography for Schools that we have yet seen. It *must* come into *universal use* in Canada, and therefore the sooner it is introduced into schools the better.—*Christian Guardian, Toronto.*

No work of the kind could be more complete.—*Toronto Daily Leader.*

We are very much pleased with this work, which we have examined carefully. The maps are accurate and well engraved, the typography is excellent, and the whole execution of the work highly creditable to Canadian enterprise.—*Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine, Toronto.*

Highly creditable to Canadian enterprise, it contains a vast amount of information suitable to a General Geography; while it has no rival in the detailed and accurate knowledge it affords of the extent and resources of the British American provinces.—*Canadian Independent, Toronto.*

We consider this Geography far superior, especially for Canadian schools, in many respects, to any similar work heretofore available to the public in this country, and we are surprised to see it sold for only one dollar.—*Canadian Agriculturist, Toronto.*

It is correct and most explicit with regard to every portion of the Globe.—*Hamilton Daily Spectator.*

We have carefully examined the contents, and can safely recommend it to the favorable consideration of the public as a very valuable addition to Canadian school books.—*Toronto Evening Journal.*

The introductory chapter, on Mathematical, Physical, and Political Geography, is a manual of concise simplicity, which will at the outset enlist the approbation of the thinking teacher.—*Home Journal, Toronto.*

Such a work was needed in the British provinces, and we feel proud that we now have one every way worthy of the country.—*Canada Christian Advocate, Hamilton.*

The information is derived from the most approved sources, and is arranged in a manner so systematic as to afford the greatest facility for both teacher and scholar.—*Quebec Gazette.*

Ce que M. Lovell vient d'accomplir est un très grand effort pour le Canada.—*Journal de Québec.*

It is exceedingly well got up.—*Kingston Daily British Whig.*

In Canada, we feel assured, it will find its way into every household.—*Kingston Daily News.*

"Lovell's General Geography" is the very thing that is required for our schools—most ably and correctly got up, handsomely printed, and, in a national point of view, it is a boon to the country.—*Herald and Advertiser, Kingston.*

It is a valuable contribution to the cause of education.—*London Daily Free Press.*

We trust to see it adopted in our schools, in preference to those generally imported from the United States.—*Daily Prototype, London.*

To Canadians this is an invaluable work, as it is the only Geography that has ever done justice to Canada and the other British Provinces.—*Belleville Intelligencer.*

One of the most useful works ever issued from the Canadian press.—*Ottawa Gazette.*

We rejoice in the appearance of this new and excellent compendium of Geography.—*Cobourg Star.*

It is the most complete and interesting work of the kind ever published.—*Cobourg Sentinel.*

We have no hesitation in recommending it to the favorable notice of teachers and friends of education generally.—*Cobourg Sun.*

The arrangement of the varied contents, for conciseness, is admirable.—*Conservative Messenger, Prescott.*

We hope that it may, as soon as practicable, be adopted uniformly in all our schools. — *Hastings Chronicle, Belleville.*

We feel warranted in extending to it the fullest recommendation. We hope to see this new work at once introduced into all our schools.—*Peterborough Review.*

We heartily commend the book to those engaged in education, and hope that the Council of Public Instruction will authorize it to be used as a text-book in our public schools.—*Freeholder, Cornwall.*

We can at once pronounce the Geography the most correct—certainly the best adapted for school use—we have ever seen; and we hope soon to see it on every school desk in the country.—*Examiner, Peterborough.*

We unhesitatingly pronounce it the best for the use of Canadian schools. We hope to see this work well patronized.—*Port Hope Messenger.*

We have examined it carefully, and find that it is superior to any Geography now in use.—*Perth Courier.*

Mr. Lovell has conferred upon the people of British North America a lasting obligation, by furnishing them with a school Geography especially adapted to their local wants.—*Sherbrooke Gazette.*

From an examination of the work, we should think it well adapted as a text-book for schools in Canada.—*Stanstead Journal.*

We consider the Geography one of the best extant; and hope it may soon supersede, in the schools throughout the Province, the use of all similar publications.—*St. Johns News.*

Lovell's General Geography is Canadian wonder. In fact, it is just such a manual as we would wish to see introduced into every school in Canada.—*Richmond Guardian.*

Cette Géographie est destinée à rendre un grand service à l'éducation primaire des enfants.—*Courier de St. Hyacinthe.*

Nous espérons que M. Lovell recevra, par la vente de cet utile ouvrage, tout l'encouragement qu'il mérite à si juste titre.—*Gazette de Sorel.*

Cette Géographie sera d'une grande utilité dans toutes les écoles élémentaires et rendra l'étude de cette science facile et agréable. — *L'Ere Nouvelle, Three Rivers.*

The work is certainly one of inestimable value.—*Whitby Press.*

No other Geography contains such a store of information respecting the British North American possessions, and none other does equal justice to the territorial extent and boundaries of the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.—*Huntingdon Herald.*

Altogether we consider this Geography one of the best extant, and hope it will soon supersede, in the schools throughout the Province, the use of all similar publications.—*Advertiser, Waterloo.*

Mr. Lovell has done much towards advancing the educational interests of the country, but we question whether any of his former efforts equals this one in importance or excellence. We sincerely hope this work will be introduced into all our schools at an early day.—*Eastern Townships Gazette, Granby.*

It is full of valuable information, is beautifully printed, elegantly illustrated, and is well worth the small price claimed for it,—one dollar.—*Niagara Mail.*

It ought to have the patronage of all the Boards of Education; and thousands of adults would receive a great amount of instruction by obtaining a copy. As a book of reference it is invaluable.—*Windsor Herald.*

While it by no means neglects the Geography of the other countries of the world, that of Canada occupies the most prominent position.—*Paris Star.*

After a careful inspection of this Canadian work, we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be a valuable boon conferred upon the youth of the British American Provinces.—*British Constitution, Fergus.*

Its plan and arrangement are both admirable, and, while it has the recommendation of brevity, it is a full and complete geographical work. In these respects, as well as in mechanical execution and literary ability, it excels all works of the kind hitherto produced.—*Whitby Chronicle.*

It is the most valuable and comprehensive work of the kind, for the use of schools, that could be put into the hands of our students. It must at once become a standard school book.—*Whitby Watchman.*

Mr. Hodgins has conferred no small boon on the youth of the British American provinces, by the publication of this very excellent school manual of Geography. We cannot doubt but Lovell's Geography will speedily supersede Morse's in all our public schools.—*Guelph Herald.*

It appears, from the opportunity we have had of examining it, to be the result of a great deal of labor and expense. We trust the enterprising publisher will receive that cordial support to which the merit of his publication entitles him.—*Guelph Advertiser.*

It is with no small pride we announce the fact that a General Geography of the World, with a fair proportion of its contents devoted to a description of Canada, has been published. It becomes the duty of those at the head of our educational concerns—superintendents, teachers and trustees—to encourage this new work.—*Times, Woodstock.*

This is a Canadian work, and is published in a style which would do no discredit to the first nations of the world.—*Dumfries Reformer, Galt.*

It is really a credit to the province. We feel sure that our teachers, and others having charge of schools, will cause it to be used almost exclusively in the educational establishments of the country.—*Evening Journal, St. Catherines.*

Heretofore Canadian children have been compelled to study a *foreign* Geography, in which our noble country was not represented as it is, so minutely and truthfully, in the work before us.—*York Herald, Richmond Hill.*

Mr. Hodgins' work is free from dwarfing the interests of any people, but large attention is given where most needed, to Canada and the sister colonies.—*Argus, Chatham.*

It meets a want which nothing has hitherto supplied, and we are convinced that it will work its way into the houses as well as the schools of our land.—*Weekly Dispatch, St. Thomas.*

This is a very beautiful and useful Geography, just issued at the low price of one dollar.—*Grand River Sachem, Caledonia.*

We may safely predict its being adopted as a text-book in all the schools and colleges throughout the province.—*Gananoque Reporter.*

It is the best Geography published, and we can conscientiously recommend it to the attention of teachers of schools in Canada.—*Maple Leaf, Sandwich.*

It is the best publication of the kind ever issued.—*Omemee Warder.*

We highly commend this Geography, being excellent beyond all competitors.—*Cayuga Sentinel.*

Not only as an exhibition of Canadian literary progress, but as a beautiful and appropriate sample of Canadian art, we must congratulate the Publisher on this very opportune and praiseworthy donation to the teachers of youth in Canada.—*British Flag, Brighton.*

The explanatory and descriptive matter is of the most useful and comprehensive order.—*Welland Reporter, Drummondville.*

The present work commends itself at once to the attention of parents and teachers.—*Waterloo Chronicle.*

The arrangement of the maps and matter is admirable, and well calculated to make the study attractive to the learner.—*St. Mary's Argus.*

It is with no ordinary feelings of pleasure we hail the appearance of this work.—*Oshawa Vindicator.*

We earnestly recommend its general adoption in our schools.—*Essex Journal, Sandwich.*

We earnestly trust that no time will be lost in introducing it into our common schools. No Canadian youth can understand the geography of his country without having studied "Lovell's General Geography."—*Woodstock Sentinel.*

As a complete Geography and Atlas, this new work is superior to any other extant, and is just what is very necessary in our Canadian schools, into which we hope to see it at once introduced.—*Perth Standard, St. Mary's.*

It is in every respect a most excellent elementary work, and admirably adapted for the use of schools, and we hope to see it universally adopted as the school Geography of Canada.—*Brampton Times.*

It begins, as it ought to do, with Canada, and is, in matter, illustration, execution and general comeliness, a credit to the country.—*Norfolk Messenger, Simcoe.*

We hope to see this Geography introduced into our common schools, and generally adopted by teachers and instructors in the Canadas.—*Berlin Telegraph.*

This excellent book, which is creditable to any printing establishment, is well adapted to the use of our Canadian schools.—*Markham Economist.*

We are fully convinced that it will prove to be of great utility in our schools. It should be highly prized by Canadians, not only because it is a Canadian work, but because, in addition to its giving a satisfactory knowledge of all parts of the world, it gives a fair portion of prominence to the British colonies.—*Brantford Courier.*

In every feature of this work is exhibited accuracy and fairness; and we pronounce it the most valuable book that ever issued from a Canadian press,—an honour to its author, and creditable to its publisher.—*Galt Reporter.*

This is one of the best works on General Geography that has been issued from the press. We hope to see it used as a text-book in all our schools.—*Ayr Observer.*

It has come in good time, for there is no school book more needed than a Canadian Geography. We cheerfully recommend it to school trustees, and hope they will immediately take measures to have it introduced into the common schools.—*People's Press, Fonthill.*

It is infinitely better suited to supply the requirements of Canadian youth than any American publication of the kind. We have no doubt it will soon be generally adopted for use in our public schools.—*Expositor, Brantford.*

A much larger space is devoted to Canada than in any Geography now before the people.—*New Era, Newmarket.*

Mr. Lovell's endeavors to produce a Geography that would contain all the information which could possibly be desired, has, we think, been entirely successful.—*Picton Gazette.*

Our magnificent provinces, which in American Geographies are generally passed over as if merely a speck on the continent, have for the first time received due prominence.—*True Banner, Dundas.*

To those engaged in educational pursuits, we commend "Lovell's General Geography."—*Northern Advance, Barrie.*

We doubt not Mr. Lovell's exertions will be duly appreciated, and that the work will soon be introduced into our schools.—*Napanee Standard.*

The work is one of high excellence, and we trust will be adopted as a standard in all educational institutions in our country. It ought to have a place in every house in Canada.—*Carleton Place Journal.*

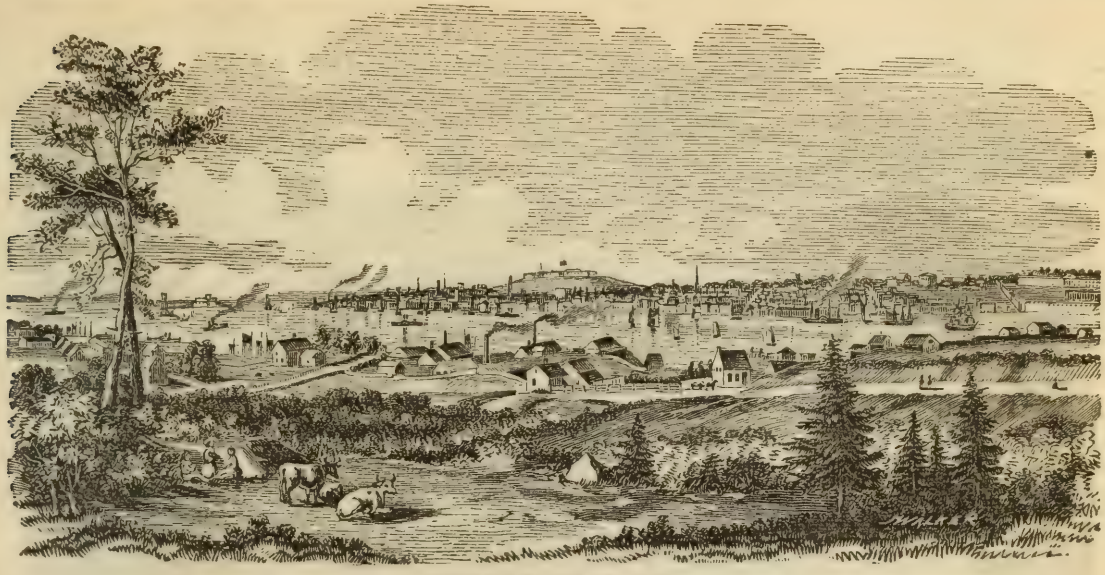
The work is very ably edited and exceedingly well got up.—*Spirit of the Age, Barrie.*

We have great pleasure in hailing the appearance of this new work.—*Ingersoll Chronicle.*

Its merits are many, and its claims on Canadian patronage are *imperative.—Huron Signal, Goderich.*

It is very neatly and correctly executed, giving sufficient importance to this portion of Her Majesty's dominions. This feature of the work alone, should secure for Lovell's Geography a place in every school in the Province.—*Shannonville Advertiser.*

A repertory of geographical knowledge which gives due prominence to those countries in which it is principally intended to be used, without disparagement to other countries.—*Canadian Post, Beaverton.*



CITY OF HALIFAX, N. S.

Extracts from Opinions of the Nova Scotia Press on Lovell's General Geography.

This work supplies a want which has been long and seriously felt in all of our British American schools. We can with perfect confidence recommend this book to teachers and heads of families throughout these North American colonies, as, without exception, the very first work of its class which they can place in their children's hands; and we hope that it will immediately come into general use.—*Acadian Recorder, Halifax, N. S.*

The remark often made that the geography of other countries is better known by the youth of Nova Scotia than that of their own province, need be no longer a fact. We shall be glad to know that the work has come into general use in the schools of this province.—*Christian Messenger, Halifax, N. S.*

Its plan and arrangement are admirable, and in mechanical execution and literary ability it excels. Mr. Lovell, the enterprising publisher of Montreal, deserves all praise for producing a work of so much value to the youth of British America.—*Morning Chronicle, Halifax, N. S.*

Mr. Hodgins, the author, has given to each country its due, and his labors are likely to meet with their reward.—*Morning Sun, Halifax, N. S.*

We have received a copy of this valuable publication. Instead of any recommendation of our own, we believe the public will be glad to see the following from the Superintendent of Education:—

"TRURO, *August* 15, 1861.

"I have examined Lovell's General Geography with some care and much satisfaction. Along with a large amount of historical, statistical, and scientific information on General Geography, presented in the most attractive form by means of maps and wood-cut illustrations, it seems to me to give a proper relative position to the British colonies in North America,—a grievous defect in Morse's and other similar publications.

"Altogether, I have no hesitation in recommending it as the best text-book on Elementary Systematic Geography that has ever appeared on this continent, and I hope to see it in general use in all our schools.

"ALEX. FORRESTER,
"Superintendent of Education."

—*Presbyterian Witness, Halifax, N. S.*

We can safely say that it is a work well deserving of the patronage of all educational establishments in the provinces of British North America. Our advice is,—Banish *Morse* from every school in these provinces, and furnish them freely with "Lovell's General Geography."—*Provincial Wesleyan, Halifax, N. S.*

We find it to be all that can be desired for the Elementary Schools in the British American provinces. We have no hesitation in bespeaking for it the favorable attention of school authorities and teachers.—*Tribune, Yarmouth, N. S.*

From a careful investigation of its contents, we can say that the author has been highly successful in his endeavors. Every portion of the globe is treated in a concise manner, and the letterpress is so arranged that the information desired may be readily got at. We commend the work especially to the attention of those engaged in education, as a substitute for the American Geographies now in use.—*Morning Journal, Halifax.*

We have much pleasure in recommending for the use of our schools. It is exactly what has been long wanted in the colonies, and we hope that it may be introduced immediately into all the schools in the country.—*British Colonist, Halifax, N. S.*

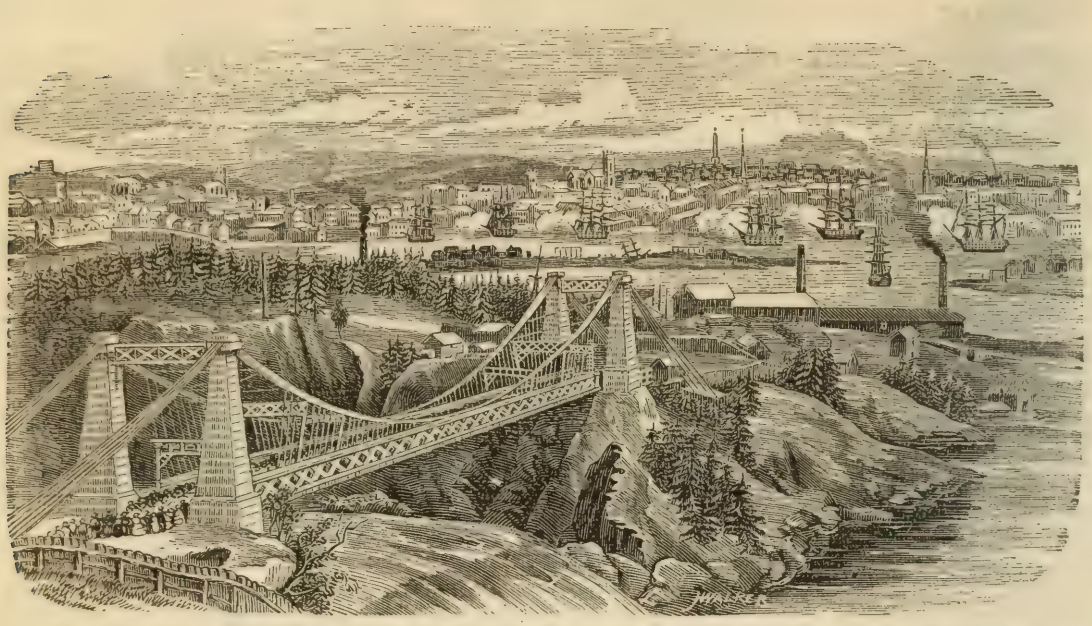
The one before us being of *colonial* compilation, is certainly the more reliable for British North American colonists as it contains the most extensive and truthful information respecting these colonies. We hope it will soon be in use in every school in this province.—*Evening Express, Halifax, N. S.*

It seems well adapted to our colonial schools. Dr. Hellmuth hopes to introduce it into the schools of the Colonial Church Society, and it will be well if it take the place of the many books of the same character which are now in use in our own province.—*Church Record, Halifax, N. S.*

We have much pleasure in recommending this work to the notice of teachers and the public generally. The whole appearance of the book is superior to any similar work that we have yet seen. None of the Geographies hitherto published have given these provinces the prominence which their growing importance merits, but in this work the want is supplied, and on this account alone, we hope to see this Geography generally used throughout the schools.—*Reporter, Halifax, N. S.*

We have no doubt it will supply a useful place in education, particularly as a text-book for elementary schools.—*Eastern Chronicle, Pictou, N. S.*

We are happy to be able to recommend it as a work which supplies an important desideratum in our public schools.—*Colonial Standard, Pictou, N. S.*



CITY OF ST. JOHN, N. B.

Extracts from Opinions of the New Brunswick Press on Lovell's General Geography.

A WANT SUPPLIED.—School teachers, parents, and all interested in educational matters, have felt that a Geography, above all other books, was required in the schools. Mr. Lovell has supplied this deficiency; the plan of which is excellent, and is adapted to the youth of the British provinces. It is emphatically a British North American Geography, and commences at home, as it should do, and not on the old principle of learning the youth everything about foreign nations, while they are kept in ignorance of the country in which they live. We wish to see it in every school, and hope it will supersede those now in use.—*Morning Globe, St. John, N. B.*

An excellent, and we must add, indispensable school book. As a manual of Geography it leaves nothing, as far as we can judge, to be desired. It will necessarily lead the youthful mind to dwell upon the vastness of the British dominions in North America, and cause our juvenile friends to consider that "where formerly the red man and the wild beast roamed, in our day Christianity and civilization claim their power, and science follows in their path."—*New Brunswicker, St. John, N. B.*

This excellent work supplies a want long felt in these provinces,—a text book which treats of our own country. We trust it will be universally patronized.—*New Brunswick Baptist, St. John, N. B.*

This Geography is very carefully and elaborately got up. It seems to be worthy of the encomiums which all of the first rank and position of all creeds and parties in Canada lavish upon it.—*Morning Freeman, St. John, N. B.*

This excellent publication completely supplies a long existing desideratum in our provincial schools. So well has the task been executed, both by author and publisher, that we recommend it with the greatest confidence to the patronage of all our provincial teachers and parents. The publication as a whole is so peculiarly adapted for the use of British colonists, that we earnestly hope it will rapidly supersede all other Geographies in our provincial schools.—*Courier, St. John, N. B.*

This work is put forth by a Canadian publisher, and will admirably answer the purpose intended. It is a useful publication, and might very well replace the Geographies got up in the United States, where uncle Sam's territory usurps undue space and notice, and British North America is treated as it were a not much explored, and a little known region of the world, of which it is in reality a very fair and ample portion.—*Head Quarters, St. John. N. B.*

The Provinces receive a fair share of space and detail, while other countries receive full justice. The work is one which deserves an extensive circulation; it is a colonial production; is well printed, and comes highly commended by the *savans* of Canada. We cheerfully recommend it to the school teachers of the province as an excellent substitute for the faulty Geographies now in use.—*Morning News, St. John, N. B.*

We are glad to be able to inform our readers, and especially the teachers of our New Brunswick schools, that we have at last a Geography which seems suitable to our wants. "Lovell's General Geography" is, in our opinion, an exceedingly valuable and suitable contribution to our school literature. We expect soon to see this the only Atlas used in our Schools in these colonies. We commend it especially to the notice of all the teachers of schools in our province. We believe they will be doing a service to the pupils under their care, by urging them to lay aside the Atlases previously in use, and to procure "Lovell's General Geography."—*Albion, St. John, N. B.*

We have glanced over this work with much satisfaction. It fills a want which has long been felt in the schools of these provinces. We predict for it an extensive sale.—*Christian Watchman, St. John, N. B.*



CITY OF CHARLOTTETOWN, P. E. I.

Extracts from Opinions of the Prince Edward Island Press on Lovell's General Geography.

It is more suitable for our schools than British Geographies, because it gives a fuller description of America, the quarter of the globe in which we dwell, and with which we ought to be best acquainted; and on the other hand it is free from the objection to American works of the kind, as they almost ignore every part of the world except the United States. We trust, then, that the Board of Education will lose no time in placing it on the list of school books for this island.—*Protestant, Charlottetown, P. E. I.*

It is a work of unquestionable merit; and is a desideratum to all school interests. Our Island Board of Education will doubtless put it on their list of approved School Books, and recommend its adoption by general island use.—*Examiner, Charlottetown, P. E. I.*

It reflects the highest credit both upon the author and publisher, and we trust the day is not distant when it will find its way into all our public schools and educational establishments, and be the means of eradicating those erroneous and pernicious publications by which the wants of too many of our district schools—for want of something better—have hitherto been supplied.—*Monitor, P. E. I.*



CITY OF ST. JOHN, N. F.

Extracts from Opinions of the Newfoundland Press on Lovell's General Geography.

We regard the work as the most excellent of the kind that has yet been produced. It is highly creditable in every respect to the genius of British America. —*St. Johns Daily News, Newfoundland.*

We commend it to the attention of those of our community having in charge the education of youth. It is arranged in a systematic manner, and yet so simple as to prove most efficient in leading on the minds of children in a proper study of Geography. It has been adopted in a majority of schools throughout the provinces, and the testimonials published at the end of the work are of the very highest order.—*Public Ledger, St. Johns, Newfoundland.*

This work is one of the most complete of the kind that we have ever met with, and appears to be not only admirably adapted for the use of schools, but very valuable as a book of general reference on the subject of which it treats. It is compiled with great care, and the varied matter it embraces most judiciously arranged, while the mass of information it contains gives it a completeness which characterizes few, if any other works of a similar class. Altogether the work before us recommends itself to all, and we consider it should not only be in every school, but that it would be an acquisition to every library.—*Morning Post, St. Johns, Newfoundland.*

We have rarely, probably never, seen a work of the kind offered to the public with clearer titles to success. It appears to us to be in many respects a decided improvement upon the geographies heretofore in general use. It contains a variety of information upon matters on which other Geographies are either silent or incorrect; and what should particularly commend the book to popularity in these colonies, is that in their regard it supplies the want complained of in other similar works—while comprising all the leading geographical and other interesting features of the older countries of the globe, it is careful to give us the best information upon every portion of British North America.—*Newfoundlander, St. Johns, Newfoundland.*

This book meets a want which we have long noticed, better than any other work of the kind with which we are acquainted. It treats of these North American colonies as the homes of the youth for whose instruction it is designed. We hope shortly to find that this valuable work is used in every school in Newfoundland. —*Telegraph, St. Johns, Newfoundland.*

LOVELL'S GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.—We have little doubt but that an examination of it by th Boards of Education and teachers of youth, will lead to its adoption in the various Schools of this colony.—*Royal Gazette, St. Johns, Newfoundland.*

LOVELL'S GENERAL GEOGRAPHY,

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JOHN LOVELL,
Publisher.

Montreal, *December*, 1863.

EASY LESSONS IN GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. GEORGE HODGINS, LL.B., F.R.G.S.



PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

Extracts from Opinions of the Canadian Press on Easy Lessons in General Geography.

It appears admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is intended, and we have no doubt it will have a large and ready sale.—*Montreal Herald.*

The design of the work is indicated in the title; and when to this is added that it is from the pen of the author of "Lovell's General Geography," we have said enough to recommend it to the favorable consideration of the Canadian people. But we can state further that we have looked it over with care, and that we consider it a valuable addition to our school book literature. We should be glad to see it come into general use, and Mr. Lovell rewarded for his meritorious exertions by the sale of many thousands of copies. —*Montreal Gazette.*

Equal to any work of the kind printed in the Great Republic. The object intended, so far as our judgment goes, has been admirably attained. Indeed, in the able hands of Mr. Hodgins, the Deputy Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, it could scarcely be otherwise. The publisher says that such a period of time has been spent in the preparation of this book, and such care and labor bestowed upon its revision, that it is believed it will be found of incalculable benefit to the youth of the country. We agree in this; and we hope it will have a large sale. When once the work is brought generally before the people, there is not a school or an educational institution, public, private—rich or poor, that will not make these "Easy Lessons" a text-book for young beginners.—*Montreal Transcript.*

It is designed as introductory to the publisher's excellent "General Geography," which many teachers consider too advanced for young beginners, and is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. The arrangement is excellent. The work contains in a small space a very large amount of useful information, and though intended for young beginners in geography, its pages may be consulted with advantage by "children of a larger growth." We trust that the book will find a large and ready sale.—*Montreal Commercial Advertiser.*

This little work, though complete in itself, is designed as introductory to "Lovell's General Geography." We have no hesitation in recommending it to teachers: the simplicity of the language and conversational freedom in the mode of expression will not fail to please the junior class, for whose special benefit, we need scarcely add, it was written.—*Journal of Education, Montreal.*

Geography is a delightful study, and these Lessons are a delightful method of imparting an interest in it to the young. The sketches are admirable, combining great ingenuity and tact with the use of easy and familiar language, in the treatment of such subjects as the Earth and its appearance, Time and its divisions, Geography, the Hemispheres, the Mariner's Compass, &c. The trips are designed to connect, in the mind of the pupil, the objects and associations of travel with a geographical knowledge of the more important physical features of the principal countries in the world. We are glad to see religion discreetly respected, and loyalty taught as one of its lessons.—*Presbyterian, Montreal.*

On ne pouvait trouver un meilleur systême pour l'éducation de la jeunesse. Aucun doute que l'on s'empressera d'en faire usage dans les écoles.—*La Minerve, Montréal.*

Ce petit volume renferme nombre de renseignments compilés avec une méthode qui rend ce livre indispensable à ceux qui commencent l'étude de cette branche, et d'une utilité générale pour tout le monde.—*Le Pays, Montréal.*

Elle est adaptée sur un systême qui donne beaucoup de facilité aux enfants pour ce genre de leçons. Nous le recommandons au Département de l'Education qui, nous en sommes certain, le recommandera lui-même aux Inspecteurs d'Ecole.—*L'Ordre, Montréal.*

Ce livre, d'après ce que nous en avons vu, ne peut manquer d'être éminemment utile aux élèves qui fréquentent des classes élémentaires, s'il est adopté et recommandé par le Conseil de l'Instruction Publique. Cette mesure ne serait, ce nous semble, qu'un acte de justice et un bienfait pour les écoles. Nous recommandons cet ouvrage à cause de l'importance qu'il nous parait avoir comme livre élémentaire et aussi pour donner à M. Lovell une part de l'encouragement que lui méritent ses constants efforts: *Encourage home talent.*—*Le Colonisateur, Montréal.*

The whole plan of this volume, and all its illustrations, are admirable, and we have no doubt that the work will prove valuable in all our common schools. Mr. Lovell's enterprise in getting up, at a great expense, his series of school books, is worthy of all praise.—*Christian Guardian, Toronto.*

It deserves a place in every Canadian school. The easy, attractive manner in which it leads the little pupil onward, step by step, can scarcely fail to interest him and prepare him for the larger work.—*Canadian Baptist, Toronto.*

Simplicity and comprehensiveness as regards the subject have been deemed the chief requisites, which have been therefore continually borne in mind; as well as the aiding pupils by maps and wood cuts, the first mentioned being so prepared as not at an early stage to confuse the pupil with minute details, but to assist the text in giving general ideas.—*Hamilton Evening Times.*

It is a very fine specimen of typography, admirably adapted for use in our public schools, and we trust to see it soon in general circulation throughout the country. Mr. Lovell is deserving of the highest encouragement for his enterprise in placing before the Canadian public so many useful and instructive publications as have emanated from his press within the last few years. —*Quebec Daily News.*

On sait que la grande géographie de M. Hodgins a été généralement accueillie avec faveur, et c'était justice. Le nouveau travail de M. Hodgins sera surtout utile aux commençants. Nous approuvons fort l'auteur d'avoir mis à la fin de chaque leçon un résumé de toute cette leçon par demandes et par réponses.—*Le Courrier du Canada, Québec.*

A most useful book, one that should be put into every child's hand in every school in the Province. Well got up, well printed, and well bound for the price. —*British Whig, Kingston.*

It appears to be well calculated for a school book, being simple and comprehensive. Canada has a fair share of attention, and not more than she merits. The work is deserving of the patronage of all our schools, and we hope it will receive such patronage.—*Prescott Telegraph.*

The book is itself a model of perfect printing; the numerous illustrations are all remarkably well executed, and the maps, though of course smaller, are we think rather an improvement on the maps in the "General Geography."—*News and Advocate, Frontier Montreal and St. Johns.*

Admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. The arrangement is excellent.—*Herald and Advertiser, Kingston.*

Much labor appears to have been bestowed upon its contents, which, from their simplicity and comprehensiveness, will be found well suited to new beginners, and is valuable in every particular. We trust it may receive the extended circulation it deserves.—*London Prototype.*

As a preparatory work, it is everything that could be desired, being simple in style and comprehensive in subject. Mr. Lovell is doing good service to the cause of education in this province by the publication of works of this character. They supply a desideratum which has long been felt, namely—text-books, which, while placing Canada in its proper position, will be advantageous in a literary and educational point of view to the rising generation.—*Ottawa Citizen.*

The plan adopted by the author is well calculated to insure attention on the part of the learner, and being interested he will be apt to retain the information so pleasantly given. We should be glad to see this work adopted in our common schools.—*Cobourg Star.*

The book is what it pretends to be, for the use of beginners in learning geography, and we never came across so excellent a work for young children. We look upon the work as a desideratum, and hope that it will have a large sale. It needs but to be known to be prized.—*Peterborough Examiner.*

We would recommend its use in all our schools as it will be found of incalculable benefit in preparing children for the "General Geography."—*Port Hope Messenger.*

It is an introductory book to "Lovell's General Geography," and we think it admirably adapted to the purpose. Simplicity and comprehensiveness are the distinguishing characteristics of the book. We hope the public will give Mr. Lovell the encouragement he so richly deserves for his enterprise in endeavoring to supply a desideratum which has long been felt, i.e., a series of Canadian School Books.—*Port Hope Guide.*

The work is entirely Canadian, and reflects great credit upon the spirit of the publisher, for his enterprise in furnishing us with a series of Canadian School Books, which we hope will be duly appreciated by the public of Canada; and we trust that this, as well as all the other works of "Lovell's Series of Canadian School Books," will receive that attention which their usefulness and importance merit. We would call the attention of school teachers residing in this County to the work; we are sure, from a cursory glance at its contents, that it will meet their hearty approval.—*Hastings Chronicle, Belleville.*

A style of teaching at once original and plain—just what the little folks want. Canada receives a full share of attention, which is one of the beauties of the book. We hope it will come into general use. Mr. Lovell deserves all praise for his rapid introduction of Canadian National School Books in the home market, and it is the duty of every Canadian to encourage him in his efforts to do so.—*Perth Courier.*

Elle est digne de la recommendation du Département de l'Education. La mode qui y est suivi pour initier les enfants aux connaissances qu'il leur importe d'avoir sur la géographie est excellent; et a l'avantage d'inculquer dans l'esprit de l'enfant des notions complètes de géographie tout en l'amusant. L'auteur prend en quelque sorte l'enfant par la main et lui fait parcourir les continents et les mers, l'arrête dans chaque pays, lui fait remonter ou descendre tous les fleuves et les rivières importantes et lui fait faire une promenade dans chacune des principales villes. L'auteur trouve le moyen de captiver d'avantage l'attention fatiguée de son élève par une anecdote amusante et instructive. —*Courrier de St. Hyacinthe.*

We have no hesitation in stating that it is well adapted to accomplish the object aimed at, namely, to present in a pleasing, simple form, the general outlines of the study so as to instruct and interest without confusing the youthful mind.—*Eastern Townships Gazette and Shefford County Advertiser.*

It has many novel features, some of which are decided improvements. The conversational manner in which the lessons are written, is likely to interest the beginner, and impress them on the memory. We hope the work may meet with a favorable reception from our teachers.—*Sherbrooke Gazette.*

It is a valuable addition to the useful series of school books published by Mr. Lovell, and which should be generally introduced into the schools of the Province. —*Stanstead Journal.*

Mr. Lovell is justly entitled to much praise for the very enterprising manner in which he undertakes to supply our youths with books of the most comprehensive and instructive description. We would advise the various boards of school trustees in North Wellington to recommend its use in their respective school sections. It should be placed in every child's hand, in every school in Upper Canada. For simplicity and comprehensiveness it surpasses any work of a similar kind hitherto published in this Province.—*British Constitution, Fergus.*

The work is one evidently of great care and labor, and we know of no better book on the subject of which it treats, so well calculated to assist the youth of the country. The publications of Mr. Lovell are destined to effect a world of good in this country—many of them are specially adapted to the instruction of the youth of Canada—they all make us know and love Canada the better, and enable us more correctly to understand her true position (not in a geographical sense alone) on the map of the world.—*Whitby Chronicle.*

We can recommend it as being an excellent introduction to the General Geography already issued by the same publisher. The work is neatly got up and the arrangement of the matter well suited to beginners. We trust it may receive the patronage it deserves.—*Guelph Advertiser.*

This work is written in a very familiar style and generally illustrated with outline maps and woodcuts, and will be found a very valuable contribution to our means of instruction in schools. The character of the author of "Easy Lessons," who manifests an intimate knowledge of the wants of the young, is a guarantee that it is a book that will take hold of the youthful mind, and interest and delight it, and we have much pleasure, therefore, in bespeaking for it a speedy and general adoption as a juvenile class book in our schools in this section of the country.—*Omemee Warder.*

We have carefully examined this work, and give it our unqualified approval. We should have pleasure in seeing Morse expelled from all our schools, and Mr. Hodgins' correct and impartial geographical works occupying its place.—*Guelph Herald.*

This work is intended as introductory to "Lovell's General Geography," the most useful work ever published in Canada. It is so coaxing in its manner, and so charming in its illustrations, and the singular attraction of its maps, pictures and details, that young persons, we doubt not, would sooner peruse it than any mere book of amusement. It is very beautifully got up.—*Guelph Reporter.*

It is admirably adapted for those pupils beginning the study of geography. Having gone through the "Easy Lessons," "Lovell's General Geography" will be easily mastered, both of which works are creditable to Canadian enterprise. We bespeak from school teachers and trustees an examination of these works issued from Mr. Lovell's press.—*Dumfries Reformer.*

A knowledge of geography is of the greatest importance, and that system which most easily, efficiently, and cheaply gives us this is of the greatest value. Mr. Hodgins' incomparable little book accomplishes all this, and is very interesting besides. Most artfully does he wile his young pupils into the practical object of geography, by his "Conversational Trip over Land and Water." In conclusion we would advise all teachers to procure this book immediately, if they have the interests of their pupils at heart.—*York Herald, Richmond Hill.*

It is just the thing wanted at the present time, as it is designed as an introduction to "Lovell's General Geography." It must be of incalculable benefit to the youth of the country, and we trust no time will be lost in introducing it into our schools, as it is purely a Canadian work and gives proper prominence to Canada and the other British possessions on this continent, which Morse's one-sided affair does not.—*Grand River Sachem, Caledonia.*

It is an admirable work, and we heartily commend it to the attention of Canadian school-teachers.—*South Simcoe Times.*

A new and valuable little work on Geography well adapted to the use of schools.—*St. Mary's Argus.*

Well adapted as a rudimentary work for young geographers. It is designed as introductory to the "General Geography," now universally adopted in the Canadian Schools.—*Canadian Post, Lindsay.*

To obviate a sort of objection to the larger, and first Geography, so well known, Mr. Lovell has again had recourse to the talented aid of the Deputy Superintendent of Common Schools, and has now published a smaller, readier, and easier school book, more adapted for beginners, and in every way calculated to be an admirable aid to the teacher, and a necessary excellent guide and friend to the young scholar. Altogether it is a school book much needed, and it and the larger one will soon be the only Geographies in our Common Schools.—*Cayuga Sentinel.*

The plan of the work is certainly good, being well calculated to fix the names of places on the minds of the pupils. We hope to see this work extensively used in our schools, as it will be found of great advantage to young beginners—while it will exhibit a just appreciation of the author's endeavors to furnish a purely Canadian series of school books.—*Waterloo Chronicle and Gazette.*

We sincerely hope Mr. Lovell will continue his laudable work in the interest of the schools in this country until every book used in them shall bear the impress of Canadian talent and enterprise. We very cheerfully commend this book to the attention of all parties concerned in the education of the young.—*Essex Journal.*

The "Easy Lessons" will be found to be of very great use to young beginners, before commencing the study of the "General Geography." The illustrations are well executed, and will render the work particularly interesting to the junior pupils. It is not only a valuable work, but it is entirely Canadian, which should entitle it to be received with favor in our schools.—*Markham Economist.*

An excellent and appropriate addition to our Canadian school books. On the whole it is just such a book as was required.—*Woodstock Sentinel.*

We think Mr. Hodgins deserves great credit for the admirable manner in which he has got up this work, while the publisher, Mr. Lovell, has fully sustained his long since acquired reputation as a first class book printer. We hope to see this Geography immediately brought into general use in our schools.—*Berlin Telegraph.*

Just the book required by the beginner in the study of geography. We would recommend it to school teachers throughout the country.—*Canadian Statesman, Bowmanville.*

A more useful and interesting work could not be introduced into our schools, for the use of the junior classes.—*Enterprise, Collingwood.*

We take pleasure in recording our opinion in favor of its general introduction into both public and private schools. We congratulate Mr. Lovell on the success which has attended his school books, and trust that he will go on as he has begun, so that in a short time Canada may have a series of school books equal to any country in the world,—books edited and printed in Canada, which, without seeking to push our country into undue prominence, will accord to it what few text-books do, its due and proper position.—*Essex Record, Windsor.*

This work has evidently been prepared with very great care to adapt it to the capacities of the junior classes in schools, and to awaken in the minds of small children a desire to become acquainted with the subject.—*Clinton Courier.*

We cannot too strongly recommend it to general notice as an excellent school book.—*Merrickville Chronicle.*

We have examined the work thoroughly, and are of opinion that, within the same space, a larger amount of information on all questions appertaining to a study of the earth's surface, and its physical and political divisions, could not be embodied.—*British Standard, Perth.*

One of the simplest and best arranged little works of the kind we have ever met with. The youthful student of geography is led on by such easy and interesting stages, that it cannot fail to become a necessary book, with the younger classes more especially. We trust all our friends will provide their little ones with a copy of this work.—*Waterloo Advertiser.*

We have no hesitation in recommending it to our readers. The work is got out in a very attractive form, and the engravings have evidently been prepared with much care.—*Huron Signal, Goderich.*

The contents of this book are simple and comprehensive, which are indispensable in a work of this kind, intended as it is for beginners in the study of Geography. The sketches in the little work before us are admirable, combining much ingenuity and taste with the use of easy and familiar language in the treatment of such subjects as the Earth and its appearance, Time, the Mariner's Compass, &c. The trips are designed to connect in the mind of the pupil the objects and associations of travel with a geographical knowledge of the more important physical features of the principal countries in the world. Mr. Lovell is a publisher of note in Montreal, and his energy and perseverance is worthy of the warmest commendation, and his efforts to place good and reliable school books before the public are deserving of encouragement by the people of all the Provinces. These "Easy Lessons," are well adapted to accomplish the object aimed at, namely, to present in a pleasing and simple form the general outlines of the study of geography, so as to instruct and interest without confusing the youthful mind. Simplicity and comprehensiveness are the distinguishing characteristics of the book, and we have no doubt that it will prove highly useful in our common schools throughout the city and country. This work was evidently prepared with much care to adapt it to the capacities of the junior classes in schools, and to awaken in the minds of small children a desire to become acquainted with the subject. For this purpose the subject is divided off into conversations or reading lessons, each of which is followed by an explanation, testing the scholar upon the matter he has just read, a method of proceeding which certainly seems calculated to forward the pupil very materially with his studies, and to inculcate the good habit of attentiveness to the reading lesson. In it religion is discreetly respected, and loyalty taught as one of its lessons. There is one excellent feature about this little geography, it is emphatically a British American book, and commences at home as it should do, and not on the old principle of learning the youth everything about foreign nations, while they are kept in ignorance of the country in which they live. It is a work of 80 pages, and is got up in a neat and compact style.—*Morning Chronicle, Halifax, N. S.*

It seems to us admirably suited to the capacity of young children. We prefer Lovell's Geography to any American publications of the same kind that have come under our notice.—*Presbyterian Witness, Halifax, N.S.*

We are happy to introduce to the notice of our readers "Easy Lessons in General Geography." We should be happy to see Lovell's series of school books introduced into general use in the schools of our Province.—*Provincial Wesleyan, Halifax, N. S.*

LOVELL'S SERIES OF SCHOOL BOOKS.—The spirit of enlightened enterprise deserves public patronage, and we are happy to embrace an opportunity of noticing the above series of publications. Upwards of twenty books have already been brought out, several of which deserve special notice. We must, however, content ourselves by a word or two concerning the "Easy Lessons in General Geography," by Mr. Hodgins, the Deputy Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. It is a most attractive book of eighty pages, exactly suited for young beginners, and conveys just the information required, and in a style which must render the study a pleasant recreation. The conversational trip through the several countries brought before the pupil, must fasten his attention upon them, and induce in him a wish to know more about them. The maps are clear, and distinctly marked and colored. The wood-cuts of cities and animals are very neatly executed. We doubt not that teachers will adopt the book as soon as they have learned its excellencies.—*Christian Messenger, Halifax, N. S.*

We, on a former occasion, expressed our high opinion of "Lovell's General Geography." We may now say that the later publication,—"Easy Lessons in General Geography"—is equally commendable.

We can also recommend, with every confidence, the several class books on Arithmetic, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, English and Latin Grammar, Elocution, and Chronology. We really hope that these books will soon be introduced into every school in Nova Scotia, as well as throughout the remainder of British North America.—*British Colonist, Halifax, N. S.*

Of the various elementary books on geographical science this appears to be in every way by far the most admirable. In addition to the style of the text being more adapted for children, the maps are plain and intelligible to the most youthful mind. We have little doubt that this admirable work will become just as popular as the larger one in these Provinces.—*Reporter, Halifax, N. S.*

The plan is excellent, the text is admirably adapted to the youthful mind, and the engravings and illustrations are well executed. We took occasion to notice "Lovell's General Geography" at the time of its publication, and we may repeat the desire then expressed that his series of school books should be generally adopted in the Colonies.—*Acadian Recorder Halifax, N. S.*

We must candidly say that we have seldom seen so much instructive and highly interesting matter contained in so small a compass. It is not only a valuable school book, but may also be referred to with advantage by those of riper years. The maps and plates are both elegant. We wish the enterprising proprietor every success, both in this, and also in his numerous other publications for the advancement of education which are specially got up to suit the wants of British North America; and we earnestly recommend teachers throughout the Province to adopt Mr. Lovell's series for their text-books.—*Casket, Antigonish, N. S.*

This little Book is intended for young scholars, for whom we consider it admirably fitted. We would recommend the publications of Mr. Lovell to all who are interested in the advancement of education: and as his series of works are intended for the Provinces we trust the public will tender him that encouragement which his enterprise is so worthy of.—*Eastern Chronicle, Pictou, N. S.*

The book, as its name indicates, is intended for young scholars, for which it is admirably fitted; and cannot fail to be welcomed as a valuable addition to the series of school books issued by the publisher.—*Colonial Standard, Pictou, N. S.*

It cannot fail to be welcomed as a valuable addition to the series of school books issued by the publisher. We would recommend teachers and those interested in the advancement of education, to examine the series of works issued by Mr. Lovell.—*Colonial Standard, Pictou, N. S.*

The style is easy, yet comprehensive, and the student is aided in his studies by means of maps and illustrations. We are all interested in the circulation of a work issued on our own soil, and by a man who has labored heartily to give a series of school books suited to the Provinces, and we trust that this elementary work will be well patronized.—*Evening Globe, St. John, N. B.*

It is an excellent little book of its kind, containing many maps, illustrations, diagrams, &c.—*Morning Freeman, St. John, N. B.*

Comprehensiveness and simplicity of style, two characteristics very necessary in a work of this kind, have been steadily kept in view. Very well executed maps, and various illustrations are scattered through its pages, and so arranged as to greatly assist the pupil in getting a correct idea of the text. It is peculiarly adapted for the schools of this Province.—*Morning News, St. John, N. B.*

Nothing equal to it has yet appeared in this Province. The questions and answers are plain and simple, at the same time that they convey a correct idea of what the pupil has to learn. Our school teachers ought to see this work at once; and we are quite sure they would immediately ask for its introduction.—*Westmoreland Times, Moncton, N. B.*

We have received from the publisher —"Easy Lessons in General Geography," with maps and illustrations, which is a capital book for beginners in this study.—*Carleton Sentinel, Woodstock, N. B.*

From the Montreal Gazette.—Mr. Lovell's school books are well known in Canada, and we are happy to see that out of Canada, they are also becoming known. The Jury of the International Exhibition held in London, in 1862, made the following report: "The Colony "(Canada) produces many of its own school books, "among which may be mentioned 'Lovell's General "Geography,' a trustworthy and attractive manual, "remarkable for its clear arrangement and for the "fulness of its illustrative and statistical contents." Here is a verdict which, from such a source, Mr. Lovell must find highly gratifying. We notice that the London *Educational Times*, a highly respectable authority, has reviewed a part of Mr. Lovell's series of school books very favorably; which, also, he must find gratifying. As we believe our London contemporary has not a general circulation in Canada we will repeat the article at length. The judgment of its editor is valuable on such a subject:

LOVELL'S CANADIAN SCHOOL SERIES.

Lovell's General Geography—National Arithmetic—Key to ditto—Elementary Arithmetic in Decimal Currency—Natural Philosophy—Student's Note Book of Inorganic Chemistry—Classical English Spelling-Book —English Grammar Made Easy—British American Reader.

These works form part of a series of school books, which have been specially prepared for the use of the public schools of Canada, and are now in course of publication by Mr. Lovell of Montreal. They are interesting, both on particular and on general grounds, not only as a specimen of the literature of Canada, but still more of the sort of teaching which is being established in that Colony. We have been much struck with the merit of some of the volumes of the series, which, as a whole, will bear favorable comparison with any works of a similar class published in this country.

Of Mr. Hodgins' Geography we have already had occasion to speak with approval in this journal, on its first appearance two years ago. In the present edition (1862), the population returns have been brought down to 1860; and the work now forms a very complete and comprehensive text-book of geographical science, containing an amount and variety of information, bearing on the geography of the various countries of the globe, such as we must candidly avow we have not before seen compressed within the same compass in any other work. Mr. Sangster's Arithmetics appear to us to be models of arrangement and good teaching. The rules are in all cases illustrated by operations fully worked out, and explained step by step in such a way that the pupil can have no difficulty in mastering and comprehending the *rationale* of every process employed. The "Note-Book on Inorganic Chemistry" is intended as an *aide-memoire*" for students and teachers, and comprises the heads of a course of Lectures on Chemistry in a condensed form, so as to obviate the necessity of writing notes on the subject. The "Natural Philosophy" embraces the elements of Statics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Dynamics, Hydrodynamics, the theory of Undulations, and the mechanical theory of Music. A very valuable feature is the introduction of a great variety of problems under each section, solved, for the most part, arithmetically, by which means the general principles of mechanical science are not only more clearly comprehended by the student, but more permanently fixed in his mind.

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The merit of these books is now universally acknowledged throughout the Provinces; and should therefore merit the attention and patronage of all those who desire to see the children of the Province acquire a correct knowledge of geography, without at the same time imbibing those erroneous ideas inculcated in many of the books now in use.—*Morning Telegraph, St. John, N. B.*

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5. The Queen has ever since ruled the empire so wisely, that she is greatly beloved by all her subjects. She has a number of children, who, from their high rank, are called Princes and Princesses. Her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, visited the British North American Provinces in 1860, and was welcomed with great love and affection by all classes of the people.

6. In 1861 the Queen suffered a great loss in the death of her noble husband, Prince Albert the good. All her subjects mourned with her, and from every part of her vast empire she has received the warmest sympathy.

7. Our duty to the Queen is to love her, and to obey the laws of our country. The Bible says, "fear God and honour the King," and "obey them that have the rule over you." With one heart and voice, our prayers for her should continually ascend; and in the words of our National Anthem, we should all heartily sing:

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Long live our noble Queen!
God save the Queen!
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us!
God save the Queen!"

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This is a skilfully compiled spelling book—well calculated to lead to a thorough knowledge of the construction of our language.—*Peterborough Review.*

It contains a most admirable analysis of the English language, presenting the various Saxon, Latin, and Greek roots, and their derivatives, in a manner which sheds the clearest and most abundant light on the construction of our own rich, flexible, comprehensive, and expressive mother-tongue. It ought to be in the hands of every common school teacher in the Province.—*Cobourg Star.*

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BRITISH AMERICAN READER,

BY J. DOUGLAS BORTHWICK,

AUTHOR OF CYCLOPÆDIA OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

EDUCATION OFFICE, Montreal, Dec. 31st, 1860.

MR. J. DOUGLAS BORTHWICK,

Professor, Huntingdon Academy,

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that at its meeting of the 13th inst, the Council of Public Instruction approved of the book submitted by you—*The British American Reader,* which approval has been confirmed by His Excellency the Administrator of the Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
LOUIS GIRARD, *Recording Clerk.*

Opinions of the Press on the British American Reader.

It does the greatest credit to the industry and taste of Mr. Borthwick.—*English Journal of Education of Lower Canada.*

The compilation is an excellent one, and no doubt, will supply a want which has hitherto been much felt. —*Montreal Herald.*

We can heartily recommend this book as the best we have yet seen for use in the British American Colonies.—*Montreal Gazette.*

A very valuable work, and one much required. The British American Reader should find a place in every Canadian school.—*Commercial Advertiser, Montreal.*

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The selection of pieces in this book is, we think, made with judgment, and the whole will convey, in a very pleasing manner, much information about America generally.—*Montreal Witness.*

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This is the very book for our Canadian youth. We wish Mr. Borthwick every possible success.—*British Whig, Kingston.*

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NATIONALITY OF SCHOOL BOOKS.

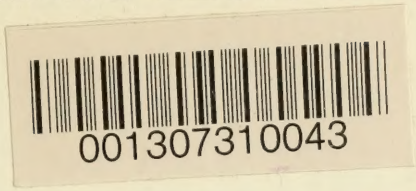
Anticipating somewhat the action of our long-promised Council of Public Instruction, upon whose success seems to depend the subject of reform in our schools, it may not however be impertinent or profitless for us to notice some of those radical deficiencies that exist in our School system.

The most obvious and the chief defect in the Common and the Higher Schools of the Eastern Townships, is the great want of nationality in the text-books which they use. They are anything and everything but Canadian. In our Readers we find speeches of Patrick Henry, Webster and Clay, glowing descriptions of our Southern neighbors, notices of their prominent men, and pictures of their natural scenery and wonders of art; but what of Canada?—what of her worthies, her institutions, her progress, and her beauties of nature? Absolutely nothing. Our Geographies are of the same nature; full particulars relative to every State and Territory in the Union—usually occupying a third or more of the book—and the whole of the British Provinces in North America hastily and carelessly summed up in the compass of four or five pages. Our Histories, and many other books, are as faulty as those just named.

Now, we do not pretend to say that a child cannot as well be taught the art of reading from a book made up of foreign miscellany as from any other; but what we do say is that a book adapted to Canadian scholars would not be used in the United States, nor would a book intended for Republicans be used in any of the monarchies of Europe. In all countries wherein a complete system of Education has been developed, the nationality of a text-book is one of its greatest elements of success. Book-makers, book-sellers and book-buyers equally well understand this. Would that it were as well understood in Canada.

Now, what is the tendency of this system? Is it not—either by presenting to the minds of our youth foreign models of excellence, or by excluding them from that which is most essential for them to know—to make them foreign in their tastes and predilections, and admirers of everything abroad—and, we might add, despisers of everything at home? If we would see those that are to come after us, and to inherit our birthrights, worthy to enjoy, and fitted to promote that high destiny which awaits our country, we must make them patriots in their tender years. Instruction by the home fireside is not alone sufficient. We must put in their hands Canadian books, to be read and studied at school. When this is done, prosperity is in store for us and our country.—*Watreloo Advertiser.*

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